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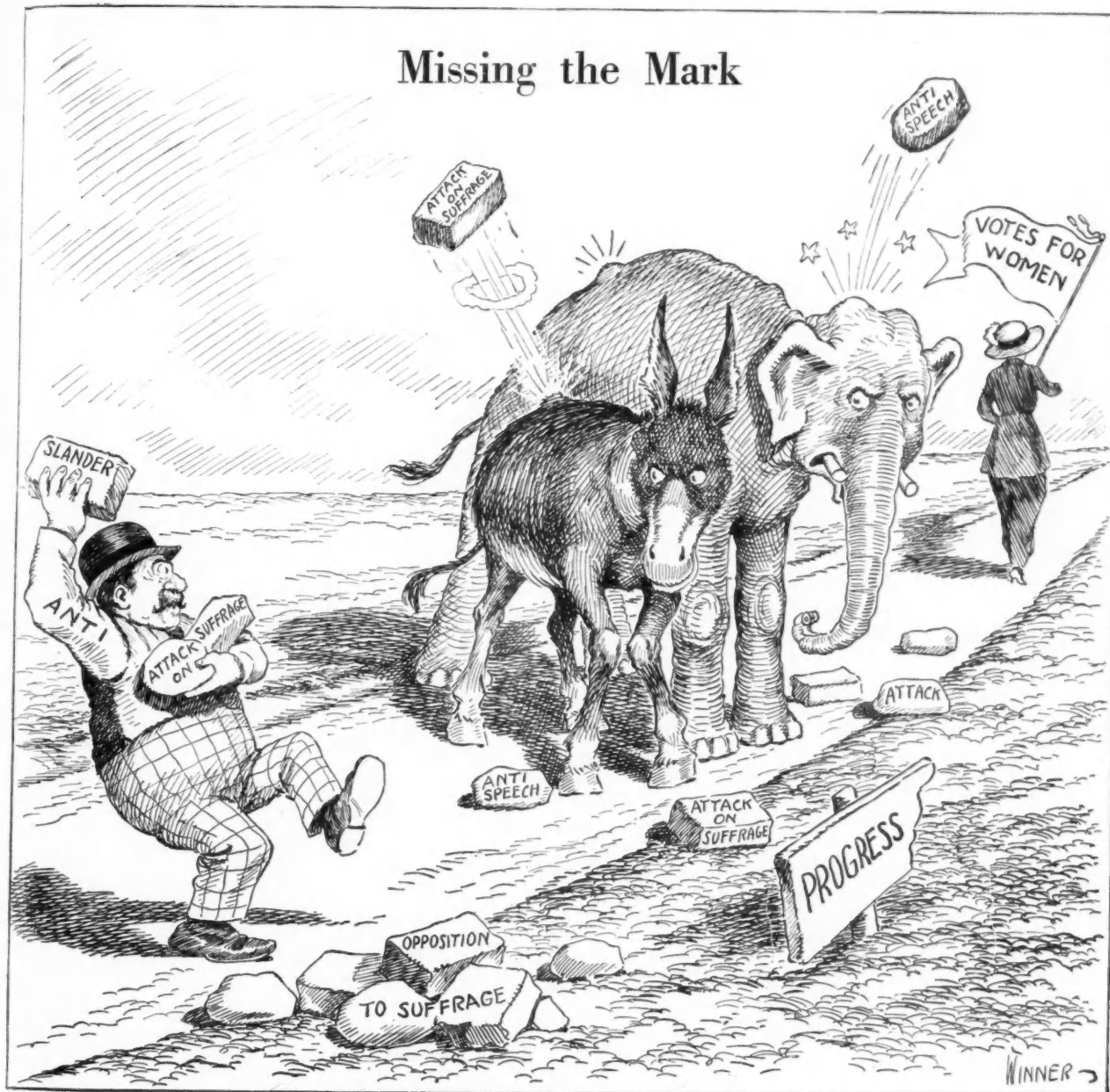
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The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL
FOUNDED 1870

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February 8, 1919



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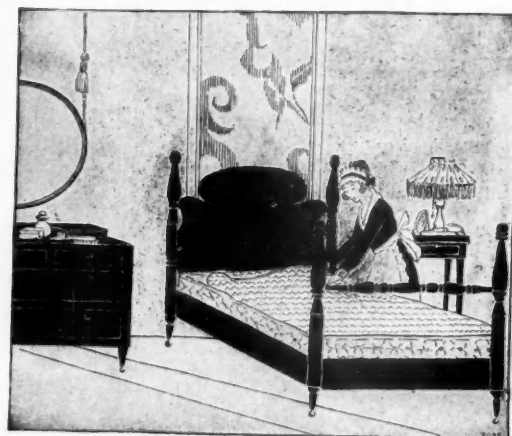


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equal suffrage for women, and published
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to 1917. Continuing also the Woman Voter,
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Citizen* tries to maintain intimate contact be-
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members throughout the United States.

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In the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating
memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the
cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's
irresistible progress.

The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie
Chapman Catt, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Miss
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Vol. III, February 8, 1919. No. 37.

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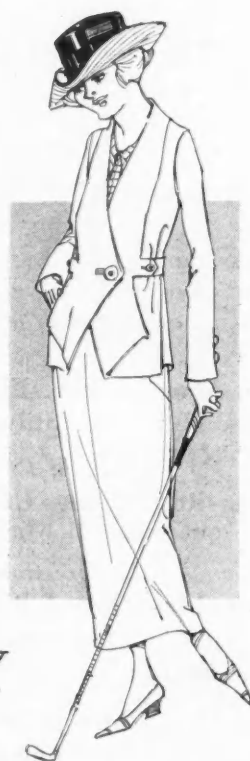
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The Woman Citizen

The Woman's National Political Weekly

NEW STYLE VOL. III

FEBRUARY 8, 1919

NUMBER 37

AS the Woman Citizen makes ready for the press, word comes from Washington that Senator Jones, Chairman of the Woman Suffrage Committee, has served notice on the United States Senate that the Federal Suffrage Amendment will be again called up for consideration on Monday, February 10. Full news in issue of February 15.

Never Give Up Nebraska

NEBRASKA suffragists won a final and sweeping victory in their long and hard-fought battle to preserve from successful attack the partial suffrage law passed two years ago, when, on January 24, Judge Flansburg, in the district court at Lincoln, issued a permanent injunction against the Secretary of State to prevent him from placing the law upon the referendum ballot.

Not only did they secure a court order that bars this law from ever becoming the subject of a referendum, but the intervenors in the case, the anti-suffragists of Nebraska, were ordered to pay the costs, which will run up into the thousands, in partnership with the state, which was the nominal defendant and which resisted the action. The court did not determine in what proportion the costs should be divided, but as the major part of the expense was due to the insistence upon technical forms

by the intervenors, it is expected that in the final disposition of this phase of the case they will foot the larger part of the bill.

The case finally came before the court on a demurrer of the intervenors to the evidence presented by the suffragists, which the court had held to make out a prima facie case of fraud on the part of the circulators of the petition for the submission of the law to a referendum. A demurrer practically confesses the truth of the evidence as adduced, but asserts that it is insufficient in law.

After the demurrer had been overruled the intervenors did a lot of legal hemming and hawing over whether to attempt to controvert the evidence by calling witnesses of their own, or to stand on the demurrer and take to the supreme court the questions of law involved. They decided on the latter course, and have asked for forty days in which to perfect an appeal. Appellate courts invariably accept the findings of fact of lower tribunals, so that if the appeal is finally taken it will be merely to secure a ruling upon law questions affecting the referendum statute.

The limited suffrage law was passed at the 1917 session of the Nebraska Legislature, after weeks of faithful work on the

part of a large number of suffragists, men and women. The brewers and other special interests have made it their special business in Nebraska for a number of years to secure control of the state Senate. The House they have left for the people to choose, as they needed control of but one body to negate proposed legislation. The suffrage law had easy sailing in the House, because of that fact, but when it reached the Senate it struck a snag, several snags, in point of fact.

Note the personnel of the anti procession—"dive-keepers," "the notoriously illiterate," "sporting men," "soft-drink men," "ward heelers," "saloon-keepers," "bartenders," "jail-birds"—as it files through the pages of this issue, which is here and now virtually turned over to the Nebraska Woman Suffrage Association for its official, and remarkably well assembled, report on its great victory.

That victory, be it noted, was not won for Nebraska alone, nor for suffrage alone. Woman suffrage everywhere stands the surer of ultimate sweeping triumph, and good government everywhere stands the sounder, for the work of the gallant band of Nebraskans, men as well as women, who wouldn't let corruption go unchallenged, wouldn't be defeated or deflected, wouldn't give up Nebraska!—Ed.

mitted the manufacture of two per cent beer—and which would have made prohibition impossible of enforcement.

Into this maelstrom the limited suffrage law was early plunged. Only the most careful leadership secured its final passage. Suffrage had friends on both sides of the contest over the character of the prohibitory bill, and it was necessary to use finesse and diplomacy to prevent one or the other of the contending groups from making matchwood of its legislative bark, especially after the majority had been forced to adopt the prohibitory law essentially as it came from the house. Hearings were had upon the bill, attended by hundreds of men and women. Finally, in the closing hours of the session the Senate passed it, but only by the narrowest margin.

Not having the emergency clause attached to it, the limited suffrage law could not go into effect until three calendar months after the adjournment of the Legislature, or until July 24, 1917. Defeated in the Legislature, the anti-suffragists of the state immediately set about to suspend the operation of the suffrage law by the use of the referendum section of the state constitution. On the 21 and 23 of July they caused to be filed with the Secretary of State, as provided by law, a petition asking that the law

be referred to a vote of the people at the next general election, in 1918, for approval or rejection.

This petition contained the signatures of 32,896 persons who claimed to be legal voters of the state and to live at the places designated therein as their legal residence. At the last preceding election for governor there had been cast a total of 291,466 votes, and under the provisions of the constitution the petition, to be valid, should have contained the lawful signatures of not less than 29,147 legal voters. It purported to carry 32,896 signatures, or 3,749 more than necessary.

THE fact that these petitions were in circulation had been made known to the suffragists very shortly after solicitors made their first appearance, and as soon as the aggregated mass of documents was placed on file officers of the state association sought permission of the Secretary of State to make an examination and a copy of the names thereon. He declined at first to permit them to make such a copy, taking the position that if they desired one it would be furnished by his office at the legal rate for copying documents. The sum ran well into the thousands of dollars, a prohibitive price. Tact and patience were employed to get the Secretary of State to the point where he permitted the women themselves to make a copy. Later he gave the representatives of the association free access, even in the evenings, to the originals, in his office.

Eighteen thousand of the 32,896 names bore the marks of an Omaha residence. A complete copy of this list, together with the residence numbers given, were supplied to the Omaha members of the state suffrage association, and they began upon a task of almost impossible proportions. The other fourteen thousand plus names were apparently gathered from two-fifths of the counties in the state and presumptively represented 5 per cent of the legal voters therein, as required by law. It was not until September of 1917 that complete copies of the lists were in the hands of the association for the purpose of being checked, and this Herculean task was cheerfully undertaken by volunteer workers. Nebraska elections are held biennially, in the even numbered years, and this fact permitted the work of verification of signatures and residences to be thoroughly done.

Suspicion that fraud and deception had been used, both in getting genuine signatures and in padding the lists, early gave way to positive conviction. As the investigation and checking went on proof that forgery and misrepresentation had been employed piled up to an amazing height. When it was complete it was found that 16,460 of the 32,896 signatures were subject to court challenge, and that at least 10,000 of them were the product of fraud, forgery and misrepresentation.

A HALF dozen of the most prominent members of the Nebraska bar volunteered their services in the proposed action to challenge the sufficiency of the referendum petition. These were T. J. Doyle, C. A. Sorenson, John M. Stewart and H. H. Wilson, of Lincoln, and Elmer E. Thomas and Francis A. Brogan, of Omaha. At a conference of these attorneys the form of a petition to enjoin the Secretary of State from placing the referendum on the election ballot was agreed upon, and the case shortly afterward filed. This was in February, 1918.

The faithful Omaha workers were marshalled under the leadership of Mrs. H. C. Sumney, second vice-president of the State Board, and wife of a leading physician, and Mrs. James Richardson, the wife of a prominent business man. The greater part of the detailed labor was performed by these two brilliant and indefatigable workers. They discovered that many of the residence addresses given were impossible ones, being located in

railroad yards or cornfields or on vacant lots. Many others were the names of men who had never lived at the addresses given, many whose names appeared affirmed that they had never signed any such petition, others that they had been induced to sign by the representation of the solicitor that it was to submit the question of full suffrage. The work of running down each of the 18,000 names consumed days upon days of arduous labor.

IT was also found that many of the names were written by the same hand, page after page of these appearing in several of the petitions. Experts in handwriting from the various banks in Lincoln spent night after night poring over the original petitions in the office of the Secretary of State, picking out and listing the forgeries. These were found to have been scattered all over that state. A number of the circulators apparently had found it necessary to start off most of their petition sheets by themselves placing thereon the name of some fictitious person.

The petition set up all of these irregularities. It recited that the circulators had committed perjury in certifying that these fictitious persons had affixed their names in their presence; that many of the names written thereon were not placed there, as the law required, in the presence of the circulator, but that the petition had been left in pool halls, soft drink parlors, cigar stores and barber shops where everybody, including minors, were invited to sign, the circulator later coming around and gathering up the petitions. It also set up that many of the signatures were obtained by infants incapable at law of properly circulating or certifying to the petition sheets.

The petition further charges that a number of circulators named had each engaged in a systematic course of fraud and forgery in procuring and writing names on the petition, thereby making invalid all of the names on them. Attached to the petition were thirty pages of exhibits, giving the name of the county, the number given the petition sheets by the Secretary of State, the first name appearing thereon, the name of the purported circulator and other information designed to apprise the answering defendants of the character of the testimony that would be introduced in support of the injunction petition.*

THIS suit being against the Secretary of State, the state's law officer, the attorney general, appeared in opposition. He first filed a demurrer in which he raised the question of whether the women who were listed as plaintiffs, nineteen of the leading suffragists of the state, Edna M. Barkley, Gertrude L. Hardy, Katherine Sumney, Ida Robbins, Grace Richardson, Margareta Dietrich, Grace M. Wheeler, Ella Brower, Ellen Ackerman, Henrietta Smith, Inez Philbrick, Harriet M. Stewart, Mary Smith-Hayward, Mamie Claflin, Margaret T. Sheldon, Alice Howell, Ellen Gere, Eliza Ann Doyle, Katherine McGerr, had the legal capacity to sue; in plain English, that they had no right to maintain the action, not being parties in interest. The attorney general was soon joined by the attorneys for the anti-suffrage association who asked leave to intervene. They joined with the state's representative in arguing the legal proposition. The court held against their claim. Although the attorney general had stated publicly that he would stand upon his demurrer, he changed his mind and filed an answer to the case. Thereafter, however, he did not appear in the litigation, the Secretary of State, upon examination of the papers, having become convinced that the petition was honeycombed with fraud.

The suffragists were prepared with their evidence and desired to proceed at once with the taking of testimony. The more

* Although the Nebraska association retains here the judicial calm that has distinguished it all through its struggle, these are terrific allegations. And more terrific still is the judge's ruling that they were proved in court.—ED.

optimistic of them had hoped to secure a favorable decision at the hands of the district court, which would have given them at once the right to vote, in time to enable the women of Omaha to take part in the city election in May. The reform elements in that city had vainly attempted for years to break the hold upon its government of a machine made up of the big business interests and the corrupt elements, and it was believed that with the woman vote success would be certain. As it turned out they were successful without the vote of the women, but conspicuous among those Omaha men who signed the petition of intervention on behalf of the anti-suffragists were the attorneys, stockholders and the financial backers of several of the utilities.

It was not until the full legal time permitted was about to expire that the answer in intervention made its appearance, May 17, 1918. Meanwhile a number of dilatory motions and motions to require more specific statements had been filed and argued, and an amended petition filed by the suffragists. In their answer the antis again set up the defense that the women plaintiffs did not have individually or collectively the right to maintain the action; that the subject matter of the action is one that can only be prosecuted in the name of the state and through its legal department; that the referendum petition was in all respects legally sufficient both in law and in fact, and that since it contained the lawful number of names, it was mandatory upon the Secretary of State to place the referendum on the ballot at the issuing general election; and denied all of the allegations of fraud, perjury, and misrepresentation.

Upon the issues joined the trial of the case began. The plaintiffs asked that in view of the large amount of territory to be covered and the large number of witnesses who would be called, two referees to take testimony should be appointed. The opposition urged that one was sufficient, and the court so held. Then began the long, wearisome journeys about the state to take testimony.

The referee and the attorneys spent the larger part of the summer and the early fall in journeying into 18 of the 93 counties of the state. Work had already been done by local suffragists in 59 counties. This was in full confirmation of the allegations of the petition. The names of men long since dead were proved to have appeared in the petition; minors had signed them; circulators had left blank petitions at places where men congregated and, after they had been filled, had coolly sat down and certified to having seen the persons whose signatures were attached sign the petition in their presence; men of foreign birth testified that they had told the circulators that they were not legal voters but were told that that made no difference; others said that the circulators represented that the petitions were for full suffrage or prohibition or something else first found; still others that no such person lived or ever had lived at the numbers given opposite their signatures; others that their names were forged; boys under age testified to having signed and circulated petitions; some of the circulators told of the illegal methods they pursued in getting names.

ONE very interesting story came out in the investigation of the Omaha frauds. One circulator who had turned in several thousand names had located himself at several rooming houses. The landlady of one of these testified that the man stopped at her house several weeks. She said that he seldom went out, and she thought, from what she had observed, that he was a literary man, because he did so much writing in his room. An examination of his petitions by the handwriting experts disclosed the character of the writing he had done. Page after page of the names were in the same handwriting, that of the circulator. Apparently

he had secured an old city or telephone directory and used this as his fountain of cognomens. The work of selection was very bunglingly done. Half a dozen or more names beginning with the same letter of the alphabet appeared on the same page in many instances, and the experts said it was impossible that this could happen where a petition was promiscuously circulated.

Another device not clever enough to escape the experts had been employed by this man. The petition sheets have blanks for twenty names. Apparently he had taken half a dozen of these sheets and spread them out. On the first line of each he had written names closely resembling one another. For instance, on the first page would appear at the top the name of Meads. In the same relative position on the succeeding pages it would appear as Means or Mears or Meaks, etc., the appearance on succeeding lines in the same relative positions of names similarly differentiated showing he had carried out this plan through the half dozen sheets.

MANY of these circulators were not known at the places they gave as their legal residence. Others were found to be taxi-cab drivers, former bartenders, former saloon men, ward politicians or political hangers-on and that type. The final hearings were held in the Lancaster district court, where the case originated, and did not terminate until October.

The antis also submitted a small amount of testimony, and then sought to have the case thrown out of court because they had not been given time to present their side in full. This despite the fact that they had interposed delay at the beginning, had insisted on one referee instead of two and at no time had sought to hasten the hearing. What little testimony they did present was significant. The testimony showed that the anti-suffrage association of Omaha, under the leadership of Mrs. L. F. Crowfoot, had at first endeavored to employ, to take charge of the work of circulating the referendum petitions in the state, the man who had been in charge of the publicity department for the brewers in their effort in 1916 to defeat the adoption by the people of the prohibition amendment to the state constitution. He swore that he was unable to secure reliable help, and declined the job. The antis then employed two lawyers named Jamison, and they did the work of hiring and directing the circulators. One of the prominent anti-suffragists of the city, Mrs. C. C. George, testified that the petitions went through the hands of the association. She was in the office the last two weeks, and said she had thrown out several petitions that did not look good to her. Her signature in attestation of the signatures of some of

(Continued on page 763)

THE Woman Citizen

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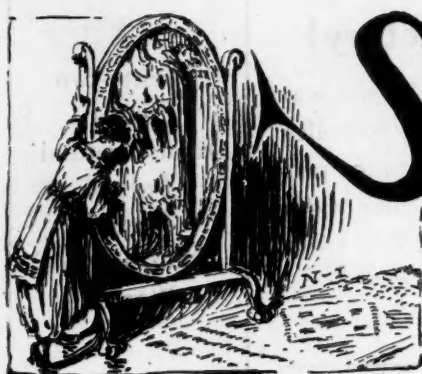
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HERE the Woman Citizen will present from time to time a survey of the plays and players of the American stage.

Stage Reflections



MEANTIME, we shall not, we feel sure, make the mistake of taking ourselves too seriously as we hold this mirror up to the stage.

Little Brother

FOR two hours of gripping, sympathetic interest, let me recommend "Little Brother" at the Belmont. The situation, instantly developed, takes hold in the first ten minutes and is held with sustained power to the end. The theme is one that present conditions have drawn under public notice—the evils of religious hatreds and of race antipathies.

Rabbi Elkan, an aged Jew, has lost, some forty years previous to the time of the play, a little brother, supposed to have been abducted or killed in one of the frequent massacres of Jews by Greek Catholics. Later he married, only to behold another "pogrom" led by a fanatical priest, Father Petrovitch, the effects of which upon his young wife were such that she could not overcome them, and died, leaving him a daughter born after his emigration to the United States. In this country the Jewish girl grows up, imbibing American democracy and liberality of ideas from her school life and companions, while her father serves his flock of poor on the east side, mourns her mother, and hopes still for some word of the little brother.

Father Petrovitch, meantime, has become the guardian of a youth, George Lubin, and the two have come to America. Lubin meets Judith Elkan at a neighborhood club and they wisely conclude to disregard race prejudices and marry each other, being much in love. When Lubin tells his guardian of this intention, Father Petrovitch falls into a fury of race hatred and bigotry. Judith tries to tell her father, the Rabbi, but is unable to do so. She goes out to meet her lover, but, during her absence, Father Petrovitch visits Rabbi Elkan and acquaints him with the situation. There is a scene of tense dramatic interest between the two men, hating each other and all that each stands for, but they are one in the determination to end the affair between the young people. Just as they arrive at a decision, the young

IN particular we want to bring down to center the interpretations of woman and her ways, the ideals of womanhood as they are staged. We have an idea that there is room for a little genial exchange as to woman's point of view and men's on the subject.

couple return—married. They are promptly cast off by their respective parents, and Lubin's fortune, which becomes his only on condition of his marrying in accordance with Father Petrovitch's consent, is denied him.

THE second act takes up the young people eighteen months later, poor but rapturously happy with their baby, though each is secretly longing for reconciliation with his own. The mother of Father Petrovitch comes from Russia to visit him. She is a liberal minded woman with no patience for religious bigotry, and discovering the state of affairs, makes it known that Father Petrovitch is not her own son, but an adopted one, the "little brother" of Rabbi Elkan's heart, whom she, being a servant girl in the Elkan family at the time of the massacre, had saved, and, urged by fanatics, had dedicated to the church. The bigot is overwhelmed with contrition. Rabbi Elkan forgets his wrongs and remembers only that Petrovitch is the "little brother." All ends happily, with a speech from Rabbi Elkan to the effect that, in the present war, past religious hatreds have been forgotten and that the millennium has at least achieved its inception.

The humor is colloquial but not coarse, and from first to last there is not a demand upon the imaginative credulity of the spectator.

The play is compact, the conflict is due, not to any baseness of character in individuals, but to tragic circumstances of faith and environment, and, even if poorly interpreted, would furnish enough of natural interest to hold an eager audience. But it is not poorly interpreted. Mr. Walker Whiteside, as Rabbi Elkan, and Tyrone Power as Father Petrovitch, would give distinction to characters far less powerfully drawn than these two, while Mr. Richard Dix as George Lubin and Miss Mabel Bunyea as Judith are a pair of captivating lovers.

M. H. F.

Tea for Three

REALLY it is Tea for Four—for there is the woman and there is the husband and there is the gentleman friend and there is you—it being the kind of play into whose well-defined illusions you promptly project yourself as a high contracting party.

It's so easy for a woman to go wrong when the curtain goes up on the stage that the Woman Who Stays Right has all the fine flavor of novelty. This is the woman for whom Selwyn and Company are serving "Tea for Three" at Maxine Elliott's Theatre.

As the author, aided and abetted by that sincere young actress, Margaret Lawrence, interprets her, she has a vivid and likeable personality, and for the encouragement of those who insist on wickedness as the *sine qua non* of the eternal feminine, it may be added that she is quite as sinuous a liar as the woman who goes wrong.

We always thought that Frederick Perry was a good actor, but after seeing him nibble a tea biscuit in "Tea for Three" we realize that we have never done him justice. That is not merely good acting—that is the ineffably real thing. Sometimes Miss Lawrence produces a youngish effect of not quite keeping up with the chance the author has provided, of walking out of character—to be bromidic. Not so Mr. Perry. He is truer than the author, and where the argument misses the mark you blame, not Mr. Perry's handling of it, but the author's fundamental projection of it.

Arthur Byron has the ungodly task of being a true friend to the husband, a devoted lover of the wife, and the conscience of the play. On the face of it, it seems impossible, but Mr. Byron has not been on the stage a long time for nothing. Quite frequently he has achieved the impossible. He does it in "Tea for Three."

When you come to town go to Maxine Elliott's Theatre for "Tea for Three."

You are sure to like the blend.



MARCELLA CRAFT

A California girl who has made a success in Europe and with the San Carlo Company in America. She appeared in "Madame Butterfly" with the Society of American Singers at the Park Theatre.

Out
of
the



GLADYS CALDWELL
SOCIETY AMERICAN SINGERS

A Chicago girl, who has appeared in the Gilbert and Sullivan operas at the Park Theatre.

Sing-
ing
West



ANNE BUSSERT

An Ohio girl, from the village of Delphos, one of the many young music students given her first start through the aid of Charles Schwab. She has made a career in oratorio and concert and opera.

MISS RUTH MILLER, the ambitious young singer from Seattle, who has been singing the title role in *Martha* at the Park Theatre this season, had had just twelve appearances in opera before she achieved the distinction of a "near debut" on the Metropolitan stage. During her first year before the public, she made the record of having forty-four weeks' engagement in Grand Opera. She sang with the Metropolitan Opera Company, New York; with the Davies Opera Festival Company, Philadelphia; the Ravenia Park Company, Chicago, and the Society of American Singers, New York. As a girl who can do that ought to have something of interest to say to other girls who are making an uphill fight, the *Woman Citizen* sent its representative out to talk it over.

In *propria persona*, the incipient diva is a pleasant-faced, kindly-eyed young woman, simply dressed, unaffected in manner. She has a clear, soft speaking voice, and is not at all the glittering personality that one associates with grease paint, the footlights and short skirts. Asked to tell the story of her life, she did so without affectations of timidity but without over-confidence.

"I WAS born in the West. I inherited my voice from my mother, who was the rival of Emma Nevada for a singing scholarship of some sort at the time that great concert singer began her career. Mlle. Nevada won and my mother resigned her aspirations for a musical life and married. She gave me a great love for music as well as my voice.

"I was educated in the public schools of my home town. During my years in the High School, I had the best local teachers of voice and of piano and sang in entertainments more or less. This was valuable because it took away my timidity and gave me self-confidence. After I graduated, my mother took me to Paris, where I succeeded in getting lessons from

Sbriglia. He was an old man then—nearly eighty. I studied with him five years and worked incessantly, putting in the hours when I had to rest my voice on French and Italian. It was nearly all work and no play. I did not even get over to London which I wanted very much to see.

"A month after my return to New York, where, at that time, I knew no one, I lost my mother. That was a terrible blow, not only because I loved her dearly, but because she was a woman of unusual character and energy and I leaned on her sympathy and advice. I succeeded finally in getting a position with the Cosmopolitan Opera Company, which was holding out at the Garden Theatre. There I made my first appearance on any stage as *Gilda* in *Rigoletto*.



RUTH MILLER
SOCIETY OF AMERICAN SINGERS, PARK THEATRE

"MEANWHILE, my father, out in Seattle continued to tell his friends that he had a daughter who could sing and was determined to succeed. One of his acquaintances to whom he spoke of me was a man who had some musical knowledge and an acquaintance with Gatti of the Metropolitan. He told my father that thousands of girls who had mediocre talents were wasting their lives in dreams of big success and spending the hard-earned money of their relatives for training which would yield nothing because it was put upon nothing. This gentleman said there was only one thing to do and that was to sing for a competent authority and abide by his decision. He offered to make arrangements for me to sing for Gatti, with the understanding that, if Gatti decided that I had no future I was to give up and come home.

"It was not easy to risk my all on that decision, but I made up my mind to do it. Well, I sang for Gatti, and his verdict was to engage me then and there for the Metropolitan. He gave me two roles, that of *Musette* in 'La Boheme' and of *Mihaela* in 'Carmen.' And that's all. I am still working, still advancing, still hoping."

"WERE you ever really doubtful of the outcome of your efforts?" the interviewer asked. "Did you have seasons of despair?"

"I think everyone with the artistic temperament has seasons of reaction. One gets keyed up and filled with a sort of creative inspiration and the recoil must go as far from it."

"But that is not the sort of despondency that I meant. That sort arises from the impossibility of ever satisfying the ideal. I mean did you ever really doubt your ability to make some sort of success? Or were you conscious all the time of being equal to the situation? It is my hobby that 'quitters' quit because they are secretly conscious of being 'camouflage.' They know in the bottom of their hearts that

(Continued on page 761)



"BY ORDER OF THE COURT"
—Omaha Bee

THE National American Woman Suffrage Association is already predicting that the year 1919 will rival 1918 in suffrage glory. In 1918 there were ten great suffrage victories abroad and three states of the Union were won to suffrage. Nineteen-nineteen is not yet out of swaddling clothes, but victories galore have signalized its first month.

One of these is known as the "Never-Give-Up-Nebraska" victory and came last Saturday when a Nebraska judge, Judge Flansburg, handed down a ruling that "as the proof stands" enough names to the anti-suffragist petition for a referendum to the people of the Nebraska Legislature's suffrage grant of 1917 were invalidated by "reason of fraud, false and defective certificates, signatures of minors and persons, who were not electors, signatures procured through false representation of the circulator and signatures connected with incorrect and fictitious addresses," to make the petition valueless through lack of the required number of names.

Nebraska women were given presidential and municipal suffrage by the Nebraska Legislature away back in 1917. Opponents of suffrage got up a petition to have the grant referred to the vote of the people; 29,147 legal signatures to the referendum were necessary; the antis produced them, with 3,749 names to spare.

IT was just here that the Never-Give-Up-Nebraska spirit flashed out on the screen. The suffragists of the state, headed by Mrs. W. E. Barkley, got on the track of some information that seemed to spell fraud. Once on the track, they never got off till fraud invalidating about 5,000 names was proved in court.

It has taken the best part of two years to get this matter threshed out in the courts. During

that interval there came times when the Never-Give-Up-Nebraska spirit was tried to its utmost, times when the women who were waging the fight for their own might have been forgiven if they had wiped their hands of the whole affair and gone about a sweeter-smelling business. What sources of contamination their inquiries led to may be visualized from some points marshaled by the judge in his summing up of the case, such as—we quote from him—"forgeries," "fraudulent signatures," "certificates that were knowingly and intentionally false," etc.

When it became evident that a black and ugly case of fraud was to be established there was a scurrying on the part of the anti-suffragist women of Nebraska to get their skirts cleared of the contamination, and their attorney put in a special request to the judge to return a special finding that the "Omaha women directing the circulation of the referendum petitions were not shown to have been implicated in the frauds uncovered by the suffragists."

Let us hope they were not.

THE anti-suffrage forces immediately began circulation of referendum petitions which automatically prevented the law from going into effect until it was submitted to a vote of the people. This referendum was filed in July, 1917.

"Investigation of these petitions by suffragists revealed what the women believed to be extended frauds in securing names. Attorneys were employed and suit commenced to prevent Secretary of State Pool from placing the referendum upon the ballot at the November, 1918, election.

"Every possible obstacle was thrown in the way of the suffrage probe by ex-Secretary of State Pool, who at first refused to permit suffrage workers to examine petitions.

"Pool insisted on selecting clerks to copy the petitions, but these copies were so inaccurate that most of the work had to be done over again, the suffrage workers paying all the cost.

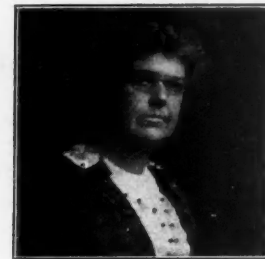
"Hearings were held in Omaha, Lincoln, Kearney, Falls City, and many other cities in the state, and a mass of evidence was presented by the suffragists sufficient to prove extended frauds and forgeries.

"Two arrests were made on charges of forgery and these cases are still pending.

"Except for a general denial of any knowledge of any fraud by a number of anti-suffrage leaders, no effort was made by them to refute the testimony of the suffrage investigators."

For the following review of the work led by Mrs. Sumney and Mrs. Richardson in ferreting

The People Who



Mrs. Ellen Ackerman
Alnsworth, Neb.



Mrs. James Richardson

out the fraud in the anti petitions, the *Woman Citizen* is indebted to Mrs. Draper Smith, one of the leading women of Omaha and herself a valiant worker in the suffrage ranks:

MRS. SUMNEY Richardson who headed the investigation thought to face value the fraud in the suffrage petitions for referendum. Not that anybody else represents the women of the people. But the stress is on these women and others then main there not only for Nebraska, at large.

"In card cataloging the 18,843 names in Douglas County we discovered, on a petition secured by one A. O. Barclay, that 14 names out of 20 began with "W." On another petition secured by the same circulator there was one name beginning with "E," 8 with "A," and 11 with "B." Other petitions gave evidence of the same alphabetical arrangement of names. The attorneys then said we had a case. Inspection of the original petition showed that of 116 petitions secured by A. O. Barclay 68 were in the same handwriting. This Barclay gave three Omaha addresses, and during the hearing evidence showed he had never lived at two of these places, and a man of different description but giving the name of A. O. Barclay lived for 10 days at the third address. The name of one prominent Omaha business man who had died three months previous to the circulation of the petition was found. Another who was killed two months previous was found on two of Barclay's petitions. Another man who had been dead for three years was found on the petition. Witness after witness testified that his

MRS. W. E. BARKLEY, PRESIDENT
WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Who Wouldn't Give Up



Mrs. H. C. Sumney

Mrs. Draper Smith
Omaha, Neb.

NE. Richardson are the two
aha's "Indefatigables"
ons thought to book at their full
and concealed in the anti-
forendum.
dy ob a referendum that hon-
he women ten per cent of the
stress the "honestly." Thanks
and other them the stress will re-
ly foraska, but for the country

name on the petition was
forged.

"Several other circu-
lators who worked in
Douglas County and the
state forged so many
names that we asked that
all their work be thrown
out also. The hearing de-
veloped that forty ex-

saloon keepers and bartenders had these peti-
tions on the bars in their soft drink places.
One circulator testified that "men in pool halls
boosted and praised his work and wanted to
sign again and thought it a good idea to knock
woman suffrage." Eight hundred and thirty-
one names were secured by one Dick Kennedy,
a negro who could neither read nor write. He
appeared in court in jail clothes, being under
indictment for peddling
"dope." He was unable to
identify the petitions circu-
lated by him. Many men
testified that they did not
sign for a colored man,
showing that Kennedy did
not pass all the petitions to
which he certified by his
mark. Ten boys, ranging in
age from 8 to 15, were cir-
culators. We consider these
boys incompetent to exe-
cute the certificate on the
back of the petition. Sev-
eral men who could not
read nor write testified
they supposed their names
were being taken for a
census of the Roumanian
men in the house. Many
thought the petition was to
"bring back beer." One
man was told it was a
petition to pave an alley.
At one hearing inter-

preters had to be used for all but two men.

"The first man employed to take charge of
the circulation of the petition testified he gave
up the work because he could not find reliable
men to pass a petition of this kind. The atti-
tude of the man next in charge of the work
is shown by a remark made by him on the
stand that 'no honest petition was ever filed in
Lincoln.' We estimate that in Douglas County
alone just the forgeries would invalidate the
whole petition.

"When the intervening defendants, the anti-
suffragists, had their hearing they produced no
evidence but tried to show the 'good faith' of
the ladies responsible for the petition. They
talked at length regarding the organization, aim
and object of the anti-suffrage association.

THE Treasurer of the Society, Mrs. C. C.
George, whose name appears as witness
to the signatures of 81 certificates on the back
of Barclay's petitions, testified that she did not
remember him. On the back of each petition
is a certificate in which the circulator certifies
that each man signed his own name in the
presence of the circulator. The signature of
the circulator must have two witnesses. The
soft drink men testified that although the name
of Mrs. C. C. George appeared as witness to
their signatures as circulators they had never
seen her. Many other men testified to the same
thing regarding Mrs. George.

"The following question was asked of an-
other anti, wife of a rector: 'Had you known
that co-workers with you were Dick Kennedy,
an illiterate negro; Abie Sirian; Gus Tylee,
employee of Tom Dennison and a detective of
doubtful reputation; 40 soft drink men; Jess
Ross, colored porter for Tom Dennison; and
Jack Broomfield, a colored sporting man, and
for twenty years keeper of the most notorious
dive in Omaha; and many others of this char-
acter, would you have worked with them and
accepted the kind of petition they would
secure?' She replied: 'It would have made
no difference to me. I was working for a
cause and would not have cared who else was
working for the same.'"

THE official roster of the Nebraska Woman
Suffrage Association includes Mrs. Mary
Smith Hayward of Chadron, Dr. Inez Phil-
brick of Lincoln, and Mrs. Draper Smith of
Omaha, all honorary presidents; Mrs. W. E.
Barkley of Lincoln, president; Mrs. W. E.
Hardy of Lincoln, first vice-president; Mrs. H.
C. Sumney of Omaha, second vice-president;
Miss Ida Robbins of Lincoln, recording secre-
tary; Mrs. Charles Dietrich of Hastings, cor-
responding secretary; Miss Ellen Gere of Lin-

Mile Marks in Nebraska

April, 1917

Governor signs the Act of the 1917
Legislature which grants Nebraska
women presidential and municipal suf-
frage.

July, 1917

Antis file petition to have the grant
referred to a vote of the people.

February, 1918

Suffragists enjoin the submission of the
act to a referendum on the ground that
the petition is fraudulent.

May, 1918

Antis file answer in intervention.

January, 24, 1919

Judge Flansburg sustains the suffragist
contention of fraud and makes perma-
nent the temporary injunction, and the
suffrage law goes back into effect.

coln, treasurer; Mrs. Martin Brower of Fuller-
ton, first auditor, and Mrs. E. Ackerman of
Ainsworth, second auditor.

Serving in the double capacity of officer and
member of the Finance Committee were Mrs.
Hardy, Miss Robbins, Mrs. Brower, Dr. Phil-
brick, Mrs. Sumney, Mrs. Dietrich, Mrs. Ack-
erman, Mrs. Hayward and Mrs. Draper Smith.

It was these officers and members of the
Finance Committee who bore the brunt of the
responsibility throughout the months of the
petition campaign and the long legal battle.

It is interesting to note that at the last elec-
tion Mrs. Dietrich, the corresponding secretary
of the state suffrage association, ran for a po-
sition on the school board in her city. She was
defeated by a young German barber, and one
of the arguments used against the woman can-
didate was that she was too well educated.
Mrs. Dietrich is the wife of a former Governor
and United States Senator from Nebraska
and is active in civic and social service
work. She was one of the organizers of
a unique home which cares for old people per-
manently and gives temporary shelter to young
people and children. She is also secretary of
the Home Service Section of the County Red
Cross and spoke for practically every drive dur-
ing the war. During the recent influenza epi-
demic, having been appointed by the Mayor of
Hastings to aid in alleviating the situation, Mrs.
Dietrich established a diet kitchen and herself
went into the homes and nursed many patients.
All this, together with a course at Bryn Mawr,
only served, so it seemed, to make her too well
educated for the school board.

The Women's Relief Corps of Nebraska also
looks to a member of the suffrage board, Mrs.
E. Ackerman, for one of its most ardent
workers.

When Babushka Came

IT was a wonderful scene when Cathérine Breshkovsky, "the Grandmother of the Russian Revolution," arrived in New York city. The motley crowd that greeted her at the station included many different types—huge six-foot foreigners with shaggy beards, elegantly dressed Americans, bright-faced settlement workers, and tiny Russian children offering red flowers.

Madame Breshkovsky had written to us that she was greatly changed and that perhaps we should hardly know her. After her manifold sufferings and hardships it was to be expected that there would be a sad alteration in her. To our amazement she looked almost exactly the same as when she left America fourteen years ago. There was the same sturdy figure, the same cheery face, appearing hardly a day older; the same bright, loving, invincible smile. The only visible change was the loss of a few teeth, and when that sunny smile shone out the loss was speedily forgotten. She had more strength, too, than was to be expected. A constant stream of visitors poured in to see her at the Henry Street settlement—reporters in shoals, camera men, old friends, new admirers, millionaires, people from the slums, Americans who had read "The Little Grandmother," and representatives of various factions among the Russians. Although her friends tried to save her strength, she wanted to meet everybody, and she was especially pleased to greet young girls. After two days at the settlement she removed to an apartment at the Hotel Majestic, provided for her by some of the Russians.

Madame Breshkovsky says that she has come to America with two objects: first, to make known the truth about the present condition of Russia; second, to get help for the four million orphans and half orphans in that country. There are two million

Great is the good fortune of the Woman Citizen in being able to present this lovely, lively story of Russia's most famous woman, limned by America's most famous suffrage journalist. Only Babushka could furnish forth the opportunity for such a story as this. Only Alice Stone Blackwell could make so well considered use of the opportunity.—Ed.

children who have lost both their parents and two million more who have lost their fathers. Madame Breshkovsky hopes to secure in America money with which to feed, clothe and educate them. She also hopes to enlist a large group of young Americans to go back to Russia with her as teachers and nurses.

HER plan is to have the children brought up in farm colonies outside of the cities, and even of the villages, because this will be both more wholesome and less expensive. She says that Russia has plenty of fertile land, far off among the forests and the steppes, and that with tools and teachers the orphans can cultivate the ground in spring and summer and study in the autumn and winter.

She wants young American women who can teach cooking, sewing, knitting, laundry work, dairying and gardening; young men who are carpenters, smiths, farmers, foresters, brickmakers, steel workers, shoemakers and makers of furniture. With the money raised in America she hopes to provide tools and materials. The zemstvos also will contribute.

She says the young Americans who undertake this work with her must understand clearly in advance that it will involve much hardship and discomfort. They must be prepared to face intense cold in winter and very rude and primitive accommodations all the year around. Their living expenses will be provided, but the pay will be very small. There will be compensations, however. The Russians are good-hearted and affectionate people. The children will soon become attached to a good teacher or nurse, and she can exert a great influence over them.

When the people in Moscow and Petrograd were starving some benevolent women took several hundred orphans away into the country, where they could be fed, and this large group of children of all ages soon became like one big family, the older ones helping to care for the younger as if they were their own brothers and sisters.

For years Madame Breshkovsky has been preaching that the most important task for every country is to bring up its young properly and to give them a good education. The war and the post-war conditions in Russia have made this problem particularly acute. If these four million orphans are allowed to grow up at haphazard, Madame Breshkovsky says, they will become a generation of hooligans, who will be a curse to their country for many years to come.

"I HOPE that the Americans have the habit of being accurate and orderly," she said, "and that the young Americans who go to Russia will exact order and accuracy from the children. We Russians are nonchalant and negligent and lazy. We are inclined to read and dream and let our duties go." She added that the young Americans who undertake this long journey should go with the determination to devote at least one year to this work, and preferably two or three.

In regard to the general condition of Russia, she says that the

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country is ruined and starving. Industry is at a standstill. The state of the railroads is very bad and transportation will soon be entirely disabled. To make things worse, the vast length of the Trans-Siberian Railway runs through the dominions of several different dictators, and goods passing through have to pay tribute in the form of bribery to several different sets of officials. Those that get through profit only the speculators, who sell them to a few rich people at an exorbitant price. Vast quantities of supplies have been waiting at Vladivostok for years, unable to be moved. The effort to start trade with Russia will do no good, in her opinion, until there is a stable government and a restoration of the means of transportation.

Madame Breshkovsky says that there can be no stable government of Russia under any dictator. The minds of the great mass of the people are so thoroughly permeated with the idea of freedom and with the hatred of oppression that the rule of any dictator would be shortlived. Only a National Constitutional Assembly, elected by the whole people, she says, can give all Russia confidence and peace.

MADAME BRESHKOVSKY is very hot against the Bolsheviks, and it is natural that she should be. Feeling between the different factions in Russia runs high and is very bitter. The Socialist Revolution party, of which she was one of the founders and which she had devoted a large part of her life to building up, had a majority in the National Constitutional Assembly which the Bolsheviks forcibly dispersed. Her party's immediate program included universal suffrage, universal education, full freedom of speech and of the press, autonomy for the different nationalities embraced in the old Russian empire, and, above all, "the land to those who cultivate it." Beginning with this minimum, Russia, she believes, would have gone on by solid and steady steps to such a future as the Socialists desire. The seizure of the government by the Bolsheviks, whether well or ill meant, was followed by civil war in Russia, by German invasion, by the embroiling of Russia with her allies, and by widespread misery and starvation. The Russian revolution is as dear to Madame Breshkovsky as her own child, and she feels as wrathful as a mother whose child should have been seized by some unlicensed medical practitioner and subjected to an operation which has thrown the child into a long and wasting illness. That is about the light in which the situation presents itself to her; and she cannot think or speak of the Bolsheviks with patience.

Madame Breshkovsky denies emphatically that in Russia women are compelled to accept husbands chosen for them by the Government. She says "in one or two small soviets some such foolishness was proclaimed, but nobody would obey. It was never proposed for all Russia, and it was never carried out."

She also scouts the story that women have been made "common property" or are subjected to any governmental compulsion in matters of sex. She says "women have more freedom now in Russia than they ever had before."

So far as the suffrage question is concerned, Madame Breshkovsky says that when the revolution came equal suffrage for women was accepted by the men of all parties without opposition. It has had a profound effect upon the minds of the peasant women. They used to be often beaten by their husbands. Now the idea of freedom and equal rights has taken firm root among them. Instead of submitting to beatings from her husband the sturdy peasant woman defends herself, and sometimes she even beats him, especially if he is drunk. The fact that during the war the women have had to do every kind of work has also contributed to this sense of independence.

(Continued on page 761)

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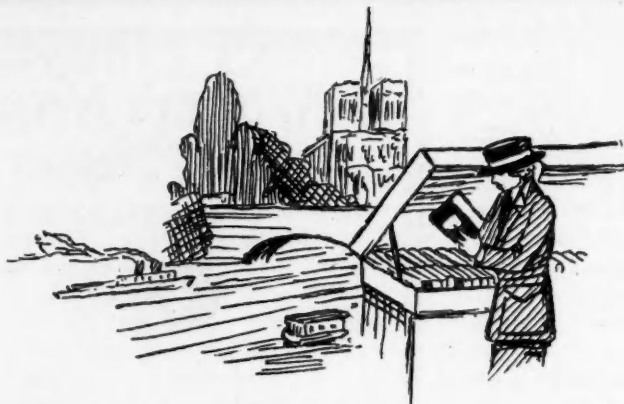
563—New Square neck, fine pin tucking. Back also tucked. Crochet buttons. 32 to 44. . . 3.95

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The Book Stall



ONE of the best ways to know what Senator Helen King Robinson has to say in *Preparing Women for Citizenship* (The Macmillan Co., N. Y.) is to bite into her crisp paragraphs. Crispness is wherein Mrs. Robinson scores. She has gone such a long way on the road to freedom herself that she does not want to set down old and flabby arguments which have been manhandled to death.

"No American, not even one left over from yesterday," she says, "can any longer find it stimulating to argue that women should—or should not—vote."

Having brushed the snows of yesteryear out into the sweepings for the sun to melt, she starts off with the question the Great War has dumped on the world—"Where do we go from here?" For women are here, the war has put them here, and every one is looking around with, What next? written in her eyes.

Senator Robinson's question is one "every thinking woman throughout the wide, wide world is asking herself today," says Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt—and adds, "Her clear, brilliant answers are bringing order out of the chaos of general thought." One of these answers is a specific for the disease that ails the world.

"Citizenship, whether for men or women, is not a periodic spasm at election time, but a daily chore," spelling hard study and much thinking.

After this woman must open her eyes very wide and see what is going on in her own town; she must find what her own opinions are and stabilize them before she commits them to the ballot box, and, finally, she should become what Mrs. Robinson calls "a stockholder in a Power Company," that is, she should line up with the most efficient civic organization she can find that is going her way. Having been a senator in a woman voting state, Mrs. Robinson just accepts the fact that all American women are soon to be transferred from the "associate to the active citizenship list," into which, by indirection, the Constitution of the United States, which left out "woman, as well as God," dropped her.

But her book is equally for the women still in the associate citizen class; for citizenship training may begin at any time. It has been

going on ever since women began to say, "The state—it is 'we.'" It will keep going on with every effort women make to become a part of the movement towards the "tall white vision" of social improvement.

HELEN KING ROBINSON'S contributions have been a striking feature of the *Pictorial Review* during recent months. Beginning a little tentatively, not wholly sure of editors or readers, Mrs. Robinson has become ever more attention-compelling in what she has to say and more and more diverting in her way of saying it, until today her "point of view" can be accounted possessed of a particular potentiality, something that in its fullest realization promises to stand forth as woman's own thought. As reflected through the medium of current literature at least woman's own thought is very little her own. Rather it is what some man editor thinks the readers of his magazine think they want her to think. The magazine world is full of men editors of that ilk, which makes it pleasant to be able to point to an exception—Mr. Arthur Vance of the *Pictorial Review*. Of all the men editors of women's magazines, Mr. Vance stands very much alone in a spirit of daring that sustains him apparently in giving women writers their head as he commissions them with some high adventure in interpreting the woman spirit of the times.

At a time when suffrage was a far call from the outermost West, he sent interpreters out after it and let it dominate his magazine for months. Of all the men editors he may be expected to be the one to value each new aspect of the woman movement in unafraid and fair fashion as that movement works itself out in twentieth century expression.

It is perhaps a pity that Mr. Vance's editorial progressiveness is not stressed in the name of his magazine. "The *Pictorial Review*" can't be called a very definitive name for a magazine to which the modern woman is to turn for highly specialized interpretation. But don't be deflected by the name. In the magazine itself you will now and then come across a new note that sings with challenge—and with promise.—Ed.

Welcome Home to Mrs. Whitehouse

THE New York State Woman Suffrage Party is hostess at a Welcome Home dinner, this Saturday evening, at the Hotel Biltmore, at seven o'clock, in honor of Mrs. Norman deR. Whitehouse, state chairman, who has just returned from an extended stay abroad, where she went on a special mission from the Creel Publicity Bureau. Following the dinner, Mrs. Whitehouse will speak on "Woman in Government Service Abroad."

Mrs. Raymond Brown, vice-president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, who also has just returned from Europe, where she has been in the interest of the Overseas Hospitals, will tell of the work accomplished by the hospitals.

"A New World for Women" will be the subject of the talk which will be given by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National Suffrage Association.

An added interest at the dinner will be the presence of Mme. Breshkovsky, the "Little Grandmother of the Russian Revolution."

Personal

ANNOUNCEMENT has been made of the resignation of Mrs. Ogden Mills Reid of New York as treasurer of the New York State Woman Suffrage Party because of other important demands upon her time. Mrs. Reid is one of the notable women in the suffrage movement, and her long-time contribution of time and talent has been of an extent and a capacity that cannot be computed in language. Her successor will be Mrs. Charles Noel Edge, who has been serving the Party ably as corresponding secretary.

FOR the first time in the history of Seattle financial circles, a woman has been elected a member of the board of directors of a bank. The National Bank of Commerce of that city, at a recent meeting of the stockholders, elected Mrs. Agnes H. Anderson a director.

THE LITTLE GRAND-MOTHER

of the

RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

Life and Letters of Catherine Breshkovsky, Compiled by Alice Stone Blackwell

Fifth Edition

LITTLE, BROWN & COMPANY

34 Beacon Street

Boston

Price \$2.50

When Babushka Came

(Continued from page 759)

SHE was asked whether the morality of the Russian women had deteriorated badly since the revolution, as has been reported. She answered: "The morals of the peasant woman are generally good. Here and there an exception is found, and this may have given a bad name to the whole, as one black sheep discredits the flock. But the women are, as always, a hundred times better than the men. Women everywhere must exert themselves to bring up their children, especially the boys, to be honest and good and moral."

She says, however, that there has been a deterioration of character in Russia since the abortive revolution of 1905 because of the lack of good education. Parents were so afraid that their children would imbibe revolutionary ideas that they encourage them to study anything and everything except the welfare of the people, so that the young generation (among the educated classes) has "all sorts of diplomas," but very little strength of character or enthusiasm for human welfare. Corruption has been increased by the war, by the conditions that have followed the war, and by the intrigues of German agents.

IT was a great privilege to be much with Madame Breshkovsky during the first few days after her landing. It was an especial delight to watch her meeting with some of her old friends and colleagues. The light upon their faces was beautiful. Particularly touching was the meeting between her and George Kennan. He had been absent in Japan when she was in America before, and they had not seen each other since they parted in the icy wilderness of Siberia thirty-five years ago. At that time she said to him:

"Mr. Kennan, we may die in exile, and our children may die in exile, and our children's children may die in exile; but something will come of it at last."

He wrote that when he left her he felt that his standards of courage and fortitude had been raised for all time, "and raised by the hand of a woman."

Now they met again, when the heads of both were gray, after the revolution had come and the rule of the Czar had been swept away forever. They approached each other with shining faces and embraced, and then the "Grandmother" executed a little dance. Her joy easily takes this form. She has grown very hard of hearing, but the feet that have marched for thousands of miles over the snows of Siberia and many more thousands through the thorny paths of a revolutionist missionary, are still light enough to "trip it." Again and again during these few days we have seen her literally "dancing and prancing."

She does not wish for armed intervention by the Allies in Russia. In spite of the dark picture that she draws of the present condition of her country, her faith in an ultimate happy future for Russia is still as strong as ever. The friends of freedom in Russia must knuckle down anew to hard work, she says, but the end is sure.

ALICE STONE BLACKWELL.

Out of the West

(Continued from page 755)

they have attempted something that is beyond their ability to do, and they seize the first convenient pretext for laying the failure to circumstance."

Miss Miller reflected. "I believe that is more or less true," she replied. "I never gave up in despair, though things looked pretty black at times, because I had my voice and believed that the rest was a matter of my own determination and will to work. I can't say now how far success will go. I can only say that I am willing to make any sacrifice and that I can supply the work and the will. I'll go just as far as these two things, acting on my voice, will let me."

AT this point in the conversation, various persons who had been awaiting their turn to meet the young singer entered the room and the interview was cut short. It has its point, however. A tremendous amount of disappointment and a tremendous amount of wasted energy are generated by young people in not trying to get competent criticism in the early stages of a career. Friends are quite honest in their compliments, but they know nothing about the matter. The only competent judge of a voice is a cold-blooded, disinterested person who knows good voices from bad and will give an honest opinion. The rest is for the secret soul of the possessor. Only she can measure her own capacity for endurance, for bearing up under strain and disappointment, for subordinating her other wishes and desires to one purpose in her life. Only she can gauge what success is worth to her. Only she can be sure of how far a measure of success can compensate her for what she must resign to obtain it. Miss Miller's wholesome, bright-eyed appearance speaks for the fact that she has found a great deal of happiness in possessing a fixed objective and in working for it. If only every woman would have an objective—not necessarily a career, but a determination to make the best out of any gift she may have, whether it be for darning socks or dusting furniture or managing a house or just making life pleasant and easy for the man who is her means of support! It is the haphazardness of women's lives that makes their tragedy. It is the lack of any fixed and dominating purpose which makes women an easy prey to the temptations of idleness, extravagance, and the desire for nervous excitement. Every woman should make a point of keeping constantly in mind that statement of Barrie's to the effect that, when he had nothing else on hand, no one yielded more blithely to temptation than Sentimental Tommy, and none was stronger to resist it when he had something else in view.

M. H. F.

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grade foods at moderate prices.Does the
South Want
Suffrage?

these bodies represented one phase of the suffrage activities carried out during Mrs. Cunningham's regime. In the meantime the suffragists found time to be leaders in war service work.

THESE were some of the features brought out on January 10 at what was said to be the best suffrage convention ever held in North Carolina. A big feature of the convention was the address by William Jennings Bryan. The Governor of the state, all the state officials, prominent members of the Legislature and thousands of other men and women were present at the mass meeting.

Miss Gertrude Weil of Goldsboro, who succeeds Mrs. Cunningham, comes to her new duties well equipped for leadership. The Daily Record in closing its article on the convention says:

"Miss Weil is the best answer to the politicians' objection that southern women do not want to vote, and the Legislature now in session in Raleigh is about ready to capitulate and admit that if a woman says she will she will."

Addresses Tennessee Legislature

THE Legislature of Tennessee was urged to memorialize Congress on behalf of the Federal Amendment in a stirring address delivered by Mrs. T. T. Cotnam of Little Rock, Ark., before a joint session of the legislative body on January 23. At the conclusion of the address the legislators extended a rising vote of thanks to Mrs. Cotnam on motion of Representative J. F. Griffin. A committee composed of Senators Miller, Carter, and Clark and Representatives Griffin, Montgomery, and Odle escorted Mrs. Cotnam to the platform. Mrs. Cotnam, who is a member of the Board of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, was accompanied by a number of prominent suffragists. Mrs. Leslie Warner, President of the Tennessee Equal Suffrage Association, introduced Mrs. Cotnam to the assembled solons.

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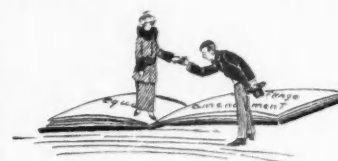
Illustrated Booklet gladly sent upon request.

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JOHN P. TOLSON, Manager.**North Carolina Suffrage Story**

THE outlook for equal suffrage in North Carolina is brighter than ever before in the history of the movement," says the Greensboro Daily Record in an enthusiastic review of the recent convention of the State Suffrage Association. This gratifying growth of public sentiment on the question of suffrage is accredited in a large measure to Mrs. John S. Cunningham of Durham, retiring president of the organization.

Mrs. Cunningham took the presidency two years ago with a depleted treasury. The treasurer's report at that time showed that \$90 had passed through her hands. During the year just closing Mrs. Cunningham and her officers expended for their suffrage work something over \$900, which had been contributed and paid into the treasury during the year. To the Women's Overseas Hospitals the North Carolina association contributed \$350, the remaining fund in the treasury going to state and national work.

Something of the growth of suffrage sentiment in North Carolina may be judged from the thousands of men and women who have spoken through resolutions in favor of suffrage for women. Among the large organizations taking such action within the past year were the Republican State Convention, representing 150,000 voters; the Durham County Convention, representing 50,000 persons; the Fifth Congressional District, representing 300,000 persons; the Farmers' Union, representing 25,000 farmers; the Women's Federated Clubs of North Carolina, representing 8,000 women, and the Trained Nurses' Association. The action of



Mrs. Cotnam told of the rapid growth of suffrage throughout the world and the part women are taking in world development. She pointed with pride to the tremendous strides made by suffrage in Arkansas and urged Tennessee, its neighbor, to follow Arkansas' example.

At the conclusion of Mrs. Cotnam's address, Mrs. Guilford Dudley of Nashville, a vice-president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, was called upon for a talk.

Mrs. Cotnam delivered the principal address the following evening at the mass meeting which featured the convention of the City Suffrage Association of Nashville.

Mrs. Reau E. Folk the newly elected chairman of the association, presided at the evening session. Mrs. Leslie Warner, one of the speakers of the evening closed her eloquent address with the hope that the senior Senator from Tennessee would still be reached by the voice of the people.

Mrs. Guilford Dudley spoke of the new world problems and expressed the belief the South would meet the new demands and become indeed a true new South.

"It will be a wonderful inheritance to one's children to have had a share in the victorious struggle for the franchise," said Mrs. Cotnam in the course of her address. "There are many patriotic societies in this country, but nothing is heard of societies of descendants of those people in this country who in revolutionary times had no part in achieving American liberty. Those who help the movement now are like the boys who fought in France helping to win hu-

man liberty. Enlist in the army which will bring about freedom for all the women of America."

The report of the work accomplished by the City Suffrage Association during 1918 was made by Mrs. W. J. Morrison, chairman, during the business sessions which were held at the Hotel Hermitage following a luncheon and a program of talks. The association is entirely out of debt and has a registered membership of 1,475.

The election of officers for the ensuing year included: Mrs. Reau E. Folk, chairman; Mrs. Harry W. Evans, honorary chairman; Mrs. James S. Frazier, first vice-chairman; Mrs. Frank Avent, second vice-chairman; Mrs. Katherine Allen, third vice-chairman; Miss Louise Lindsley, fourth vice-chairman; Mrs. A. C. S. Jackson of the First Ward, fifth vice-chairman; Miss Patti Ready West, recording secretary; Miss Moe Selley, treasurer; Mrs. Lyon Childress, auditor. Chairman Standing Committees: Mrs. Lou Lusky, finance; Mrs. Alex Fall, literature; Mrs. R. A. Henry, membership; Mrs. Joseph Gray, meetings.

Never Give Up

(Continued from page 751)

the circulators appeared on the petitions they turned in.

Meanwhile the attorneys for the anti-suffragists had filed with the Secretary of State a demand that he comply with that section of the referendum law which requires him to send to each voter a statement of the proposition upon which he is to vote—although this one never reached him—thus entailing a useless expense upon the state of \$5,000. As illustrating the desire of the opposition to make the challenge of their referendum petition costly the attorneys who appeared for them, in a number of the hearings, were instructed to enter a long series of objections to every question asked by the attorneys for plaintiffs. These appear in full in the record of testimony which will have to be paid by one side or the other. At one hearing a new attorney appeared who had evidently not been fully instructed. He did not make the usual objections. At recess, however, he had apparently been informed of his sin of omission, as he asked leave to have the formal objections entered to the questions asked and to which he had not objected at the time.

The case was tried before Judge Leonard A. Flansburg of Lincoln, and he was compelled to make his decision at a date sufficiently separated from that of the election to enable the Secretary of State to advise the county clerks who make up the ballot as to what should be done with the referendum. Judge Flansburg held that the plaintiffs had made out a prima facie case and were entitled to a temporary injunction restraining the Secretary of State from placing the referendum on the ballot. At the same time he held that the defendants were entitled to present their case, and so enjoined

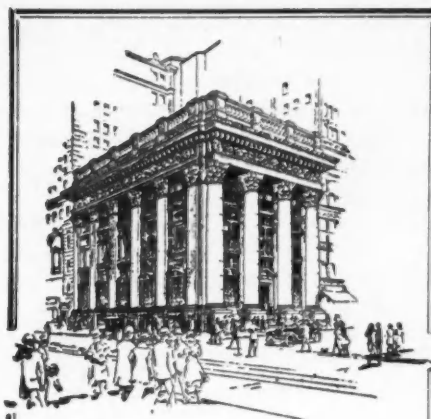
the women from voting at the coming election, a power that the attorney for the suffragists advise he did not possess, since no such order had been prayed for. The court took the position that the referendum petition could be submitted at the general election in 1920 if the defendants were able, in the interim, to make such a showing as destroyed the case made out by the plaintiffs.

An appeal was at once taken to the supreme court by the anti-suffragists. For them appeared one of the leading corporation attorneys of the state, who argued to the supreme court, which convened a few days before the election that under the Constitution the referendum must be submitted at the 1918 election or not at all, and also contended that if it were not so submitted the law remained forever suspended. The court refused to consider the appeal, holding that it had no jurisdiction since the lower court had not finally disposed of the case, having issued only temporary injunction. Thus the referendum petition was kept off the ballot at the November, 1918, election.

Later the supreme court handed down a formal opinion in which it is said that pending an action seeking an injunction to prevent the submission of a referendum proposition to the voters because of insufficiency of the petition and in which a temporary injunction was issued, the proposition should not be submitted and to that extent the Constitution is directory, not mandatory. It held further that in such cases the election, if not permanently enjoined, should be placed at a regular election thereafter. It also reiterated that it has no jurisdiction because no final order had been issued in the lower court.

ALL during the proceedings the suffragists had the cordial support of the greater part of the press of the state, several prominent editors giving valuable assistance in giving full publicity to the frauds and perjuries committed. The direction of the case was in the hands of Mrs. Edna M. Barkley, state president, who had been tireless in securing the legislative attention that resulted in the passage of the law itself. Besides the able assistance of Mrs. Sumney, and Mrs. Richardson, who devoted days and nights to their self-imposed task of running down the fraud in Omaha, the association had valuable and indispensable aid from such workers as Mrs. Katherine McGerr of Falls City, Mrs. Effie Lee of McCook, Mrs. Charles Deitrich of Hastings, Mary Smith-Hayward of Chadron, Mrs. B. J. Sasek of Wilbur, and a long list of association workers in the various counties (see list, page 764). C. A. Sorenson, the attorney in active charge of gathering most of the evidence and presenting it to the referee, performed services of the most far-reaching importance. Elmer E. Thomas, T. J. Doyle of Lincoln, and Francis

(Continued on page 764)



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A. Brogan of Omaha, leading members of the bar, responded to every call, Elmer Thomas presenting the evidence in Douglas country, and doing a considerable part of the trial work, and the two latter presenting the case in district and supreme court, where it finally won so far as the 1918 election was concerned.

Not the least of the services performed by the women of Nebraska in courageously attacking the fraud attempted and in going through with the case to the end was the fact that it will result, at the coming legislative session, in such amendments to the initiative and referendum law as will make impossible, as far as can be done, any such frauds in the future and warn corrupt individuals from trying thus to pervert the law. It was the first time a referendum petition had been attacked, and will compel those who may file such petitions in the future to buttress them thoroughly against attack; or, in other words, stop the filing of referendum petitions that are fraudulent and perjured in character.

Men and women who assisted in unearthing fraud and forgery in the securing of signatures to the woman suffrage referendum petition:

Mrs. E. C. Hartley, Lincoln; Mrs. Charles E. Dietrich, Hastings; Mr. O. A. Williams, Neligh; Mrs. W. L. McAllister, Neligh; Mrs. A. F. Garten, Albion; Mr. Lloyd Thomas, Alliance; Mrs. G. M. Ackerman, Ainsworth; Mr. Peter O'Brien, Kearney; Mr. M. A. Hosteller, Shelton; Mrs. R. C. Roper, David City; Mrs. Glen A. Bryant, David City; Mrs. Jessie Todd, Union, Neb.; Mrs. W. A. Robertson, Plattsmouth; Miss Grace P. Hedglin, Hartington; Mrs. C. H. Rockwell, Valentine; Mr. C. W. Hornaday, Sidney; Mrs. C. M. Brown, Sutton; Mrs. Margaret Orr, Clay Center; Mrs. Ewing, Fairfield; Mr. Jerry Janeczek, Schuyler; Mrs. Anna A. Wells, Schuyler; Mrs. H. F. Sass, R. F. D. No. 4, West Point; Mrs. W. T. S. Neligh, West Point; Mr. Martin Maloney, South Sioux City; Mrs. F. H. Jerome, South Sioux City; Mrs. Mary Smith-Hayward, Chadron; Mrs. E. G. Shamp, Chadron; Mrs. Mary Diehl, Crawford; Mrs. R. L. Pierce, Hemmingford; Mrs. Emma Stoeher, Rushville; Hon. H. P. Shumway, Wakefield; Hon. John E. Jacobson, Lexington; Mr. Davis, Homer; W. R. Clements, Fremont; Mrs. J. F. Hanson, Fremont; Mrs. E. Anderson, Fremont; Mrs. A. I. Holland, Fremont; Mrs. J. E. Daly, Fremont; Mrs. Mary Steyer, Exeter; Mr. Charles C. Smith, Exeter; Mr. Adam McMullen, Wymore; Mrs. Emma Grunkemeyer, Burwell; Mr. H. A. Edwards, Grand Island; Mrs. Lawrence Donald, Grand Island; Mr. William Suhr, Grand Island; Sarah Faith, Aurora; Mrs. Mae Burch, O'Neill; Mr. Fred Olsen, Farwell; Mr. J. C. Sorenson, Boelus; Mr. T. N. Bennitt, St. Paul; Mrs. E. R. Bee, Fairbury; Mrs. Maud

E. Bell, Tecumseh; Mrs. Lena M. Robb, Minden; Mrs. L. S. Needham, Norfolk; Mr. Elson H. Brewer, Meadow Grove; Mrs. Anna E. Paulsen, Genoa; Mrs. Lottie E. Luce, Fullerton; Mrs. Anna Kovanda, Table Rock; Mrs. D. J. Fink, Holdredge; Mrs. H. C. Collett, Holdredge; Mrs. Lance Hooper, Holdredge; Mrs. John Dahlstet, Holdredge; Mrs. M. F. Fleming, Woodville; Mrs. Henry Ragatz, Jr., Columbus; Mrs. C. D. French, Columbus; Mrs. Ella Lee, McCook; Amy Bosworth, McCook; Mrs. L. C. Church, McCook; Mrs. P. T. McGarr, Falls City; Mr. H. D. Curtis, Bassett; Mrs. B. J. Vasak, Wilbur; Mrs. Emma McDonald, Wahoo; Mrs. H. H. Steward, Gordon; Mrs. Vivian Norman Barto, Gordon; Mrs. Effie Jameson, Gordon; Mrs. Nellie Gardner, Rushville; Mrs. Isabelle Bul, Rushville; Mrs. A. S. Main, Loup City; Mr. Lamont L. Stephens, Loup City; Mrs. L. V. Solcumb, Loup City; Mrs. Effie M. Cooper, Loup City; Mrs. Bertha S. Waite, Loup City; Mrs. John P. Leininger, Loup City; Mr. Horace M. Davis, Ord; Mrs. J. P. Jensen, Blair; Miss Grace Ballard, Blair; Mrs. A. A. Wollert, Wayne; Mrs. James Brittain, Wayne; Charlotte M. White, Wayne; Mrs. B. A. Helt, Wayne; Mrs. Lula K. Boyce, Wayne; Mrs. F. P. Van Wickle, York; Effie E. Detrich, York; Mrs. A. E. Mead, York.

IF the antis are wise this will end what for them has been a costly lesson. They can

appeal to the Supreme Court, but they are not likely to do so in view of the revelations of the very thin ice on which they have been skating. Undoubtedly they have learned something new to them of the inviolability of referendum petitions by now.

"A regrettable incident of the investigation," says Mrs. Sumney, "was the light regard in which our opponents held the petition. It seemed to appeal to them as a mere scrap of paper."

Nobody objects to a referendum to the people when the conditions of a referendum are honestly complied with. But the stress is and must be on the "honestly." When a legislative act goes back to the people, it must be because the people, not special interests, hiding behind women's skirts, using and deluding women, demand the referendum.

The evidence is in. The judicial decision as to the fraud is rendered.

We are asked to believe that the women antis were not back of the fraud perpetrated.

We are trying to believe it.

MEANTIME, who and what were back of it? In a state which bears the political label of German-American brewers, a state in which the German-American Alliance has openly opposed woman suffrage, who and what were back of this intensive effort to rob women in broad daylight of the little mess of pottage the Legislature had bestowed?

WHO
and
WHAT
WERE
BACK
of the
OPPOSITION
in
NEBRASKA?



BACKBONE!



Correspondence



Men's Side "Piffle"

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

THE men's side of the Cleveland woman conductor's case is—Piffle. Introductorily you remark: "Organized laboring men have one very strong argument . . . when they take a stand in opposition to the employment of women in some line of industry. It is that capital is but exploiting unorganized women at the expense of the organized men."

Wherein lies the strength of this man-logic argument when one knows that all organized men and women—were once unorganized, and that to defeat the employers' nefarious plan it is but necessary to ask the unorganized women to join the existing organization? Aye, but there's the rub! Organized men may not be "devoid of love for women," yet they're very shy, to say the least, in asking them to share the benefits of their own organizations.

Secretary Reeves's letter is illuminating, in ways he never intended it to be. One could sympathize with his—and the men's—attitude toward the company's giving the women "special privileges in employment, which could not be done without imposing added burdens upon the motormen, as well as interfering with the seniority rights of the men," if the remedy—induction of these women into the union's rights and privileges—were not so patent. Said attitude is a strong argument, however, against laws making women's working conditions differ from those of men, for the existence of such laws would render impossible the reception into men's unions of women doing the same kind of work.

Mr. Reeves's reasons for believing the work unsuitable for a woman are naïve. Gymnasiums have "rocking horses" to produce the very jarring motion he says is injurious to women conductors, and all their own evidence points to improvement in health of the women so engaged, at least in New York.

After stating that his organization controlled the wage paid, Mr. Reeves says: "To say that the women were getting the same pay as men is absurd when it is understood that if the men had permitted, women would have worked for less." O Logic, erstwhile sole property of my sex, why desert Mr. Reeves in his hour of need—to prove a false position?

As to the dignity of the occupation, men and women together can uphold anything (even on a jarring car platform) more steadfastly than can either sex unaided.

New York.

JAMES J. MCCLAVE.

Enjoys A. S. B.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

I READ the *Woman Citizen* with great satisfaction and increasing interest every week, and enjoy especially the page which is filled with the articles from the pen of Alice Stone Blackwell. As I read the sketch of her gifted mother's life and efforts for the cause of woman as shown in the *Woman's Journal* established by Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell, I could not but hope that some day the appreciative and gifted daughter would prepare a volume containing the record of her mother's life and work, and adding some of her letters and lectures in regard to woman suffrage. What a valuable book it would be!

I can hardly help wishing that dear Lucy Stone could have lived to cast her vote for the New York governor, which it was my privilege and pleasure to do (as well as my duty) when our state was blest with the right of woman suffrage. In my ninetieth year my granddaughter and I went to the polls, together and cast our first votes. "Let us thank God and take courage!"

At the suggestion of my gifted and dear friend, Mme. Carlo Polifème (president of Le Lyceum) I wrote a few verses in reference to "Joan of Arc," and Mme. Polifème kindly consents to my request that they be offered to the editor of the *Woman Citizen*.*

May they help to inspire the women who may read them with a spirit of consecration and effort in behalf of everything which may help the cause of woman suffrage, and thus the good humanity! With best wishes for the sweep of the *Woman Citizen*.

PHEBE HANAFORD.

Basom, N. Y.

Minimum Wage

THE minimum wage board of the District of Columbia has just made a report in which it declares that a minimum wage of \$16 a week is required for women and girl workers of Washington who support themselves. This finding is based upon a survey made in 1916 for the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, and includes only those increases in the cost of living where the percentages are known. It does not include the increased railroad fare and other increases in the cost of candy, laundry and other items.

The board has divided the \$16 wage as follows: Board and room, \$9; clothing, \$3.85; other expenses, \$3.15. The shortage of labor

*[See next issue.—ED.]

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OUR Country, 'tis of Thee,
Sweet land of equality,
Of thee we hope.
We hope for Full Suffrage days
No more of the Senate's delays,
No more of devious ways
To thwart our cause.

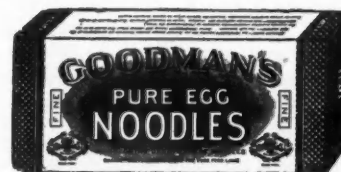
Our Country, 'tis of Thee,
Great land of democracy,
To thee we pray.
We pray that we may find
Patriots who will ever grind
Till Senators with one mind
Shall make us free.

Our Country, 'tis of Thee,
Love, life and liberty,
For thee we work.
We will work till daylight breaks,
Till right our land o'takes;
We will work for our children's sakes
Till justice rules.

Our Country, 'tis of Thee,
We stand for unity
In humanity's cause.
We will hope and work and pray
That soon may come that glad some day
When men to women will say
Your cause is just.

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during the period of the war compelled many industries to increase the wages of their women workers, but in some instances, it is said, trades requiring skilled workers have a maximum wage of \$12 a week for their women workers.



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Is There Room at the Top?

See Page 767.

Makes Plea for Suffrage

IN his address before the annual meeting of the Iowa State Teachers' Association at Des Moines recently A. M. Devoe, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, included a plea for woman suffrage in his recommendations for the welfare of the women of the state.

Hun and Hen

(AS SEEN FROM GEORGIA)

WHEN Hun-minded men and hen-minded women

Agree and coalesce,
High-minded men and free-minded women
Must linger in duress.

But, when Hun-minded men and hen-minded women

Are set at nil and nought,
Then high-minded men and free-minded women
Will win where they have fought!

A. H. G.

Columbus, Ga.

When a Fellow Found a Friend

THE Captain had sent for Pietro—Pietro the puzzle, who, after a hard day's work, cared for neither food nor sleep and whose whole bearing suggested to the Captain a "rendezvous with death" unhappily delayed. One needed help with a man like Pietro and much enlightenment and the Captain didn't hesitate to seek it where he had found it before.

Pietro was taken to the Y. W. C. A. Hostess House and lead up to a desk behind which sat an Association foreign-worker,—an Italian like himself. She did the rest. In less than an hour she had his unhappy story and had set in motion the forces that would make him happy. As she explained to the Captain later, Pietro was the most miserable man in camp for the most ancient of reasons: his wife was sick and had no money and he didn't know that there was any help at all or if there was, how to get it to her. All that Pietro was sure of was the long arm of the draft, which had reached out for him and whisked him away to war.

A few days later the Italian sat on the edge of a chair at the Hostess House, an eager smile reaching from ear to ear, and he listened to his countrywoman explain away his troubles. In the future his wife was to receive his allotment regularly from Uncle Sam, the Red Cross would see that her health was looked after and, with the aid of a worker from the International Institute, she would write him many letters. . . . The Captain's puzzle was solved, Pietro's happiness was safe and Uncle Sam's first line of defense was strengthened in another link.

Woman's place is in the home? Not at all—she does it up in a neat little package and takes it with her wherever she goes. That's why she makes a good citizen and can help make men better ones.

Opens Door to Women

THE University of Pennsylvania, for the first time in its history, will open its doors to women physicians who will act as internes. Two women students who will graduate in June have been chosen for internes.

IN the last election Ohio lost sight of its anti-suffragists and five of the successors are in favor of the amendment. This is said to put Ohio among the group of western and middlewestern states in favor of suffrage.—The Leader, Cleveland, Ohio.

Is There Room at the Top?

"Is there room at the top?"

It has been said often.

It stands at the top of life's pages for every aspiring youth to copy, like "honesty is the best policy" and "a man is known by the company he keeps."

But is there room at the top for women?

There's the rub!

The *Woman Citizen* is starting on a quest to sift the validity of the frequent statement that women are not to be found on the top of the ladder of achievement—economic, professional—but always gracefully draped about its lowest rungs. It wants to know whether this statement will really work out when put to the test. Some men, and some anti-suffrage women, have taken solid comfort in prattling that women have picked few plums out of the Jack Horner pie of success. The *Woman Citizen* has no quarrel with this point of view.

Do women like to sit back and watch Jack pull out his plums and say "What a good boy am I?"

Do women have heart-failure when they reach altitudes?

If sub-mortal or super-mortal logic is behind their willingness to keep away from the top, let's by patient research find it out.

Are women smiling up their sleeves all this while, having some divine knowledge of their own about what they want to do?

Victor Hugo said that human beings confound the rays of the stars in the heaven with "the rays that a duck's foot makes in the mud"—and that they call the latter success. Given a special knowingness on woman's part as between stars and ducks feet, will our answer establish that woman brings into the work world her own way of valuing place and that what men know as the top she recognizes as only a sort of half way station?

Are we going to get tangled up in some mazy conflict between psychic values and material values?

Or is there just a straight plain answer for women as for men on the level of the ordinary business or professional success and the way to make it?

We want to know.

You want to know.

Let's go after the answer.

There are several preconceived opinions which are not to be carried as excess baggage on this quest for information—among them such stale notions as that "any woman could excel any man if she only had half a chance" and that there is a conspiracy to prevent her from getting even that half. Men may be head hunters who shoot down every woman whose annual salary rises above the first four figures. Perhaps so, perhaps not. Perhaps the comfort of having their own daughters and sisters "get along" in the world may give some men enough economic relief to make up for any little nips of jealousy over the lost prestige of men as the successful sex.

Perhaps and perhaps! What's the truth?

The *Woman Citizen* will mount no Rosinante and will tilt with no windmills. It is going to run a modest self-starting flivver on a quest of its own. It has no desire to chase reluctant womanhood up a ladder of fame or—up a tree. If women like to sit on the ground and watch the procession mount above them, there is doubtless a deep-seated reason for it. Let's try to find it.

At any rate the *Woman Citizen's* car will be off shortly on an adventurous excursion to find out whether room at the top includes women—and if not, why not.

Come along with us.

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winning equal rights and especially to winning
equal suffrage for women, and published
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to 1917. Continuing also the Woman Voter,
and the National Suffrage News. As the
official organ of the National American
Woman Suffrage Association, the *Woman
Citizen* tries to maintain intimate contact be-
tween the Association and its two million
members throughout the United States.

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In the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating
memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the
cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's
irresistible progress.

The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie
Chapman Catt, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Miss
Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, and
Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

Vol. III, February 15, 1919. No. 38.

CIRCULATION CONTEST

Because of the failure of the contestants in the Woman
Citizen Circulation Contest to name the County and the Local
Club which should have credit for subscriptions, it proves im-
possible for the Woman Citizen to make the award of the
\$25.00 prize to the County and the award of the \$25.00 prize
to the Local Club sending in the largest number of subscrip-
tions over one hundred, in accord with the announced terms
of the contest.

Also, since no one qualified as a co-operating subscriber,
everybody instructing that subscriptions be credited directly
to the state association, we are unable to make that award as
originally planned. By the terms of the contest no one could
be a cooperating subscriber in a state that had already taken
up the work in an official way.

The fairest adjustment seems to be to award the second,
third and fourth prizes to the states finishing in the second,
third and fourth positions in the contest. Authority to make
this change, under certain conditions, is given us in a ruling
just received from the post office department. The ruling
follows:

"You are informed that in the next issue of the publication
you should carry a notice to contestants to the effect that un-
less the desired information is furnished, you will proceed to
award the 2nd and 3rd prizes to the state associations in those
states from which the 2nd and 3rd largest number of subscrip-
tions were received. After several weeks have been allowed
to elapse from the date of the publication of this notice you
may proceed to award those prizes as stated in the notice, pro-
vided sufficient data has not been furnished by contestants to
enable you to award those prizes in accordance with the terms
of the original order."

In compliance with this ruling we publish the proposed
change, which will become effective in due time, unless the
data is forthcoming.

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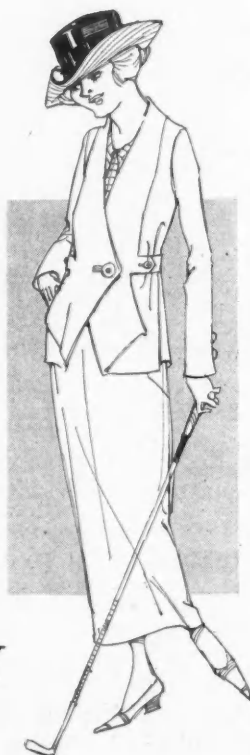
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The Woman Citizen

The Woman's National Political Weekly

NEW STYLE VOL. III

FEBRUARY 15, 1919

NUMBER 38

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

CALL TO CONVENTION

To the Fiftieth Annual Convention and double anniversary of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

1869-1919

The National American Woman Suffrage Association calls its State Auxiliaries through their elected delegates to meet in annual Convention at St. Louis, Statler Hotel, March 24th to March 29th, 1919, inclusive.

In 1869, Wyoming led all the world by the grant of full suffrage to its women. The Convention will celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of this event.

In 1869, the National and the American Woman Suffrage Associations were organized—to be combined twenty years later into the National American Woman Suffrage Association. The Convention will celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the organization which without a pause has carried forward, during half a century, the effort to secure the enfranchisement of women.

As a fitting memorial to a half century of progress, the National American Woman Suffrage Association invites the women voters of the fifteen full suffrage States to attend this anniversary Convention, and there to join their forces into a League of Women Voters, one of whose objects shall be to speed the suffrage campaign in our own and other countries.

The Convention will express its pleasure with suitable ceremonials that since last we met the women of England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Canada and Germany have received the vote; but it will make searching inquiry into the mysterious causes which deny patriotic, qualified women of our Republic "a voice in their own government," while those of monarchies and erstwhile monarchies are honored with political equality.

Suffrage Delegates, Women Voters, there is need of more serious counsel than in any previous year. It is not you, but the Nation that has been dishonored by the failure of the 65th Congress to pass the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Let us inquire together. Let us act together.

National American Woman Suffrage Association

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, *President*

"They Shall Not Pass"

"THEY SHALL NOT PASS," said the French General to his men when the German enemy was sweeping forward and when their successes meant the triumph of autocracy over democracy.

"They shall not pass," said the minority of the United States Senate, speaking of the army of American women marching forward to political freedom. "Liberty is for men, not for women."

And these two incidents passed into history, both to become immortal; the one to be repeated again and again whenever brave souls are engaged in the defense of human right; the other preserved as a curious and incomprehensible effort to stay the onward tide of the inevitable. The first is a point of light in a long and terrible struggle for human liberty; the other an outcropping of reaction, showing the presence of flaw in the foundation of a nation professedly democratic.

"They shall not pass," and they who spoke numbered thirty-three. Where lies the responsibility? Men and nations are not thinking the same thoughts in 1919 that were common in 1914. All the world around they have given evidence of this fact. Why are American men in high places still thinking and acting by the 1914 standard? And who are they?

These thirty-three, by standing firmly together, twelve Republicans and twenty-one Democrats, believed they could support each other and draw off the criticism from any one among them.

But since a single vote only was required, each of the thirty-three assumed the responsibility of defeating the amendment and should be held as accountable as though he were the only man.

New York men and women must lay the responsibility at the door of Mr. Wadsworth, Republican.

When the United States entered the war, he was a member of the state militia. He promptly resigned, and thus refused as a volunteer to make the supreme sacrifice in the defense of his country which he later voted should be made *compulsory* upon all other men of similar age and condition of health. He found an excuse by application of which he need not perform the patriotic duty which his vote made obligatory upon other men, and that excuse was that in his judgment his services were worth more to his country in the Senate than in the military field! The war has come and gone and one may ask him to prove this value to his country.

WHAT did he do in the Senate? Is there a single good measure necessary to the welfare of his country or the conduct of the war which he has introduced and carried through Congress?

Not one.

Is there any kind of measure which became a law by his single vote?

Not one.

Has he made a single compelling speech; written a single irresistible argument on behalf of any public measure which has tipped the scales and put it on the federal statutes?

Not one.

How, then, has he demonstrated that his services in the Senate were worth more to his country than the performance of military duty?

His record shows but a single performance and that act must be the answer. Single-handed and alone this hero of the war blocked the enfranchisement of American women!! Had he re-

By Carrie Chapman Catt

EVEN in the reactionary recesses of the United States Senate, woman suffrage is not stationary. The vote last Monday showed progress since the last vote on October 10. On the last named date the Senate defeated suffrage by two votes. On Monday it was defeated by only one vote.

it in the United States Senate!

An eloquent statesman of South Carolina, trying to prevent the adoption by his state of the United States Constitution in the long ago, climaxed his appeal with the words: "I wish no other epitaph than: 'Here lies the man who opposed the constitution because it was ruinous to the liberty of America.'" The world still laughs at that man's stupid and excited fears, but the constitution marches gloriously on.

One feels that Mr. Wadsworth, being mentally as blind as the gentleman of South Carolina, has been dreaming over his epitaph also. "Here lies the man who saved the nation from the curse of woman suffrage." Grand! He has earned his epitaph. Let him have it and women voters, amid roars of laughter in every state in the Union, will preserve it for him through generations yet to come.

Surely Mr. Wadsworth must find support somewhere for his strange attitude, says the amazed public. Perhaps. Let the public find it.

In 1917 by a majority of over 100,000 the men of his state enfranchised women.

In 1917 the women who had conducted the triumphant campaign met in convention and pledged "their lives, their votes and their sacred honor" to stand by the Federal Suffrage Amendment and the enfranchisement of the women of the entire country.

In 1918 the Legislature of New York state honored this righteous demand by a resolution calling upon Mr. Wadsworth to vote for the measure.

In 1918 (September) in convention assembled, Mr. Wadsworth's party passed a resolution calling upon him to vote for the measure.

In 1918 the National Republican Committee, by resolution, called upon him and other Senators to vote for the measure.

In 1919 his Legislature again asked him by resolution to vote for the measure.

YET, while drawing a government salary, made up in part of taxes upon women's income, he has used his time and opportunities not in the service of his country, but in activities to deny those whose taxes support him "the right of consent."

Michigan was flooded with congressional opposition speeches sent out at government expense under the Wadsworth frank.

He joined the opposition forces to persuade the New Hampshire Senate not to instruct Mr. Moses, by repudiating the right of the National Republican Committee to ask Senators to vote for the suffrage measure.

He has spent days in active effort to hold the opposition minority intact, and this to so complete a neglect of his duties as representative of New York that it is commonly said that the state has but one Senator. One Senator's office is crowded with work, while the other obviously has little business.

When the voters at the polls, two succeeding Legislatures, and the State Convention of his own party, have asked a man to vote in a certain way and yet he refuses, one of two conclusions is established. Either he repudiates the fact that ours is a representative government, and sets himself up as a Kaiser to make

or unmake constitutions as he, not his electors, desire; or he represents some secret, invisible interest which holds him fast. In either case, he does not represent New York, a fact all voters should understand.

FOR the women of Idaho and the great free West, there is but one who is responsible and that man is Mr. Borah, also Republican. His state was among the first to give votes to women. He was a private citizen then and was opposed to woman suffrage. Later, he announced his conversion and made an occasional suffrage speech. The party platform upon which he was elected in 1918 strongly urged the Federal Suffrage Amendment. The Legislature of his state in 1919 asked him by resolution to vote for it. Yet he voted against, and by his single vote repudiated the instructions of his state and denied to women the first fundamental of all human rights in a Republic.

When a man claims to advocate a measure and yet refuses to further it by his vote, no one can believe his advocacy sincere. He says the method is a matter of principle; but he has convinced no one, since his practice contradicts his talk. He voted to submit the prohibition amendment. Woman suffrage has become a question of national honor and patriotic men do not higggle over methods.

Does some invisible mesh hold him entrapped? That is a question the great West should ask and it should uncover the answer.

The cases of these two Republicans are more noxious than any others, because they are the only Senators from enfranchised states who voted against the amendment, and because in every way they knew how their states had instructed them to vote for it.

Two-thirds of the Republican Senators voted for the amendment and Mr. Will Hays, chairman of the National Republican Committee, urged all Republicans to vote for it, but registered no effect on the minority of twelve.

WHAT of the Democrats? The President and the Democratic National Committee urged all Democrats to support the amendment, but with notable exceptions "the solid South" refused to budge. Those who voted against were: Alabama, Bankhead, Underwood; Delaware, Wolcott, Saulsbury; Florida, Trammell, Fletcher; Georgia, Hardwick, Smith; Louisiana, Gay; Maryland, Smith; Mississippi, Williams; Missouri, Reed; North Carolina, Overman, Simmons; South Carolina, Smith; Tennessee, Shields; Kentucky, Beckham; Virginia, Martin, Swanson. Thus nineteen of the twenty-one noes came from the South. The other two were Hitchcock of Nebraska and Pomerene of Ohio.

The South did not oppose the Federal Amendment on account of state rights, as fourteen of the nineteen Senators voted to submit the prohibition amendment, three voted no, one is holding a position made vacant since the vote was taken on prohibition, and one did not vote. When North Carolina says it is constitutional and logical to put prohibition over on Connecticut, but that it is unconstitutional and illogical for Connecticut to put woman suffrage over on North Carolina, we have a case of razzle dazzle that makes the brain reel giddily, but no one is convinced.

As a matter of fact, these southern Senators had a reason and they were frank enough about it. In effect they claim to believe that the white women of the South are so utterly lacking in intelligence, public spirit and political comprehension that they would not use the ballot if they had it. On the other hand, they claim that the colored women are so superior to the colored men, as well as to white women, that they would vote and that they

would know for what and why they were voting. In the estimation of these gentlemen the South, through the influence of the black women, would become Republican. This has been said over and over again by southern Senators.

Now the most curious and amazing part of the story is that the anti-suffragists, Mrs. Wadsworth, president, mainly northern Republicans, have circulated southern Legislatures and the Senate with some bushels, if not tons, of paper at the expense of funds obviously drawn from northern Republican pockets. This surplus of paper has carried two messages, put forth in varying fashion: "Stick to your noble tradition of state rights." "Beware of the black vote"; this last was accompanied by a picture of colored women voting in Chicago—truly a Prussianesque sort of propaganda.

FOR southern women the responsibility falls heavily upon their section and many, many women of those states are intelligent, educated, broad-visioned, noble, public-spirited and as fine a type as any land or generation ever knew, whose souls are lacerated with the anguish of this fact.

Neither Democratic nor Republican party as such is blameable. In both parties suffrage has able and fearless friends, whose sacrifices, whose Herculean efforts will not soon be forgotten. They have made the suffrage cause their cause and nobly have they championed it.

It was the combined minority, led by Majority Leader Martin of Virginia and Minority Leader Lodge of Massachusetts, both men with minds which have registered no forward movement for a generation, which knew no North, no South, no Party, no Church, no Past, no Future, but merely acted in unison to the order, "They shall not pass."

"They shall not pass?"

Well, gentlemen, we shall see. Men come and men go, but truth goes marching on. Not a banner will be furled, not a marcher will break step, not a friend will desert, not a political party will falter, not a newspaper will lapse into silence. All the way down the lines leading from Washington to New England, to the Solid South and to the Great West, those with ears to the ground will hear the tramp, tramp of millions of feet, responding to the call Forward, Forward March! And there will be men's feet, women's feet, soldiers' feet and children's feet in that mighty tramp. It is the tramp of the people.

"They shall not pass?"

They *shall* pass! and soon.

What's the Matter with Oklahoma?

THERE are fifteen full suffrage states. Fourteen of them, through their legislative bodies, recently called on the Senate of the United States to pass the Federal Suffrage Amendment on to the states for ratification. One state only—one of the newcomers of 1918, Oklahoma—failed to memorialize the Senate in behalf of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Even in Oklahoma the House passed the memorial by resolution, House Concurrent No. 7, introduced by Newman, Hodges and Bobo and passed by the House the day it was introduced, the 15th. On the 20th of January it was transmitted to the Senate and referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections. The chairman of this committee is Mr. W. C. McAlister.

Mr. McAlister was the chairman of the Board of Elections whose hostility to the full suffrage measure cost Oklahoma so

dear at the November, 1918, elections. At that time the voters of Oklahoma went on record as overwhelmingly in favor of the woman suffrage measure which had been referred to them. For days and weeks Mr. McAlister sought some interpretation of facts and figures whereby the suffrage victory could be counted out. He failed in this high endeavor, although among other determinations that came to expression on the part of the opposition, there was a determination to count mutilated and void ballots as part of the silent vote and another determination to make the soldier vote count against suffrage. It will be recalled here that certain camps for the soldiers were not even provided with the woman suffrage measure as one on which a ballot was to be cast.

In view of past history, Mr. McAlister's evident intention toward the Oklahoma memorial was watched with interest by suffragists the country over.

Indiana and Vermont

YOU know that suffrage map—that victory map—we published so proudly in the WOMAN CITIZEN's issue of December 7, 1918?

Well, throw it away. It is no good—short two states in the presidential suffrage list. Hardly had the WOMAN CITIZEN gone to press last week when word came that Indiana's Legislature had given women presidential suffrage on February 5th. Next day Vermont women were given the right to vote for the next president.

The accession of Indiana to the suffrage ranks adds over 800,000 women of voting age to the 11,000,000 and over who will be entitled to vote for the next president of the United States—approximately 12,000,000 in all, nearly half of the total number of the women over voting age in the country. Indiana has 15 electoral college votes. What adds special favor to the victory in Indiana is that the state is delicately poised in its presidential vote. In 1904 it gave a Republican plurality of 94,000. In 1908 the Republican plurality slumped to ten thousand. In 1912 the Democratic plurality was nearly 120,000 over the Progressive ticket, which ran second. In 1916 the Republicans recouped their loss to the Democrats and Progressives with 7,000 to spare.

The Vermont Senate passed a presidential suffrage bill on January 29 by a vote of 20 to 10, and the House concurred on February 6 by a vote of 120 to 90. When the Vermont Senate passed the bill, press dispatches stated that that ended the state's legislative procedure on the bill. This was an error, as the bill had not at that time scored its victory in the Lower House.

Vermont women were already possessed of state-wide municipal suffrage, so that the measure of their enfranchisement is now very large.

With her 15 electoral college votes Indiana brought the total number of electoral college votes in the choosing of which women have a voice to 228. The acquisition of Vermont brings the total number to 232.

There are 128,000 women over voting age in Vermont. They swell the total number of women who will vote for the next president to approximately 12,000,000, nearly half of the total number of the women over voting age in the United States.

The total number of states in which women now have presidential suffrage is 23. The total area of these states in square miles is about 2,000,000.

The representative of the National American Woman Suffrage Association who has had charge of the field work in Vermont is Mrs. Halsey W. Wilson, Corresponding Secretary. One of the

Vermont women to whom great credit also attaches for the successful development in that state is Dr. Grace Sherwood.

The full story of the Vermont victory will appear in next week's issue.

At the last moment comes word that Wisconsin women have been given presidential suffrage. It seems too good to be true, but if it is true we can bear it!

Ohio's Boost

OHIO gave a boost to the Federal Suffrage Amendment, when its Legislature, by a large majority, last week passed a resolution, calling on Senators Pomerene and Harding, to vote for the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

Senator F. E. Whittemore, the Republican floor leader, sponsored the resolution which thereupon went to the Assembly and was passed by an overwhelming vote. The Whittemore resolution was a signal achievement and suffragists all over the country felicitated the Ohio women who, led by Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, worked so triumphantly to get the progressive men of the Legislature to take some step to put Ohio in the vanguard in favor of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Senator Whittemore and the other men who led the resolution campaign score heavily for the Republican party by their progressiveness.

Among the workers of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, who were active on Mrs. Upton's staff of legislative helpers, were Miss Rose Moriarty and Miss Elizabeth J. Hauser.

Here is the concluding clause of the Whittemore resolution which was so important to the women of the nation at the crucial moment:

"Whereas, the governmental, industrial and social program of the people of this country is of as great concern and interest to the women of the country as to the men, therefore:

"Be it resolved, That the Senate and House of Representatives of the state of Ohio do hereby request the two United States Senators from the state of Ohio to vote for and assist in the passage of a resolution now pending in the United State Senate for the submission to the several states of the federal amendment granting the right of suffrage to women, and that a copy of this resolution, signed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the president of the Senate, be forwarded to each of the two United States Senators, Warren G. Harding and Atlee Pomerene."

THE Woman Citizen

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Democracy Downed in the Senate

Special Washington Correspondence to the Woman Citizen

THE announcement by Senator Jones, chairman of the woman suffrage committee, on the afternoon of February 3d that he would call up the woman suffrage amendment one week later, on February 10th, fell as a bombshell in the United States Senate. It had been said that Senator Jones would never take that action again until he had securely pledged the two votes which the amendment lacked last October.

Whom have the suffragists gained, demanded Senate, press and public. Mrs. Maud Wood Park, who has so magnificently led the congressional work of the National Association for more than two years, and her co-workers kept their inviolate rule of silence regarding the poll. Less informed organizations joined in the newspaper speculating.

Senator Curtis, the Republican whip, declared that there was no additional vote possible on the Republican side. His party had given the necessary two-thirds in this Senate, and Republican members were pledged to put the amendment through the next Senate. More than that he could not promise.

Senators Jones, Hollis and Pittman, that indefatigable trio of Democratic suffrage workers, declared with mysterious mien that they "had hopes."

CONSEQUENTLY to the Democratic side public attention was turned the first three days of the week. Wednesday night came the Democratic suffrage caucus, the first Democratic majority caucus since the United States entered the war. That the suffrage Senators were able to accomplish it was a great victory. That they were able to out-vote their opponents and prevent attempted adjournment was further victory. And best of all was the first public statement from Senator Pollock of South Carolina that he should vote in favor of the amendment. When we went to vote in October we failed because of South Carolina and New Hampshire. South Carolina was now handsomely wiping out the memory of that October day.

Outside the closed doors of the caucus room guards were posted to keep the eager newspapermen at a distance from the raised senatorial voices. Word was sent out to the guards to prepare for an all-night session. A friendly correspondent telephoned the news to suffrage headquarters and it was received with the satisfied comment. "Many times have we women worked all night for suffrage. If men are becoming sufficiently interested to work all night for suffrage, we must be winning."

The caucus ended with a decision of Majority Leader Martin, which in the early newspaper dispatches indicated a suffrage setback. The

papers announced that the suffrage resolution failed for lack of a quorum. What really happened was this: Although the antis were provided with proxies and voted them and the suffrage senators had no proxies for their absentees, the suffragists had a clear majority of six, as was shown in their defeat of the motion to adjourn. On the resolution to stand back of the suffrage amendment ten votes were cast in the negative and twenty-two in the affirmative. Senator Martin permitted the antis to withdraw their votes and placidly announced, "The vote stands twenty-two to nothing in favor of the resolution. A quorum has not voted. The resolution is lost."

The caucus really proved the strength of the suffragists and the weakness of the antis—weakness not only in numbers but in honesty of tactics. The opponents had been refusing pairs, declaring that they would displace the suffrage amendment with the Revenue Bill, threatening a filibuster, anything to delay the suffrage vote. After the caucus the atmosphere changed.

BUT a well-known suffragist up in the gallery the next afternoon said, in tones of despair, "Look at Senator Lodge. When he smiles so happily and innocently you may always know he has just eaten the canary." A few minutes later it was announced that pairs would be given and probably no opposition would be offered to the taking of a vote on Monday.

The week sped by as rapidly as the movements of the women who came from the states to work on the lobby. A big Connecticut committee, headed by Miss Luddington, brought Senator McLean the names of 85,000 Connecticut women who desired him to vote for the amendment. The reception of that petition is another story and one which Connecticut women have vowed to hand down to their children and their children's children.

FRIDAY a report gained credence that the antis were trying to have introduced into the Senate a resolution calling for the investigation of suffrage funds. But Saturday passed and the Senators who waited to jump to their feet and ask that the anti funds be included in the resolution waited in vain. Perhaps the failure to introduce the resolution may be connected with a bit of the testimony at the packers' hearing Saturday morning before the Senate committee. Here it is:

Mr. Heney (attorney for the investigation committee of the Federal Trade Commission). "Have they contributed to Mrs. Wadsworth's anti-suffrage campaign?"

Mr. Veeder (attorney for Swift.) I have a recollection that I saw a letter in which Mr. Swift was asked to contribute \$100 and I do not know whether he did actually do so or not.

Mr. Heney. You advised him by letter that of course Swift & Company was against suffrage, but that it was going to sweep the country, and that it would not be good policy for them to get in a position of being against it, and therefore it would be better that it be contributed with the understanding that it be made not public, did you not?

Mr. Veeder. I do not remember. Very likely. I think that is pretty good advice.

Senator Kenyon. Did you do it or did you not do it?

Mr. Veeder. I do not remember.

Senator Kenyon. Oh, you do remember (to Mr. Heney)—Have you got a letter on that?

Mr. Heney. I remember seeing a letter in Mr. Veeder's vault when I was there, that is, two letters, this letter and Swift's asking whether he better do it, and the reply to that effect. That is the substance to it.

Mr. Veeder. If he did it, it was only a small amount.

Mr. Heney. That is what he was asking for, and he wrote Veeder to know whether he better do it.

Again (in reference to a law regarding contributions to campaign funds of congressmen).

Senator Kenyon. It does not prohibit contributing after the election.

Mr. Veeder. I do not think it does. (Laughter.)

Senator Kenyon. Then did you contribute to the pro-suffrage campaign as well as the anti-suffrage campaign?

Mr. Veeder. I do not remember that we received a request from the pro-suffrage, and I am sure if we did not we would not contribute.

SATURDAY saw the last final conferences in the offices of the men who have been staunch and true friends of suffrage in spite of false statements to the contrary. There were the last visits to the White House office building at No. 1 Jackson place, where, sitting within the administration offices, one wondered if the child minds tending bonfires in front could for an instant believe such foolishness compared in effect with the conferences at which Mrs. Helen Gardener, as the trusted representative of the National Association to the White House, has received such immeasurable help for us from the administration.

Could going to jail five times or fifty times affect a Senator as did the thousands of letters and telegrams from his constituents; the 25 state legislative resolutions on behalf of the

(Continued on page 778)

Democracy Downed

(Continued from page 777)

Federal Amendment; the legislative petitions from other states; and, during the last glorious week, the granting of presidential suffrage in Indiana and Vermont; the court decree in favor of the suffragists safeguarding the Nebraska Presidential bill—all the result of the half century of state-by-state education which the National Association workers have with infinite labor and dignity accomplished.

THERE were preliminaries on the day of the vote. The technical question of unanimous consent to omit morning business and proceed directly to the consideration of the resolution was made by Senator Jones—and naturally objected to by Senator Lodge. The morning business proved to be suffrage business, for state legislative resolutions and petitions on behalf of the amendment were sent up to the desk in rapid succession.

When Senator Jones finally secured the floor for the amendment there was the momentous announcement by Vice-President Marshall that the bill had been read for the third time and was therefore not subject to amendment.

But the real story of the day is the challenge of Senator Pollock. The challenge of the new South to the sleepers in both parties.

Speaking as the follower of Calhoun, that great state rights statesman, Senator Pollock declared that in withholding from the state Legislatures their right of ratification of the federal amendment lay the violation of state rights. That in one state attempting to dictate to other states lay the violation of states rights. That in the deprivation of citizenship and not in the conferring of it lay the violation of state rights.

"Speaking for the South, I declare to you that no man need withhold his vote for this amendment on the grounds that we of the South do not want it forced upon us. Since by my declaration that I shall be in its favor, the amendment needs only one more vote to carry, every man who votes against it takes upon himself the responsibility for its failure."

Senator Calder of New York opened a speech in favor of the amendment by the declaration that he should vote for it because he believed in it. Senator Frelinghuysen of New Jersey advocated an amendment to the amendment providing that no married woman should be entitled to vote unless she would be entitled to vote if she were a single woman—meaning that alien women should not be enfranchised simply through their marriage to American citizens.

Senator Shafroth of Colorado reminded Senator Frelinghuysen that the amendment was out of order, and upon the latter's request for unanimous consent for its introduction, Senator

Jones objected, giving as grounds the obvious fact that the entire amendment would then be sent back to the House and its passage in the present session endangered.

This was the only time during the debate when the voices of these two long-time champions of woman suffrage, Senator Jones and Senator Shafroth, were raised. And yet to both of them the success of yesterday's amendment mattered greatly, for sentimental as well as for reasons of justice. Senator Shafroth was one of the original sixteen Senators in favor of the amendment when it was first voted upon in the Senate. Senator Shafroth is not to be in the Senate next session and it was his great hope that the amendment might be passed this session, when he could again be recorded in its favor and this in spite of the fact that members of the National Woman's Party campaign against him last November as a member of the party in power responsible for the delay in passing the amendment.

Senator Jones had similar reasons for desiring the passage of the amendment in this session. As chairman of the woman suffrage committee of the Senate he has led the fight in its behalf. Next session with his party out of power, he will lose the chairmanship and will be obliged to see the amendment go through with another committee in charge.

The last speech in debate came from Senator Gay of Louisiana, who put himself clearly on record in favor of woman suffrage but said that he was bound by pledges in his campaign speeches to vote against the Federal Amendment.

A little more than an hour of debate, and then followed the vote. The galleries and floor of the Senate chamber, crowded as they have been on no other day since the vote was taken on the Federal Amendment last October, were absolutely quiet.

There were only two ripples during roll call. The first was mental rather than physical—stunned silence greeting the clear "no" of Senator Sherman of Illinois. At the conclusion of the roll call Senator Sherman rose and said that he was out of the chamber at the calling of the vote and he supposed that he was declaring himself against the amendment offered by Senator Frelinghuysen. Having voted under a misapprehension, he asked to have his vote changed to yes.

The other ripple was unrebuked laughter when Senator Williams of Mississippi gave a wavery-quavery no which wiggled along for a full half-minute, expiring during the shouts of laughter.

By two o'clock the Vice-President announced the result. Having failed by one vote of

the required two-thirds the amendment was lost.

But what was lost was not the Federal Suffrage Amendment. That is never lost. Victory is the only end which it can possibly achieve.

What was lost was the chance of the Democrats to follow their president, to follow the state Legislatures, to follow the American people. And the loss which the undemocratic Democrats in the United States Senate took upon themselves for their party is a loss which 30 years of explanations will not explain away in the minds of American women.

Other things expired during roll call—those "hopes" which were so close to certainties! Following its custom the National American Woman Suffrage Association makes no announcement of its debt to those "hopes" but the memory will live until the debt is paid.

MARJORIE SHULER.

What It Means to Oklahoma

AS we have taken occasion to set forth heretofore in these columns, the women of Oklahoma, in the main, are high-class citizens. They are the home-loving, home-making element of the electorate. They are going to see to it that their homes are protected. Their homes cannot be and will not be protected by the crook and camouflager in politics or in political offices. The women are aware that politicians and officeholders of that brand and breed are inimical to the interests of the home, of their children and their children's children. They are not going to stand for any such political domination when they find themselves the balance of power, as most assuredly they will be at the next election.

"Oklahoma politicians will do well to recognize forthwith that the old days of male domination in politics have passed away. The most momentous political event in our state history was the adoption last November of the equal suffrage amendment. It meant, thanks to the Governor for his effective phrasing, the driving of the crook and camouflager out of politics.

"That is exactly what it means to Oklahoma."—*The Ardmoreite*, Ardmore, Okla.

To Line Up Women Voters

HARDLY had the partial suffrage law become effective in Nebraska on January 25 than the major political parties immediately planned to launch campaigns to line up the women voters in their respective organizations. It is said the work of registering the women throughout the state will be started early so that each party may be able to gauge the size of the woman vote and its possible effect in the state and national primaries of 1920.

Within the Organization

Women Voters Convene

THERE was held, in our capital city, on January 28-29, a meeting which will go down in the annals of the state as a great and notable event. It was the first convention of women voters of South Dakota and it marked a new era in the history of our state.

There have been many splendid conventions of women in South Dakota, but this was a combination and culmination of them all.

Only one who has been in a position to know more or less of the ups and downs of the suffrage movement of the state, the differences of opinion regarding the policies of the campaigns, only such a one can fully appreciate the spirit of this meeting.

The victory of November fifth cemented the organized women of South Dakota into a beautifully harmonious body, intent only upon measures of advancement and uplift to the state and humanity, in this greatest reconstruction period of the world's history.

The president of the convention made the statement that never was the time more opportune for suffrage to have won in South Dakota than the present, and for the convention to be held at a time when the Legislature was in session was especially appropriate.

WORDS fail to tell of the feeling of satisfaction and comradeship there was in all our associations during the time we were in convention. I have read and heard much of the difference felt by enfranchised women, and it was nice to be in this atmosphere, where women were extended a hand-shake and a hearty welcome into the ranks of true fellow-citizenship. Welcome was in the faces, in the voices, in the hearts, and I tell you it was good to be there.

At a political banquet at which this body of women voters were the guests the speeches bristled with notice of the new voters—two of whom, being upon the program, matched wits with the best of the speakers.

The women were tendered the use of the Hall of Representatives for their final meeting when Judge Whiting of the Supreme Court addressed a great audience upon the subject, "Suffrage a Sacred Trust." It was at this meeting that the young daughter of the author of our primary law expounded the intricacies of this wondrous thing with as little embarrassment before this body of lawmakers, judges and fellow citizens as though it were a kindergarten or a Sunday school class.

Yea, verily, the equality that has come to South Dakota is about as complete as you may well conceive.

Following this daughter of South Dakota was a young woman from Minnesota, who talked on the work of the Y. W. C. A., making little extemporaneous comments on the

judge's great speech which preceded, and when she said: "The only thing that can counteract Bolshevism is the love of Jesus Christ" the legislators applauded.

It is a great day, and who can more appreciate it than those who, in their struggle for political justice, have come in touch with the great programs for the betterment of humanity. We may be orthodox or we may be not. The spirit that can set the captive free and bind up his wounds is the spirit which is emanating from our people today. And it certainly is opportune that on the eve of this great reconstruction period those young women of the convention and those dear older ones who were with us, women grown gray in the service, can join hands with our lawmakers, judges and fellow citizens and go in to bind up the wounds of a suffering world.

Black Hills.

ROSE BOWER.

Men's Council of 100

HONORABLE CLIFFORD B. WILSON, the Lieutenant-Governor of Connecticut, heads the Men's Council of One Hundred which is working in conjunction with the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association. The list includes men who stand high in the professions and in business, men who have advocated the principle of woman suffrage for some time past in their own communities and whose counsel will be of the utmost value to the State Suffrage Association.

Suffrage Conventions

THE Equal Suffrage League of St. Louis announces a series of pre-convention talks which will inform women on the history of the suffrage movement in the United States. Meantime it propounds these questions:

Do you know that the National Organization will celebrate its 50th anniversary here?

Do you know that in St. Louis in 1872 a woman tried to vote, and her husband carried the case to the Supreme Court to see if she might?

Do you know that the women of Wyoming have had full suffrage for fifty years, and why they received it so early?

THE account of the annual meeting of the Richmond Equal Suffrage League, which appeared in the January 25 issue of the *Woman Citizen*, was interpreted by some of our readers to mean the annual convention of the Virginia Equal Suffrage Association. This was a misreading of a plain statement of fact, as reference to both headline and story will show. The former read "Richmond Convention"; the latter identified it as the convention of the "Equal Suffrage League of Richmond."

Which Party Gave New York Women the Franchise?

In November, 1917, 703,129 men voted for woman suffrage in New York State.

The suffrage amendment in New York City polled nearly 40,000 more affirmative votes than did Mayor Hylan, the successful candidate in the mayoralty election. It polled 208,333 more votes than did the Socialist candidate for mayor of New York, Morris Hillquitt.

The suffrage amendment polled more yes votes than did any man or measure at the 1917 election.

The highest recorded Socialist figures for that year are, for the State, 169,364 for Block for Attorney-General.

If every man who voted for Block also voted for the suffrage amendment there would still remain 533,765 Republicans and Democrats, with Progressives and Prohibitionists who voted for suffrage.

In New York City that same year suffrage polled over 353,000 votes, Socialism polled 145,333.

(See World Almanac.)

To Which Party Have New York Women Voters Rallied?

The exact figures of the distribution of the new women electors by parties as reported in January, 1919, by the New York City Board of Election (state figures being not yet available) are:

Of the 1,015,148 voters enrolled in the Greater City, 408,671 are women.

This is the way the women came up to the party line:

Democrats	222,293
Republicans	131,246
Socialists	22,225
Prohibitionists	4,437

The remainder in independent groups.

There was a heavy loss in the male enrollment for each party, due to the war drafts.

Of the 408,671 women voters of New York City, 5% enrolled with the Socialist Party; 32% enrolled with the Republicans; 54% with the Democrats; 1% with the Prohibitionists; the remaining 8% being independent.

Democratic men voters in New York City far outnumber the Republican men voters. Democratic women voters in New York City likewise outnumber the Republican women voters. On the other hand, Republicans got proportionately more than their share of the women's votes, the percentage of Republican women voters to the full party vote being 43, as against 38% for the Democrats.

The Socialist vote of New York City in 1913—men only voting—was 32,057 (mayorality vote); in 1916—men only voting—it was 38,518 (gubernatorial vote); in 1917—men only voting—it was 145,333 (mayorality vote); in 1918—men and women voting—it was 85,552 (gubernatorial vote).

The entire state Socialist vote for Governor in 1918, with women voting, was 123,071—21,257 less than the city Socialist vote for Mayor Hillquitt in 1917 with men only voting. It was actually less, by more than 45,000, than the state vote for Block in 1917, men only voting. That vote was 169,364.

Notes and Comment

BETWEEN thirty and forty women are sitting as members of the National Assembly in Germany, long regarded as the most ultra conservative of Western nations upon the woman question. This shows how surprisingly fast the world has moved. It is a queer anomaly that in England, which has been, in so many ways, much more advanced than Germany, not a woman was elected. Even Christabel Pankhurst, who had the strong backing of Lloyd George, and who was opposed by only a rather weak labor candidate, failed to get in. Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe, formerly of the Manchester *Guardian*, who has been visiting this country, expresses the opinion that the defeat of all the women (some of them admirable candidates) was due to the fact that the average Britain is still unwilling to vote for any woman for Parliament if it is possible to vote for a man. Meanwhile Canada quietly goes ahead and elects several women to its various Legislatures, and their success hardly causes a ripple.

The history of this question is full of anomalies. In Zealand women are not eligible to Parliament. In Australia they are eligible, but have never been chosen. In China a few years ago we had the astonishing sight of a considerable number of women chosen to the Legislature of one province, while the Legislatures of all the others were exclusively masculine.

In Wyoming women had the ballot for more than forty years before any woman was elected to the Legislature. Other states were much more backward about giving women a vote, but sent women to the Legislature at the first opportunity—e. g. New York.

The main thing is that the barriers should be taken away. Then, sooner or later, women will find their level.

THE hundredth anniversary of James Russell Lowell's birth is soon to be celebrated in Boston. Lowell was a great poet of freedom—in his day, one of the greatest. For seventy years, his ringing lines have been used as a battle cry by reformers, in every land where the English language is spoken. How it still makes the heart glow to read them!

"They are slaves who fear to speak
For the fallen and the weak;
They are slaves who will not choose
Hatred, scoffing and abuse,
Rather than in silence shrink
From the truth they need must think;
They are slaves who dare not be
In the right with two or three."

Again and again he stresses the thought that all humanity is bound together: that a wrong to one is an injury to all: that no one can be truly free till all are free. He wrote many lovely poems on other subjects, but it is his songs of freedom and progress for which the world's fighters will love and remember him. How often have the great lines of "The Present Crisis" put fire into the blood and steel into sinews of the spirit!

By one of the ironies of fate, some of those who will take a prominent part in celebrating the hundredth anniversary of his birth will be men opposed to equal rights for women, and to all the forward movements of our day.

Lowell was roused to righteous wrath over tributes paid to the old reformers and revolutionists by the enemies of the new.

"Shall we in our haste to slay,
From the tombs of the old prophets steal the funeral lamps away
To light up the martyr faggots round the prophets of today?"

And again he says:

"Shame on the costly mockery of piling stone on stone
To those who won our liberty, the heroes dead and gone,
While we look coldly on and see law-shielded ruffians slay
The men who fain would win their own, the heroes of today!"

Some features of the celebration will recall his "Interview with Miles Standish" telling how the ghost of that doughty warrior came back to denounce his degenerate descendants:

"I come from Plymouth, deadlly bored with
toasts, and songs, and speeches,
As long and flat as my old sword,
As threadbare as my breeches.
"They understand us Pilgrims! They,
Smooth men with rosy faces,
Strength's knots and gnarls all pared away,
And varnish in their places!"

"They talk about their Pilgrim blood,
Their birthright high and holy!
A mountain stream that ends in mud
Methinks is melancholy!"

ONE of the signs that the suffrage movement is on the eve of victory is the great number and wide diversity of the organizations endorsing it. When any political principle has become a plank in the platform of every national party, from the most conservative to the most radical; when resolutions demanding its adoption are passed by all sorts of bodies, from educators in council to strikers in the street—then its opponents may as well shut up shop, for their day is past.

The very diversity of the endorsements is clutched at by the anti-suffragists in their extremity, as an argument against the reform. The so-called free thinker, if he is opposed to equal rights for women, stresses the fact that the general assemblies of the Methodists and Presbyterians have passed resolutions in favor of woman suffrage, and tries to scare his fellow radicals with the danger of strengthening "the religious vote." The persons who see anarchy in every labor demonstration find an argument against suffrage in its general endorsement by the labor organizations.

Here is Mrs. Clarence B. Palmer, for instance, the president of the Connecticut antis, dolorously predicting "Bolshevism" from women's votes, because a resolution endorsing suffrage was passed at a meeting held in Bridgeport, Conn., in sympathy with the strikers. She quotes with complete credulity an unconfirmed cablegram to the effect that the town council of Petrograd has decided that unmarried women shall be provided with husbands of the council's selection, and that the offspring shall not be allowed to remain with their mothers—a tale bearing all the earmarks of a palpable invention. Even if it were true, does any sane person fancy that American women would vote to have their husbands selected for them by somebody else, or to let their children be taken away from them? Have any such results materialized in the states and countries where women have been voting for years? Children were taken from their mothers many times, under the old law which made the husband their sole guardian. The suffrage movement has been instrumental in getting the joint guardianship laws which now make it harder for this to happen.

Mrs. Palmer also quotes with full credulity a statement attributed by a New York paper to the Cleveland Chief of Police, to the effect that "Bolshevik leaders" in that city threatened "open outbreaks, coupled with plans to barter women in the streets."

This recalls the accusations brought against the Chartists in England in the last century. When they demanded certain reforms in the interest of the working people—reforms most of which have since been carried out—they were charged with just such intentions as to women. Charles Kingsley, in "Alton Locke" quotes a prominent opponent of the Chartists as declaring that there were "traces of a plan for seizing all the ladies of the county, and setting up a harem of them in D— Cathedral!"

"Think of the flower of Connecticut womanhood, together with their poor sisters, being bartered for!" says Mrs. Palmer, pathetically. "Shall the American woman be forcibly 'emancipated' from the very high pedestal upon which the American man has placed her?"

The so-called "pedestal" of disfranchisement is about as inconvenient to the modern American woman as the pedestal of St. Simeon Stylites would be. As Dr. Shaw has well said, she does not like the company with whom she is forced to share that pedestal—aliens, idiots, lunatics and felons. A woman would rather stand on a level with her husband and sons.

It is very hard to get at the truth of what is happening in Russia. Many of the stories coming out of that country are as baseless as the report—lately cabled to all parts of the United States—that the revolutionists had shot Catherine Breshkovsky. But if all these tales were true, it would not follow that such things are the usual accompaniment of equal suffrage any more than that the American Republic had to have great guillotining of its enemies because the French Republic did.

Mrs. Palmer "appeals to every red-blooded citizen of the state to stand by the Senators" who have voted against the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Distrust anyone who casts slurs upon the color of an opponent's blood. It is almost always done to make people "see red," and to back up some course that could not be justified in cool reason. Apologists for loose living constantly say that "red-blooded" men cannot be expected to keep straight. Anarchists wishing to tar and feather people whose opinions they dislike, say that "red-blooded citizens" cannot be expected to listen to such sentiments, even though the constitution of the United States does guarantee free speech.

The soldier vote of New York went heavily for suffrage—and no one has yet ventured to say that the blood of the soldiers was not red. They have shown its color. Roosevelt's blood was not generally thought to be white—and one of the last letters that he wrote urged the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

Opponents of equal rights would be wise to give over these stupid insinuations, and to make way for the inevitable.

EVERY woman interested in the high cost of living should write to her Congressman for the report of the Federal Trade Commission Committee of investigation of the monopoly and profiteering by the great combine of meat-packers. She should also send for the report of the Congressional hearings now going on upon the subject.

The packers have given their side of the story at great length in a multitude of paid advertisements in the daily papers. Let the consumer read the other side in the official government reports.

THE National Congress of Mexico has passed a resolution in favor of giving women teachers equal pay for equal work. Miss Hermina Galindo, editor of *La Mujer Moderna* (The Modern Woman), expresses the hope that this will not remain a mere expression of opinion, but will be put into practical effect.

A. S. B.

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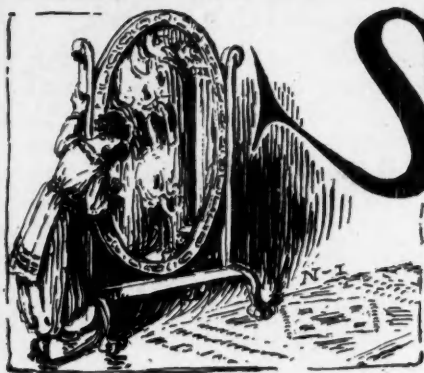
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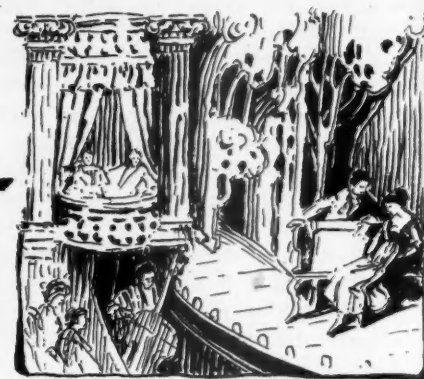
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HERE the *Woman Citizen* will present from time to time a survey of the plays and players of the American stage.

Stage Reflections



MEANTIME, we shall not, we feel sure, make the mistake of taking ourselves too seriously as we hold this mirror up to the stage.

A Little Journey

AS a gentle satire upon the idiosyncrasies of the travelling public, as well as a novelty in stage setting, Miss Crothers's "A Little Journey" gives full value for the price of an admission ticket. The interest is sustained, though the laughter is occasional and not hysterical. Types are presented, labelled for approval, disapproval, sympathy, or scorn, and one responds automatically. It is a triumph of negations. There is no philosophy to be divined; no moral to be sought, no outraged conviction to be defended. In its avoidance of anything likely to strike hard at popular fallacies or prejudices, the play is as commercially sound as "A Prince There Was," with the merit of being on a higher intellectual plane.

Julie Rutherford—in *propria persona*, "Estelle Winwood"—having vainly endeavored to convince Alfred Beamis—to whom Mr. Edward Lester has lent form and substance—that, if they truly love each other, they can rub along on six thousand a year, boards a train for the West in the not rosy anticipation of a life of dependency with a married brother. Being not altogether herself, she manages to lose her ticket between the gates and the train and finds herself short of money when the unfeeling agent of the railway company insists on her paying her fare or getting off. A conventionalized version of the Virginian, a young Westerner, the potential strong man who is always loose in public places, overhears her pleadings with the stony-hearted conductor and comes to the rescue with \$92.50, the price of a ticket to the Montana town which is her destination. Out of this grows a train intimacy—of the *genre* which goes back to E. P. Roe—in which two young people fall into astounding confidences of talk and unbosom themselves of the ego in their cosmos in a series of dialogues ranging from generalities

IN particular we want to bring down to center the interpretations of woman and her ways, the ideals of womanhood as they are staged. We have an idea that there is room for a little genial exchange as to woman's point of view and men's on the subject.

on "drifting" down to personal revelations of the hour. The young man, Jim West, to whom Mr. Cyril Keightley has imparted a really convincing personality, falls in love with Julie whose spirits are darkened by the contemplation of a life of indigence under the thumb of an uncongenial sister-in-law and seven little nieces and nephews. The affair is rapidly developed in the intimate companionship of a four days' journey across the continent. The fellow passengers supply the comedy elements both in their own personalities and in the affair begun and carried on under their noses.

WE must bear in mind that Julie Rutherford boards the train—"just killed" is how a friend describes her—suffering from outraged pride as well as disappointed self-discovery. Within the short space of ninety-six hours she manages to become engaged to another man, although her mental state at the end of the fourth day is such as to make her refuse to marry him and to start out of the car with the intention of killing herself. As she makes her exit, noisily proclaiming the fell design, we may assume that she was not much in earnest about it, for there seems to be a popular and quite unwarranted delusion of which she must have been fully aware, to the effect that onlookers are justified in preventing self-destruction. However, a wreck, happily timed by the fates, intervenes at the instant when Jim West makes a futile clutch at her vanishing skirts. The experiences of a night's work with the wounded and dead permit her to discover the existence of a great love for him. She accepts him the next morning.

Now it is irrelevant to plead that this incident is merely imaginary and that it must be granted in order to have the play at all. It is precisely in the demand upon the imaginative sympathies of the audience that a play wins or loses. It is upon appeal to the judg-

ment of the audience as to whether an incident is physically or mentally a possibility that the playwright must stake his all. To all appearances, "A Little Journey" is winning. That would indicate that most of the persons who have seen it fall in with the exposition of female sentiment therein delineated. The reviewer has no fault to find with this condition of affairs, but she is a little puzzled by the causations which can underly such an amative somersault, and she thinks there may be those among her readers who would enjoy a little discussion upon it. This happens to be a woman's play—a play written by a woman, staged by a woman, its chief character interpreted by a woman, its audience largely composed of women. The situation developed is not a new one, though more common to musical comedy than to the legitimate drama.

WHEN a man speaks or writes of love there is seldom any doubt as to what he means by the word. He refers to an emotion, profound, passionate, usually selfish—though it

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may connote instincts of protection against all other males—called forth by laws of physical and mental affinity which are easily recognizable in their influence upon action but are little understood as to their causation. Women seem to mean this when they write of the love which men bear to those of their own sex, but when they begin to expound female love, they seem to be at sea. Mingled with a physical attraction which must be present in some degree before the term love can be applied, are several others. One is vanity, the persistent desire of the woman to be wooed; another is the cat instinct of domesticity and a desire for purring contentment on somebody's knee; a third is the sub-conscious assumption that marriage is a woman's means of livelihood, that a man is what may be vulgarly described as a "meal ticket." Not infrequently the union of these three desires constitutes all that a woman ever knows of love. They are all that she is ever permitted to know of it in her so-called years of innocence. Parents, school, and society seem to have entered upon a tacit crusade so to limit her experience and her imagination that the knowledge of what a man means by it shall not dawn upon her until, the fatal vows having been taken, she is called upon to fulfill her part in a contract involving feelings and attractions that she has never conceived of.

MEN, no less than women, have written much and at length of love at first sight. But the reviewer fails to recall a single instance in which this instantaneous emotion found lodgment in a heart already occupied. In poetry and in the novel, it is the empty heart, longing for an inmate, which discovers its affinity in the twinkling of an eye. So Miss Crothers is falling in with established precedent in making Jim West fall in love with Julie Rutherford. He enters the train heart whole and fancy free, but longing a little pathetically for the woman of his dreams. Furthermore, his words prove that she is attributing to him the customary masculine conception of love. But Julie Rutherford once thought herself in love with another man. She is supposed to be obsessed with an emotion which is either the product of all or of one or two of the ordinary sex motivations of women, or else is a purely physical attraction. If it is the last named, then Miss Crothers has gone against all previous philosophy and reason in the transformation process of her heroine's amative state. Physical affinities, as Mr. Knobloch has so cleverly demonstrated in "Tiger! Tiger!" do not submit to the influences of human intelligence. They are stubborn masters of body and soul.

Outraged pride and the sudden comprehension that she has wasted a worthy feeling upon an unworthy object may drive a woman into the mistake of making a *mariage de convenance* with a man whom she does not love

or may induce her to enter into an engagement in which love has opportunity to develop; this last is indeed an old pasture ground for novelists and playwrights. The man outrages the heroine's pride, she marries to prove to him that she does not care, later they meet, and the old attraction reasserts itself. Thence come domestic infelicity and tragedy.

BUT Julie Rutherford announces in unmistakable language, in the last act, that she "loves" Jim West. We are then reduced to the necessity of believing that her love is not the simon pure article and that the feminine temperament is compromising with necessity. If she discovered that she "thought" she loved Alfred Bemis only after he had balked on assuming the responsibility for her maintenance, is it not possible to infer that there is still a chance of her being again self-deceived and that the feminine temperament is again compromising with necessity? Is it not more than likely that she "loves" Jim West because he presents himself and his strong man potentialities as a practical solution of her economic problem? Is her despair ever justified? Are there not thousands of girls who recognize that they must resign marriage and motherhood and accept a life of hard work and the sense of usefulness growing out of it in place of a woman's home life, who make that sacrifice without tragedy or tears? From first to last Julie Rutherford's attitude seems to be that she is entitled to something rather large in life, yet she has no capital to invest which would warrant large returns. Her face is veritably her fortune. And, in concordance with the American demand that a play must end happily, the face wins. Miss Crothers was right in yielding to that demand. She would be silly to knock her head against a stone wall, but is it not time that the public wakes up in its own grasp of these questions and by a broader and more constructive philosophy gives the playwright wider opportunity?

It is noticeable that Miss Crothers writes with a surer hand and acts with a surer judgment when she is dealing with character toward which her own attitude is critical than when she allows her ideals to come into play. For Jim West she managed to procure a convincing personality in Cyril Keightley. But Miss Winwood as Julie Rutherford is less attractive, both in the character drawn and in the personality interpreting it. In Mrs. Bay, the nauseously optimistic, juvenile grandmother with no brains and an unchastened ignorant vanity, we have the variation upon the belle of "Old Lady 31." Truth is, nothing is so disgusting as a woman who cannot grow old with serenity and dignity. But the instant Miss Crothers takes hold of types to which her own attitude is coolly critical, we feel the strengthening of her touch, and a quiet mastery of what she is doing. M. H. F.

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Republican Women

THE services of women workers are to be
enlisted on a wholesale scale in the 1920
Presidential campaign, according to plans an-
nounced at Washington recently by Mrs. Medill
McCormick, chairman of the Republican Wom-
en's National Executive Committee. As a fore-
runner to the next campaign, preparations are
already being made to launch organizations of
Republican women in every state, county, city
and town in the United States during the next
year.

Much of the work of the women's committee
will be educational in character, it is said. One
aim of the organization will be to stimulate in-
terest in the work of the Republican party.
Another will be the organization of citizen-
ship classes which will be used as schools of
instruction for the foreign voters. The wom-
en's organizations will aid in the translating
of pamphlets and documents bearing on Amer-
icanization for the use of foreign-born citizens
in the effort to acquire a better working know-
ledge of the Government.

Each Republican state chairman will appoint
a chairman for a woman's committee which
will assist in the conduct of the campaign.
This state committee will, in turn, take up the
work of organizing the smaller units in the
state, until every village has its own organiza-
tion of Republican women. One of the im-
portant tasks to be assigned the women's com-
mittees will be house to house canvasses of
the voters in each state. In all matters the
women will work in close co-operation with the
men's organizations.

"THERE is much valuable work for the
women to do," says Mrs. McCormick.
"One of the principal aims of the women's com-
mittee is to stimulate interest in the party, so
that the people who don't vote will go to the
polls.

"Besides the ordinary old-fashioned cam-
paign routine, the women's committee of the
Republican party is planning a new line of edu-
cational work. We believe that women can
teach foreigners to vote. They can organize
citizenship classes. They can see that the
proper translations are made of pamphlets on
Americanization and on citizenship.

"We shall enlist the support of women in
a sound and progressive economy and social
programme. The women are not interested in
the shibboleths of yesterday. They are learn-
ing and speaking the current speech of govern-
ment today.

"Our plan intends that women as Republi-
cans and citizens shall work not independently,
but in association with men and under the
leaders of the party. We seek to draw into
the active service of the Republican party those
women who have earned and justified their
leadership in the long accustomed services of
women. Women who have thus won their way
know and are known to women throughout
their states and throughout the country, just
as our party leaders are known. Through
these women we shall reach others, and
so bring to the women in the cities and in
the villages, in the counties and at the cross-
roads, our purposes. But what is more im-
portant, we shall thus be able to draw from
them knowledge of these changes, those re-
forms approved by their intelligence and com-

Woman for Mayor

CHICAGO, the second largest city in the
United States, has a woman candidate for
Mayor—Mrs. Leonora Z. Meder, lawyer, club-
woman and former City Commissioner of Pub-
lic Welfare.

Mrs. Meder announced her candidacy Feb-
ruary 4th. She will run on a non-partisan
ticket on a platform which advocates economy,
clean streets, abatement of smoke, save-the-
babies, clean-up-the-tenements, police-out-of-
politics and subway construction. "Efficiency"
is her watchword.

Women's Party Affinities

ENROLLMENT figures for all parties in
Kings County, New York, just an-
nounced by the Board of Elections, show the
excellent record made by the women voters
on their first opportunity to enroll in political
parties last year. Of the 360,989 voters en-
rolled, 150,549 are women; 60,989 voters en-
rolled as Republicans, 80,388 as Democrats,
7,829 as Socialists. In the Prohibition enroll-
ment the men numbered 785 and the women
1,834.

First Appointments

THE first women to receive state appoint-
ments in South Dakota since that state
entered into the ranks of full suffrage are:
Miss Mae Andrews, of Meade County, who
was made bill clerk of the House of Represen-
tatives; Mrs. Marguerite Karcher Sahr, of
Pierre, appointed reading clerk of the Senate,
and Miss Grace Hanson, of Fort Pierre, ap-
pointed reading clerk of the House.

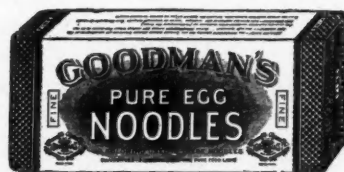


REV. PHEBE A. HANAFORD

MRS. HANAFORD is one of the real pioneers in the suffrage movement, having been contemporary with Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and others of note. Throughout the long years of her pastorate and on the lecture platform Mrs. Hanaford did all in her power to further the reform movements of those early days. The History of Woman Suffrage relates that on June 6, 1870, Mrs. Hanaford appeared before the joint committee on woman suffrage at the capitol at New Haven and that "during that session of the Legislature Mrs. Hanaford acted as chaplain both in the Senate and House of Representatives and received a check for her services which she valued chiefly as a recognition of woman's equality in the clerical profession." Mrs. Hanaford was chosen by the Stanton family to be one of those who spoke at the funeral services of Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

Mrs. Hanaford contributes a poem to this issue of the *Woman Citizen*.

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Joan of Arc

By Rev. Phebe A. Hanaford

*BRAVE woman with the hero heart!
Saint, with uplifted brow!
To patriot hearts how dear thou art!
Fame's crown thou wearest now.*

*To homeland ties forever true,
Thy life with power was fraught;
And, failing not to dare and do,
Thou hast a lesson taught.*

*America's brave sons and sires
Recount thy valorous deed,
And kindle fresh those altar fires,
Which seek God's will to speed.*

*Henceforth, thy name, on land and sea,
With martyred saints renowned,
In woman's ranks for aye shall be
With patriot glory crowned.*

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Susanna Chenery Crosman 1818-1919

*BRAVE and dear Saint, O take thy rest at
last,*

*Steeped in forgetfulness as soft and deep
As falls at dark on childhood's dreamless sleep,
Heedless alike of present and of past.*

*A hundred years with shine and shade have
cast*

*Their burdens on thee, and their mighty sweep
Urged thee to words and deeds that still shall
keep*

Their olden fire, whatever time may blast.

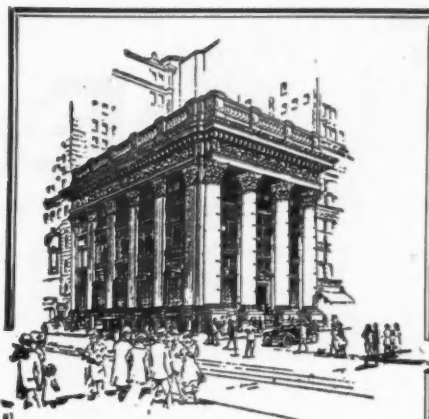
*So rest; yet thou shalt wake again and stray
In the "green pastures" of the Psalmist's
dream,*

*Led by the sound of one remembered voice,
Silent for half thy lifetime. Go thy way,
Where the "still waters" in the distance gleam,
Conscious that evermore thou shalt rejoice.*

RUTH BALDWIN CHENERY.

SUSANNA CHENERY CROSMAN, who lately died at Auburn, N. Y., at the age of one hundred years and ten months, was born and educated in New England, but moved to New York state after her marriage. She was one of the pioneer suffragists of the state and a friend and co-worker of all the early adherents.

For more than sixty years she advocated woman suffrage with fidelity and ability. She was a leader in philanthropic work and a woman keenly alert to the advancement of civic interest and responsibility. Auburn knew her as "the beloved centenarian."



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the State Board of Education, through the University Extension Department, for the purpose of extending its courses in English for the foreign-born. Another measure provides for state aid to towns for the purpose of English instruction to be given to persons over 21 who are unable to read and write English, and another provides for an appropriation of \$100,000 to train teachers in special subjects of adult immigrant education. The Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association, for some time past, has supported a class during the season to train teachers to teach citizenship. Over one hundred women were enrolled.

Suffrage in Holland

THE great wave of democracy now sweeping all over the world has not failed to touch little Holland. The partial revision of the Constitution of December 12, 1917, gave women eligibility and the possibility of enfranchisement by law. The elections of July, 1918, brought Miss Suze Groeneweg into the Second Chamber. Mr. Marchant's suffrage bill, introduced in September, proposed political equality for both sexes, but was not supported by the Government. Then came the triumph of democracy which will ever make November 11th of this year a memorable day in the history of humanity; the Premier declared his wish to see adult suffrage for women as well as men made the law of the land and now our suffrage bill is in progress. The political parties of religious conservatism as well as of Labor may reasonably expect to gain in influence by this doubling of the electorate. This explains the haste which is now made to get womanhood suffrage into the Statute Book.

Under these circumstances the discussions in the annual meeting of the Dutch Woman Suffrage Association had of necessity rather a provisional character, but suffragists are in high hopes and in the best of spirits for the celebration of the Association's jubilee on February 15, 1919.

Amsterdam.

MARTINE G. KRAMERS.

Educational Measures

THE Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association is holding its mid-winter meeting at Worcester today, February 15, at the Hotel Bancroft. A feature of the session is the presentation to the state officers of a petition signed by 14,000 women of Worcester, who over their signatures say that they want the ballot.

One of the cities to fill its quota of signatures in Massachusetts recently was Springfield, which went over the top with a wide margin, 10,082 women having already signed the petition. The quota assigned to Springfield was 60 per cent of the male registration for the last Presidential election. The number already secured is in excess of that percentage and is still growing.

Among the measures that will be ardently supported by the Massachusetts suffragists in the Legislature this year, as shown in their first legislative bulletin, are those concerned with educational extension. One provides for a special appropriation of \$100,000 to be used by

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Is There Room at the Top?
See Next Page

Women on Election Boards

THE Election Commission of Battle Creek, Michigan, will appoint two women on every election board in that city, it is reported. The registration of women throughout the state is increasing daily. Registration has been stimulated by the proposal of the Lieutenant-Governor that county committees send women delegates to the Republican State Convention.

Is There Room at the Top?

A successful shorthand institute, had a fine display advertisement in recent Sunday papers to feature an interesting story of a successful man who was making occasion to attribute much of his success to the method of shorthand he had studied.

The story carried him on and up until he was earning over \$10,000 a year. There it stopped as a good place to leave him.

As a sort of postscript there was added the story of a sister who studied the same method. Her the story carried on and up until she was earning \$1,500 a year, and stopped there as a good place to leave her.

Which illustrates exactly what we are driving at in our incessant question

Is There Room at the Top?

Why that disparity between the man and the woman?

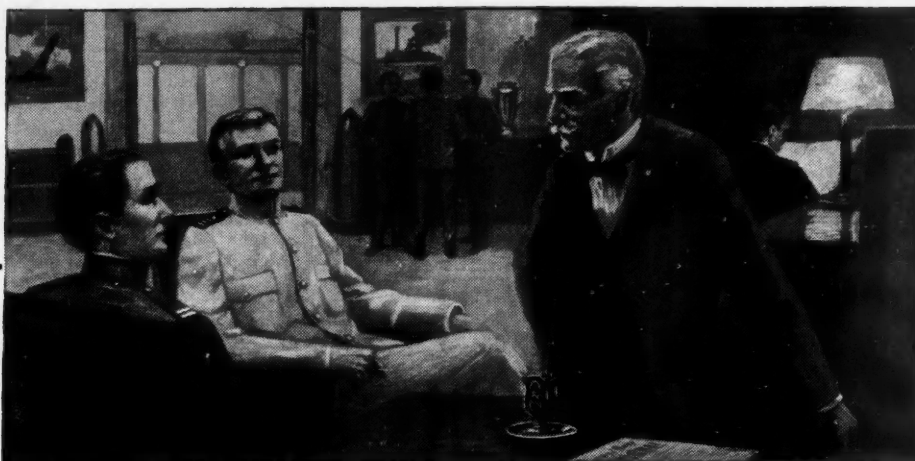
Why is ten thousand a year a reasonable ambition for a business man and fifteen hundred a year a reasonable ambition for a business woman?

Is there anything in a shorthand system to account for the difference?

Is there anything in the woman?

We are going to stop asking questions and begin to answer them in the next number of the

Woman Citizen



The Last Word About the War

And How Colonel Sibley Was Helped to Write It

SCENE: (Army and Navy Club, New York, where Commander Ellsworth, U. S. N., and Captain Trowbridge, U. S. A., are having a conference and an after-dinner cigar in the Club Library and are joined by Colonel Sibley, U. S. A., retired)

The Colonel: Well, comrades, I win!

The Commander: Been fighting again, Colonel? Who says you're retired?

Colonel: I was retired, but now I'm in action again or soon will be, and this time with the pen instead of the sword.

Captain: How's that?

Colonel (Drawing closer to the table and glancing around): Well, comrades, I don't mind telling you in confidence that I just signed up with the Editor-in-Chief of a big magazine (name censored for the present) to write a series of articles on the Great War.

Commander: Tell us about it.

Colonel: Well, it's going to be a long campaign. The Editor, whom I have just left, wants an extended series of articles, to begin with an exhaustive survey of the causes which led up to the War.

Captain: The causes? All of them? Well, you've sure got your work laid out for you.

Commander: I should say you had.

Colonel: The Editor feels that way

himself. He's now concerned chiefly about what has happened up-to-date and the authority upon which my statements will be based. The Editor's a big gun in the business, you know, and his rivals will be getting his range if he exposes himself. He wants to secure a strategic position so that he can't be successfully attacked on anything he prints.

Captain: Well, what did you suggest?

Colonel: I'll tell you. While he was talking I was thinking and I finally told him that what he wanted as a reserve-force was some late general reference work of recognized reliability that he could fall back on. "That's it," he said, and then asked: "Which one?"

Commander (Turning his head and glancing at a set of The New International Encyclopaedia in its special case): I'll bet I can tell which one you named.

Captain (Glancing at the set): Ours, of course.

Colonel: You're both good guessers. Of course I named The New

International and the Editor nodded his head and said: "That's the very work I had in mind, not only as an authority on the causes of the War and what has already happened, but when peace comes I hear the publishers are to bring the war-volume down to date at once and are to send it to all subscribers in exchange for the war-volume now in their possession so they'll know the last word about the conflict."

Commander: Well, that settled it, I suppose.

Colonel: Yes, I told the Editor that the selection of The New International as our authority simplified the problem and he added that it not only simplified the articles, but solidified them and made them so authoritative that he would be able to follow out with safety his plan to publish the series of articles in book form.

W.C.
914

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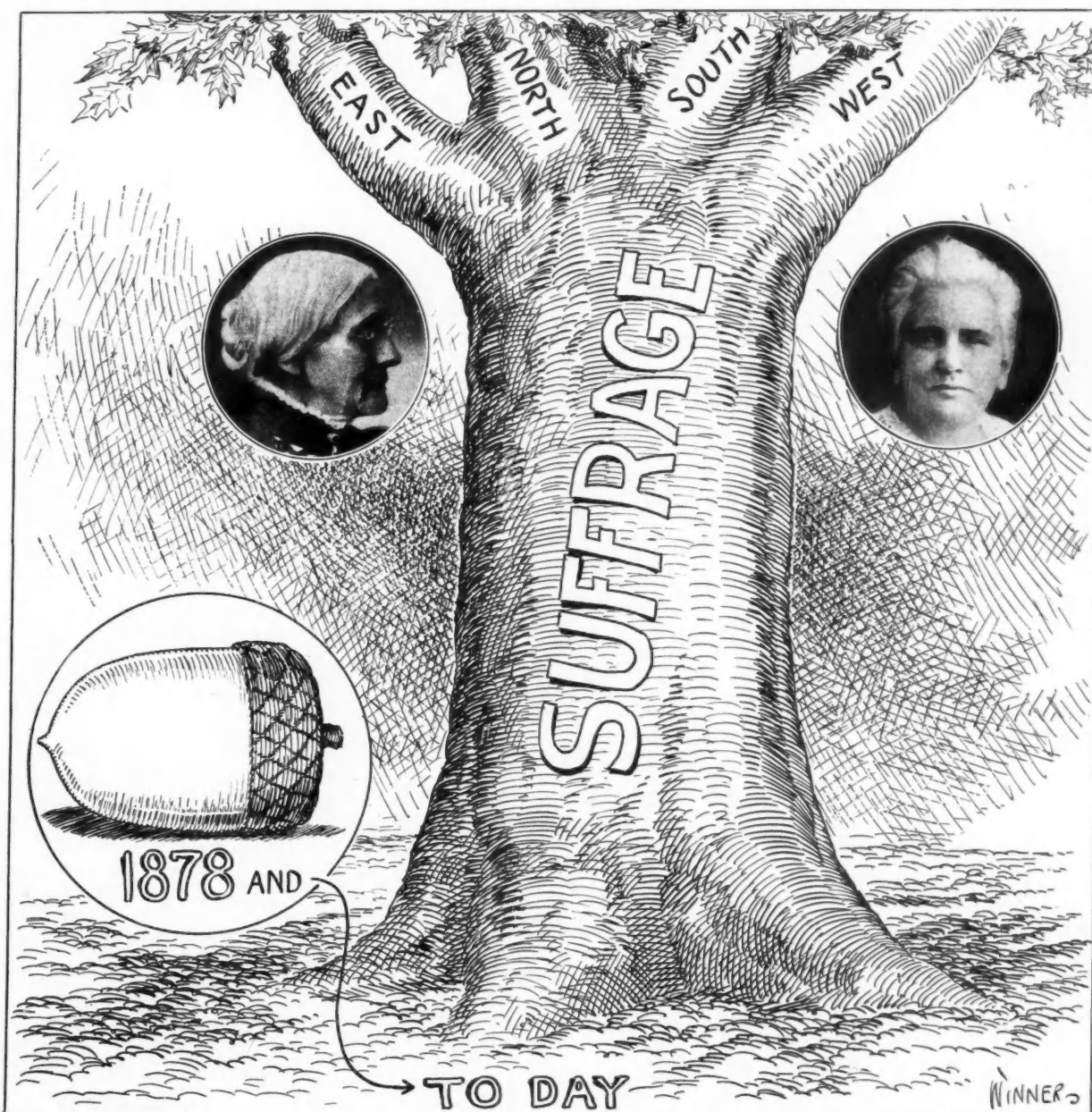
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THE Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S NATIONAL POLITICAL WEEKLY

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February 22, 1919



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THE WOMAN CITIZEN

Founded June 2, 1917

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\$2.00. Postage to foreign countries fifty cents extra.

CONTINUING the Woman's Journal,
founded 1870 by Lucy Stone and Henry B.
Blackwell, as a weekly newspaper devoted to
winning equal rights and especially to winning
equal suffrage for women, and published
weekly in Boston, Massachusetts, from 1870
to 1917. Continuing also the Woman Voter,
and the National Suffrage News. As the
official organ of the National American
Woman Suffrage Association, the *Woman
Citizen* tries to maintain intimate contact be-
tween the Association and its two million
members throughout the United States.

PUBLISHED BY

The WOMAN CITIZEN CORPORATION
at 171 Madison Avenue, New York
Copyright, 1919, by the Woman Citizen Corporation

In the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating
memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the
cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's
irresistible progress.

The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie
Chapman Catt, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Miss
Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, and
Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

Vol. III, February 22, 1919. No. 39.

CIRCULATION CONTEST

Because of the failure of the contestants in the Woman
Citizen Circulation Contest to name the County and the Local
Club which should have credit for subscriptions, it proves im-
possible for the Woman Citizen to make the award of the
\$25.00 prize to the County and the award of the \$25.00 prize
to the Local Club sending in the largest number of subscrip-
tions over one hundred, in accord with the announced terms
of the contest.

Also, since no one qualified as a co-operating subscriber,
everybody instructing that subscriptions be credited directly
to the state association, we are unable to make that award as
originally planned. By the terms of the contest no one could
be a cooperating subscriber in a state that had already taken
up the work in an official way.

The fairest adjustment seems to be to award the second,
third and fourth prizes to the states finishing in the second,
third and fourth positions in the contest. Authority to make
this change, under certain conditions, is given us in a ruling
just received from the post office department. The ruling
follows:

"You are informed that in the next issue of the publication
you should carry a notice to contestants to the effect that un-
less the desired information is furnished, you will proceed to
award the 2nd and 3rd prizes to the state associations in those
states from which the 2nd and 3rd largest number of subscrip-
tions were received. After several weeks have been allowed
to elapse from the date of the publication of this notice you
may proceed to award those prizes as stated in the notice, pro-
vided sufficient data has not been furnished by contestants to
enable you to award those prizes in accordance with the terms
of the original order."

In compliance with this ruling we publish the proposed
change, which will become effective in due time, unless the
data is forthcoming.

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The Woman Citizen

The Woman's National Political Weekly

NEW STYLE VOL. III

FEBRUARY 22, 1919

NUMBER 39

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

Their Birthday and Your Pledge

Susan B. Anthony, born February 15, 1820; Anna Howard Shaw, born February 14, 1847.

Owing to demands on our space to accommodate the news on the Senate vote, we were unable to present to our readers last week the birthday tribute we had scheduled in honor of the famous suffrage valentine—Miss Anthony and Dr. Shaw. Although belated by a week, it follows below as an indispensable feature of our yearly program.—Ed.

LAST week held the birthday of Susan B. Anthony. It likewise held the birthday of Anna Howard Shaw. The day found the cause of suffrage admittedly triumphant. Even that arch opponent of democratic progress, the *New York Times* admits it. On February 12, apropos to the failure of the United States Senate to supply the one vote necessary to pass the Federal Suffrage Amendment, the *Times* said in its editorial columns, "Its triumph is but postponed."

Look back even cursorily over the long years between the suffrage glory of today and the early planting of the suffrage seed in the barren soil of the middle of the 19th century, and you cannot fail to see in how great measure the growth of suffrage from acorn to oak is identified with the two women to whom the *Woman Citizen's* tribute is offered—one the great organizer, the other the great orator of the woman movement

Susan B. Anthony—Anna Howard Shaw!

The names leap out with a radiance from the suffrage record.

Words are dull carriers of love and admiration and gratitude. Nothing that can be said can express the breadth and strength of the compulsion upward and onward that these two women have laid on other women.

The whole story is in today's greeting from Dr. Shaw. Note well how entirely she stays in the fight. Does she come bothering about *your* service, *your* loyalty? No! Seventy-two years young, she comes pledging hers.

Their birthday may not be our birthday, but Dr. Shaw's pledge can be our pledge.

Greetings!

From Dr. Anna Howard Shaw

THE years roll round in such rapid succession that we can scarcely realize that a little more than seventy years have passed since the first suffrage convention in America met in the little Methodist Church in Seneca Falls, N. Y. For three score and ten years the women of this so-called foremost republic in all the world; women whose ancestors sought freedom and

refuge from oppression; women who side by side with men trekked through forest and plains and over trackless mountains; women who endured the weary loneliness, dangers and privations of pioneer life to open to the world a nation for free people, for three score and ten years these women have endured with burning hearts a sense of injustice and ingratitude from a country which, in every hour of its need, has never failed to call upon them for the most arduous and unrequited service—and never failed to receive it to the full measure of women's ability. For that country has refused recognition of their worth and their service by refusing to grant to them that political freedom which it boasts that it bestows upon all the oppressed of the earth.

While the women of the United States have watched and toiled and waited, those in the Old World, in nation after nation, have received political enfranchisement, until, to-day, our country, of all the nations which fought to make the world safe for democracy, occupies the unenviable position of standing alone in denying democracy to women.

Yet we are nearing the goal. A sense of obligation is stirring the souls of mankind. Women are sharing in the general recognition of human responsibility and rights. On this ninety-ninth anniversary of the birth of our incomparable leader we, with all the people of the world, may rejoice in a new birth of freedom for all mankind.

Miss Anthony would never consider herself free as long as any human being was enslaved. She knew no bounds to freedom, no form of justice which excluded any human being, or race, or country. Hers was a world spirit such as is rising to-day from the ashes of the fearful sacrifices which the world has been compelled to make that it may understand the meaning and oneness of life—that when one suffers all suffer.

Our goal is in view, the toil and weariness are over. One more supreme effort, a few more months of service, and we shall be in possession of the glorious heritage of political freedom bequeathed to generations yet unborn.

What a benefaction and what a heritage! Thrice blessed are they who have been considered worthy to share in its service. The crown of our joy is that we are not alone in the hope of speedy victory.

During the last five years all civilized peoples have rallied to our standard and have fought the battle we have waged for seventy years—and all are sharing the victory.

To all who have consciously or unconsciously contributed to this triumph of the spirit of democracy over autocracy, of right over wrong, of human justice over national pride and power; in a word, of the right and opportunity of men and women to work out their salvation in this world as well as the world to come, I pledge my loyalty and service until the goal is won.

Ever faithfully yours,

(Signed) ANNA HOWARD SHAW.

The Wisconsin Victory

WISCONSIN observed Lincoln's birthday by taking its place in the rapidly growing list of presidential suffrage states on February 12, when the Senate, by a vote of 28 to 4, concurred with the House in granting the women of the state the right to participate in the election of the President of the United States. The House had passed the suffrage bill, introduced by Representative Coe on February 7, by a vote of 80 to 8.

The Wisconsin victory makes the fourth important gain for the suffrage cause within a period of less than three weeks. First came the decision in the Nebraska court on January 25, which upheld the right of the women of the state to enjoy the privileges of citizenship granted them in the presidential suffrage bill passed by the Nebraska Legislature in 1917. Then, in rapid succession, came the Vermont victory on February 6, granting Vermont women presidential suffrage, in addition to the right of municipal suffrage given them in 1917. Then the landslide vote in the Indiana Legislature giving the women of that state the right to vote in presidential elections.

Now comes the Wisconsin victory. These important suffrage victories promise to make the year 1919 even more notable in suffrage history than the year 1918, which saw the greatest expansion of the woman suffrage movement in its fifty years of campaigning. The women of twenty-four states now have the right to vote in presidential elections. The Wisconsin victory adds thirteen electoral votes to those already contributed by states having presidential suffrage, making a total of 245. The number of Senators representing states where women vote for President is increased to 48 and the number of Congressmen to 197. The number of women of twenty-one years and over in these states is increased by 653,936, or to more than 12,500,000, approximately one-half of the total number of women of voting age in the United States.

But little time was required for the passage of the suffrage bill by the Wisconsin Senate. It was called up for consideration as a special order, and in one hour and a half it had been passed by a vote of seven to one. Opponents made repeated efforts to delay its passage but were quickly defeated on every motion. Senator Benfy presented a petition from the Wisconsin Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, which urged the defeat of the measure on the ground that as the United States had defeated the Federal Amendment there was no longer any occasion for the Wisconsin Legislature to "play politics."

Senator Anderson, a suffrage supporter, objected to the introduction of the anti-suffrage petition, declaring, "I consider this an insult to this body." A similar declaration was made by Senator Skogmo, who declared that equal suffrage was the basis of

democracy, and quoted from Lincoln to prove his point. Senator Skogmo answered charges that the measure would not "stand water" by declaring that its author was well satisfied as to the constitutionality of such an act.

Numerous supporters of suffrage were heard during the brief debate that followed, despite the frantic and unavailing efforts of the opposition to postpone action. Senator Roe then declared that he was going to vote for suffrage because he did not want it said that Germany had taken the lead in granting the franchise to its women. Senator Wilcox declared that there was no constitutional requirement for the submission of such an act as the presidential suffrage bill to the vote of the people.

The previous question was ordered by a vote of 25 to 7, and repeated attempts to delay action were ruled out of order. The bill was ordered to a third reading and then came the vote on the passage of the bill, with one Senator absent.

To Repeat

OF course you read the Call to the Convention in last week's *Woman Citizen*, but by way of emphasis we repeat that the National American Woman Suffrage Association will hold its Jubilee Convention in St. Louis at the Hotel Statler, March 24-29, inclusive. The convention will celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the granting of woman suffrage by Wyoming, the first commonwealth in the world to grant the suffrage to women. It will also celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. And, finally, it will celebrate the unprecedented victories won by suffrage in the years 1918 and 1919. Those victories include, in this country, in 1918, the winning of three states, Michigan, Oklahoma and South Dakota to full suffrage, and primary suffrage in Texas; and, in 1919, the winning of presidential suffrage in Indiana, Vermont and Wisconsin.

Abroad suffrage has scored far more extensive victories during the two years. In England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Canada, Austria, Germany, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, and Poland, women were granted the suffrage in 1918, while in 1919 Sweden and Holland have both been committed to the reform by their governments. Today 20 foreign countries in all are on the suffrage roster. Fifteen of the United States have full suffrage. Four have given women presidential and municipal suffrage; two have given primary suffrage; three have given presidential suffrage only; two have given municipal suffrage in charter cities and 12 others have given minor forms of suffrage.

In spite of the defeat of the Federal Suffrage Amendment in the 65th Congress, the onrush of suffrage is proved by the record too mighty for congresses to withstand and the convention will be the occasion for sounding a vast paean of victory, as well as the occasion for rigid inquiry into the reasons why the women of the democratic United States are denied a voice in their own government while those of monarchies and erstwhile monarchies are honored with political equality.

Jubilee Convention Committees

THE Equal Suffrage League of St. Louis, the hostess organization of the Jubilee Suffrage Convention of the National Suffrage Association to be held in St. Louis at the Hotel Statler, March 24-29, announces the appointment of the following committees and chairmen:

1. Halls and Arrangements (a. Bureau of Information; b. Post-office; c. Telephones), Mrs. A. E. Reton, Mrs. Fred Taussig.
2. Pages and Ushers: Mrs. Walter Fischel, Mrs. John Boogher, Miss Mary Lionberger.

3. Hospitality (a. Committee of 48 women; b. Housing): Mrs. J. D. Dana, Mrs. Leslie Thompson. (Information bureau at station.)
4. Public Dinner: Mrs. N. D. Thompson.
5. Odeon Meetings: Mrs. Fred Taussig.
6. Press: Mrs. F. B. Clarke.
7. Street Speaking: Mrs. Fred English.
8. Meetings Other Than Convention or Street: Mrs. P. B. Fouke.
9. Resolutions.
10. Credentials: Local members from Federated Clubs, appointed by Mrs. Reton.
11. Registration: Local members from Federated Clubs, appointed by Mrs. Reton.
12. Badges: Mrs. J. A. Goodwin.
13. Program: Mrs. A. Rauh.
14. Hospitality National Board: Mrs. David O'Neil, Mrs. E. W. Stix, Mrs. Robt. McK. Jones.

Who Speaks for Republicans

OPponents of woman suffrage having challenged the right of the Republican National Committee to speak for the Republican Party in endorsing the Federal Suffrage Amendment, what the National American Woman Suffrage Association would like to know is, who has a right to speak for the Republican Party.

Wadsworthians want to hold the Republican Party back to its commitments of 1916, but an immense change in popular sentiment has swept the world since 1916. Since 1916 Great Britain, Canada, Sweden and Holland have extended the vote to their women, and even Germany, taking the United States at its own word, that it was fighting a war for democracy, has allowed the women to vote on members of the First Constituent Assembly.

People are not thinking today what they thought in 1916. In Mr. Wadsworth's own state since that date the men of the state have by a majority of over 100,000 enfranchised the women of his state. That vote without question included a majority of the Republican voters of the state.

The Legislature of 1918 passed a resolution endorsing the Federal Suffrage Amendment and asked Mr. Wadsworth to vote for it.

In July, 1918, a State Republican Convention was held for the express purpose of drafting a platform, and in that platform the following resolution occurred:

"Resolved, That the Federal Suffrage Amendment has passed the House of Representatives by a tremendous Republican vote. Practically every Republican County Committee in the state has urged its approval. The decisive plurality for suffrage in this great Republican state has so clearly shown the sentiment of the people that we emphatically call upon the United States Senators from New York to vote for the submission of this amendment to the states."

Mr. Wadsworth was himself a member of the Resolutions Committee.

The Legislature of 1919 again passed a resolution calling upon Senator Wadsworth to vote for the Federal Suffrage Amendment. The Legislature is Republican this year, as it was Republican in 1917.

The question then arises, who has the authority to speak for the Republican Party? A majority of the members in the House of Representatives have spoken for the Federal Suffrage Amendment. A majority of Republicans in the Senate have voted for the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Who has authority to speak

for the Republican Party—a majority of Republicans or Mr. Wadsworth?

The State to the Senator

FIVE of the 25 Legislatures of 1919 that petitioned Congress to pass the Federal Suffrage Amendment, called upon their own Senators to change their vote on the suffrage question. The last of these was Missouri which, by an amazing unanimous House vote and a Senate vote of seventeen to fourteen, showed Senator Reed that his state is dissatisfied with his stand against woman suffrage. Ohio by a house vote of 79 to 31 and a Senate vote of 23 to 10 in favor of the suffrage resolution called upon Senator Pomerene to change his vote to the yes column. Idaho called upon Senator Borah, Nebraska upon Senator Hitchcock and New York upon Senator Wadsworth to transfer their votes from the anti to the suffrage column.

The reversal of sentiment on the suffrage question in the South is interestingly illustrated in the suffrage story of one southern state, Texas. In August, 1916, the state Democratic convention refused to consider a suffrage resolution. In January, 1917, the state Legislature refused to submit an amendment to the state constitution enfranchising women. In March, 1917, the primary suffrage bill died in committee. In March, 1918, the primary suffrage bill passed by large majorities in both houses. In July, 1918, the women voted in the primary elections for the first time. With only seventeen days in which to register, approximately 386,000 women registered. In September, 1918, the state Democratic convention endorsed woman suffrage by both state and national methods. In January, 1919, the Legislature unanimously voted to submit an amendment to the state constitution enfranchising women and also memorialized the United States Senate in favor of the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

Arkansas history furnishes like evidence of the growth of southern suffrage sentiment. There the state Legislature unanimously voted this session in favor of a resolution calling upon the Senate to pass the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Oklahoma, another southern state, adopted full suffrage in November by what had been considered a prohibitory majority of the highest number of those voting in the election. Again, in Louisiana suffrage, submitted in November, carried all but two parishes.

In stimulating southern campaigns the National American Woman Suffrage Association has followed its half century old policy of proving suffrage strength in the various states as a means of furthering the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Since the southern Senators have provided a large proportion of the opposition the three times the amendment has previously come to vote, on the grounds that they acted in accordance with the wishes of their constituents, it has been pertinent to prove that southern constituents favor the Federal Amendment.

Briefs for Suffrage

IN the village of Girard, in Trumbull County, Ohio, there are 1,100 male voters. Early in January a bond issue of \$65,000 for the purpose of building a new school house was submitted to these voters. Women have school but not bond suffrage in Ohio. Ninety-one votes were cast, 59 for the bond issue, 32 against. In precinct C, which will benefit most largely by the new school, only 10 votes were polled. The issue was thus decided by less than one-eleventh of the qualified electors.

The argument that "women wouldn't vote if they had a chance" is in constant use by the opposition as a reason for the continued disfranchisement of women. A motion is now in order to disfranchise the men of Trumbull County, Ohio.

Is There Room at the Top?

IN the year 1910 (see U. S. Census) there were over eight million women listed among the money-makers of America.

The range of occupations in which the money was made was very great.

The average amount of money earned was very small.

And the place on the ladder of achievement was very low.

To show the variety of occupation, it is necessary to list but a few items from the 1910 census. There were, for instance, 2,500 women dairy farmers, 476 women fishermen and oystermen, 7,800 women in the superior positions of the gardening business—gardeners, fruit growers, landscape gardeners, etc.; there were 77 women lumbermen, raftsmen, wood-choppers, 4 women owned and ran log and timber camps, 885 were stock-herders, drovers, feeders and 1,674 were stock raisers. Something over a thousand were employed in the jobs incident to the extraction of minerals.

Even as long ago as 1910 everybody expected to see women in factories, mills, shops, offices; but as long ago as 1910 there were, also, women filers, grinders, buffers, polishers, furnace-men, heaters, glass blowers, there were women in the clay, glass and stone industries, women in the charcoal and coke works, women sailors, lockkeepers, undertakers, assayers, draftsmen, inventors, piano-tuners, stevedores, tin-smiths, plasterers, paperhangers, sawyers, grindsmen, millwrights, chauffeurs and scissors grinders.

By way of showing how far along women had come in these occupations by 1910 let's pick out a few shining illustrations where it is possible to compare the total number of women in a given group with the number who had risen to superior places in that group. There were, for instance, nearly two million women in manufacturing and mechanical industries.

Of these 4,298 were manufacturers, 1,462 were managers and superintendents, and 401 were officials, a slim total of 6,151, and this, mind you, against a total of 354,640 men in similar positions, out of a gross total of 8,837,901 men in this group.

IN the Transportation group, which included 106,596 women in all, there were just 1,430 proprietors, officials and managers, just 645 foremen, superintendents and overseers, and just 275 inspectors, a total of 2,350.

Now take the Trade group. In all it included nearly half a million women. In the banking business there were 2,634 women who ranked as bankers and brokers on their own initiative. As against the great army of 368,000 women who served in the minor capacity of clerks and saleswomen there were just 13,000 women

WITH this issue the WOMAN CITIZEN begins its advertised series under the above title.

Figures are not supposed to make interesting reading in themselves, yet there is, we think, a rather vivacious story in the compilation below. From it certain facts stand out like sign-posts.

One fact is that the number of women who are to be counted among the money earners of the United States today is more than one-third of the total number of women in the country.

Another fact is that few indeed of these women have attained positions of trust and prominence in any given occupational group.

Of course, few men are in positions of prominence as compared with the great body of men, but when you find the percentage, not the number, of men at the top comparing in a given group with the percentage of women near the top in that same group as fifty compares with one, you realize the depth and breadth of the conundrum propounded in our title.

We hope that the analysis of women's motives and life's conditions to be presented in the series will be a contribution to a fuller understanding of just what society needs and is demanding of women in this day and generation and just how capably it is ordering affairs so that women may rise to the need.

Narrowing down primarily to Woman in Business, forthcoming articles in the series will present particular phasings of the question and assemble the personal opinion of experts on the subject under such sub-titles as: *Is There Room at the Top for*

Women in Wall Street?

Women in the Insurance Field?

The Society-Woman in Trade?

The Woman Buyer?

Women in the Advertising Field?

Women in Hotel Organization?

who had risen as high as floorwalkers, foremen and overseers, and just 1,010 who were proprietors and officials.

IN the professions women cannot be divided with any accuracy into those at the top and those farther down. But the total number of women in the professional service was not far short of the total number of men in 1910, the figures for women being over 700,000 and for men over 900,000. Women teachers and women nurses, of course, account for a large number of the women in professional service. There were more women musicians than men, 84,000 women as against 54,000 men; there were fewer actresses (11,000) than actors (16,000), and there were almost as many women artists, sculptors and art teachers as men—15,000 women and 18,000 men. But the inclusion of art teachers and music teachers in the last two groups must be held accountable in part for the numerical showing made by the women.

Ten years have come and gone since the figures were gathered from which the 1910 census was compiled. During that ten years women, even before the war, were swarming out into the money-making world at a rate without parallel in any decade that had gone before. Then came the war, and it alone, according to the most generally accepted estimates, brought about a million and a half women forward into the ranks of the wage-earners.

There are no figures as yet available to show how many American women have found a place in the "gainful occupations" today, but all authorities and all guessers are agreed that when

the 1920 figures are compiled the increase during the decade, will stand out in staggering proportions. In the decade between 1900 and 1910 the increase was 52 per cent. Even at no greater rate of increase 12,000,000 would be the figure for 1919. Perhaps 13,000,000 is as nearly representative as estimated figures can be of the total number of "females" earning money in America in 1919. This would include the women children "10 years and over" and leave a net total of approximately 10,500,000 "females" of 21 and over who are to be considered as the women money-earners of America today.

AS there are 27,000,000 women of 21 and over in the United States today, it will be seen from the above figures that 40 per cent of them are money-earners.

When the lives of nearly half of the adult women of the country are conditioned by economic necessity, when nearly half the women of the country are to be found not in the home but in the office, the mill, the factory, the mines, the fields, it is time for

the country to stop theorizing about what woman's place ought to be and sit up and take notice of just what woman's place actually is.

When half the women of the country are to be found bunched together along some line of defense or offense, it can't be merely because women are restless, it can't be merely because women want to emulate men. It must be because of something more basic. Maybe your sister or your daughter is restless—let us hope she is since restlessness is of an aspirational essence—but your sister and your daughter are negligible in the great surge and urge that are involving one-half the women of the country in the struggle to meet the country's economic need.

YOU can talk till the cows come home about woman's sphere, you can worry yourself black in the face and low in the mind about what is to become of the home and the children and the dishes—something bigger than your talk and your worry must be acting on the current of life like an irresistible undertow to produce such an effect as is evidenced by the number of women who have left home and children and dishes and gotten out into the gainful occupations. And the least society can do, the least women have a right to expect it to do, is to get rid of those hangovers of talk and worry, traditions, conventions, prejudices, that tangle up the feet and the minds of women as they are sucked out into the untried currents of the market place whither it has pleased the High Cost of Living to call them.

For the cruelly unfair thing in the challenge and counter-challenge that arrest and retard women as they are sucked forward into those currents is the dull wit with which the social body accommodates its mental and sentimental responses, its theory of what's right and what's wrong, to the thing it has to practice, willy-nilly, in order to save itself whole.

Here is society on the one hand making use of women to the utmost in a great range of gainful occupations, and here is society, on the other hand, making itself mentally uneasy and sore at heart for fear lest women fail it as wives and mothers and home-makers. And that is not all that makes society uneasy and sore in the handling of the question. Society has made a division of labor whereby men are to be the wage-earners and women are to be the home-makers. Men like that. Women like it. If now women are to come forward as wage-earners aren't they bound to displace men? What's to become of the men? Just as in an earlier day men workers viewed the incoming machine with hostility, so today they view the incoming woman with hostility. Though room must be made here for the difference in the point of view of the man who watches. If he watches from the workshop into which the woman is forcing entrance, he is likely to be hostile, or if not hostile at least anxious. If he watches from the home, which wrings the very life-blood out of him with its incessant demands for food and rent and shoes, he is likely to admit readily that the surplus time and energy and talent among the womankind of his own household must be utilized in some kind of money earning.

IT is, therefore, into a society ill at ease with its own adjustments, a society that has not caught up with itself, that the woman in industry, in trade, and even in the professions, must fare forth. It is against old inherited traditions that bind her as they bind men, against established customs, artificial restrictions, and deep-lying, up-leaping antagonisms that she must make her way.

No fair judgment of the distance she has covered and the speed with which she has traveled can be rendered without paying due heed to these conditions. In view of them, in view of the fact

that the American woman has been seeking a foothold in most of the gainful occupations only during the last three-quarters of a century, there really does not seem to be much value in disparaging the industrial, commercial and professional achievements of women even when comparing them with the achievements of men. Of course, men are far ahead; of course, men do the bigger things, take on the bigger responsibilities, command the bigger salaries. But there is nothing in those facts, flanked by the full story of the heavy conditions that have attended women's entry into the gainful occupations, to raise any question as to woman's inherent ability or ultimate destiny as a successful money-earner.

IT is only when you look in on woman herself, into her personal and private inhibitions, her lethargies, her scheme of values that you may feel a little daunted. We are taking no snap judgment on the question in this series, and in the main the women will speak for themselves. But the interviewer who moves about questioning, proving, among women who can be ranked as the most significant women, say, in the world of commercial achievement today, must take account of certain definite reactions that are to be found so generally as to look like sex characteristics.

For one thing, women in business lack a sense of direction, they are a little bewildered. For another they do not get vitally "interested in the game," as men do! they haven't a big ambition. Again, they are quite definitely afraid of initiative and responsibility. Finally, they push against an urge to matrimony. There are women to whom not one of those allegations applies, but if you will interview ten women and dig down a little you will find the application somewhere along the line in at least eight.

We are not blaming women, you understand. We can as readily as you shift the blame to the training back of the woman. We are willing to go even farther than that. We are willing to demand respect for whatever is real in limitations or inhibitions. Nobody ought to want a woman to do things against which her being is consciously or subconsciously set.

But that is not going to exempt a socio-economic arrangement that has gotten women into the money-making ranks by the million. And it is not going to make it fair or bearable that, since women are in those ranks, they shall stay massed in dumb, heavy inertia at the very base of real and vivid achievement. If you have to do a thing, you have to do it well.

That is the part that is frightening the world today, for that is the part that promises to bring women into a livelier competition with men.

Can men bear it?

Can women bear it?

(To be continued)

THE Woman Citizen

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171 Madison Avenue, New York

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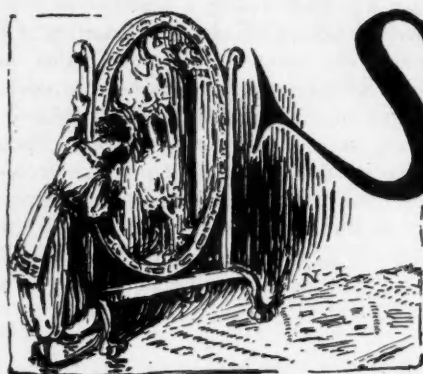
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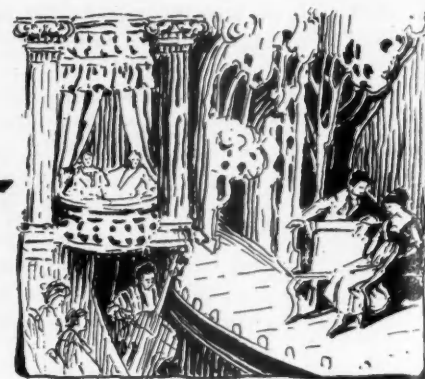
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HERE the Woman Citizen will present from time to time a survey of the plays and players of the American stage.

Stage Reflections



MEANTIME, we shall not, we feel sure, make the mistake of taking ourselves too seriously as we hold this mirror up to the stage.

The Riddle: Woman

THERE is not so much riddle about it and the solution—if one be required—is brains and a healthy animalism. We say "healthy" animalism with purpose. Because the sort delineated in it is morbid and unhealthy.

The authors, Charlotte Wells and Dorothy Donnelly, state that they are indebted for their idea to a Danish play. It would be a waste of time for us to conjecture how far that indebtedness extends. It goes at least far enough to insure that we have a play, the scene of which is laid in Denmark, the characters of which are all Danish, and the trend and philosophy of which are distinctly European. Nothing in it is a reminder that its authors were ever brought up on American soil, ever breathed the healthy invigorating atmosphere of American common sense and idealism. Bertha Kalich as Lilla Olrik is a thin, twisting, sinuous woman with a trick of veiling her eyes and the unspeakable habit of practising the arts of a courtesan upon her lawfully wedded husband. Her dress emphasizes the philosophy—assumption would be the better word—which permeates the play, that the body always has held and always will hold the mastery over mind and spirit. It is a remarkable illustration of how, by faithful study of a model and by unhesitating acceptance of the idea that anything which is the product of European realism must be better than what American can evolve, two persons can impregnate their brains with a creative impulse foreign to their nationality and to the philosophy of life which environs them.

Not that it is not interesting. One sits through it with fascinated attention admitting that it has a body and a craftsmanship far out of the ordinary. Everybody who is interested in the sex standards which now prevail ought

IN particular we want to bring down to center the interpretations of woman and her ways, the ideals of womanhood as they are staged. We have an idea that there is room for a little genial exchange as to woman's point of view and men's on the subject.

to see it. And nobody will be bored, though we predict that many a one will leave more leniently inclined than ever to the rampant idealism and utterly impossible conceptions of life that are found in "Turn to the Right" and kindred gems of our local output.

It might perhaps just as well have been called "The Man God"; for while the authors clearly were unconscious of what they were doing, they were preaching a doctrine which is almost universal in Europe, and which, with our increasing European immigration, is fast finding a lodgment on American soil, that the legitimate end of a woman's life can never be more than the pleasing of men, that no form of self-expression is tolerable in her other than that of her dominion over men, and of her influence upon history and upon contemporaneous events which she obtains through that dominion. It throws out of the balance all the weights of character—of tenderness, of fidelity, of intelligence—except as those qualities are fused in and overlaid by a supreme capacity for arousing and satisfying men. It has just one advance over the plays of a hundred years ago in that the husband is sufficiently up to date to recognize that his wife's indiscretions before her marriage were of like origin and nature with his own, and he therefore refrains from Pharisaically showing her the door when her past comes to light.

CONSISTENT with such an undercurrent of philosophy, the play is a thing of unity, of first rate workmanship, and of absorbing interest. It is to be hoped that these remarks upon it will not be mistaken for adverse criticism. They constitute a digest—no more. The taste of a play is to be determined by every individual for himself. But the mass of playgoers are not always more able to determine what constitutes the food content of a play than the consumer of a bit of pastry is able to

analyze past its vanilla flavor a substance which he has just swallowed.

FAR from objecting to "The Riddle: Woman," the reviewer insists that it has a distinct value in bringing the public to a clear comprehension of the drift of thought and of influences that may undermine our social ideals before we are aware that they are working there. It does not in the least detract from the interest of the play that we decide that the sort of thing depicted in it is exactly what we do not want and will not have grow up in our own land. Its value can best be conveyed by a reference to educational conditions. Some years ago, a great furor arose against teaching correct English through the medium of examples of "false syntax" to be corrected. It had a speciously sound tone to say, "Why put before the pupil what is wrong and require him to correct it? Be constructive from the start. Let him see and know only good syntax." But the experience of teachers is that this theory will work only when the children who come out of educated families accustomed to good English in the home life are subjected to it. We cannot guard the child of the masses against the false syntax of the home and the playground and the street. And we cannot afford dramatically to ignore the tendency of humanity to promulgate a theory of idealism, through the novel and the drama, and, at the same time, to become so habituated to living the exact opposite of the theory in every day life that people are unaware of the angle between their philosophy and their living.

Had the authors of "The Riddle: Woman" been possessed of a creative vision, they would have perceived a line of development for their play that would have broken with European traditions and satisfied the American sense of optimism without destroying its dramatic elevation. We have an "old maid" in the play

who is the mother of a hidden child, the victim of a blackmailer, and—pivotal point—the possessor of a private fortune. Afraid of discovery, she shoots herself, leaving the child not only fatherless but motherless and—so far as we know—unprovided for. This end is absolutely in agreement with European intellectual contemplation of life as it is, with its standard that chastity in a woman is a commercial asset and a violation of it the equivalent of a sentence of damnation; and with its doctrine that contemptible feminine weakness is justifiable human selfishness.

THE writers who are purveying to the desires of a public, regardless of psychological verity, would probably rush to an impossible extreme in Americanizing the play. They would have found a husband for the lady—a multi-millionaire at the least—to adopt her and her child, and forever after to console her outraged affections and stricken pride by a lifetime of devotion. To Europeans, such a denouement is not only bad psychology, flying as it does in the face of reality, but it swallows, in the voracious maw of the common place, the tragic elements of greatness.

But there was a third course—not in a Danish play, of course, but in an American—reconcilable with both the ideal and the realistic. The mother, being a woman of means, might have defied and ruined her blackmailer, might have taken her child to her heart, might have broken with those of her relatives who desired to cut her, might have found in a mother's devotion and in the atonement made to her offspring an heroic plane of self-sacrifice and idealism. Such a course would have elevated the character into the realm of dramatic heroines. For it would imply both tragedy and yet ultimately a happy outcome. The philosophy preached in our "Turn to the Right" plays is utterly false. Sinners cannot "turn to the right" without punishment, the world is not so ready to forgive and forget and help, there must be expiation for wrong doing; but there is ultimately the joy of self-conquest, the peace of knowing that the debt has been paid, and that character has righted itself, whether or not reputation has paid a price.

THERE is only one excuse for a woman who, having sinned against the unborn, aggravates that sin by repudiating the child to whom she has given life; and that is, that she will, by acknowledging the facts, make it impossible for her to earn the money with which to support it. The woman of means who has brought a child into this world, and who, for her own protection, puts it away from her, denying it the only recompense she can give, a mother's love and devotion, is a festering mass of selfishness and egoism. Nothing can excuse such heartlessness.

Kristine Jespersen was crucifying herself quite needlessly about the "lie" she was living in passing for an old maid when she was a mother. Kristine had money wherewith to cherish her child. If she loved the approval of the world more than she loved her child, she was not much of a woman, and there is no need of sorrow for her end. Had she chosen to live and do her duty by it, she had the promise of a great happiness in making it the greatest amends that she could.

As for Lilla Olrik, the character is not one to commend itself in retrospect, though Miss Kalich's superb handling of it cannot but evoke the sympathy of the moment. In the end, the morbid animal in her turned on her tormentor and half-throttled him. No intelligence, no moral sense led her to be truthful to her husband. She could do nothing—in consonance with the European conception of woman as the creature of weakness and her connoted deceit—till she was carried away by the passion of fury, as she had once been carried away by the fury of passion.

It is rather amusing to observe how the authors "fell down" on one point. They were consistently Danish till they had to handle the husband. Life-long association with sensible, whole-souled American men then proved too much for them. Lars Olrik in his delineation and in his interpretation by Lee Baker is an American, not a Dane.

M. H. F.

Keep It to Yourself

THE advice is sound and the only thing to be regretted is that the author did not act upon his own suggestion. It is the sort of thing that we had hoped had gone out forever—the play in which a woman tamely submits to, and even seems to feel complimented by the exposition of a vulgar and degrading jealousy, in which a salacious allusiveness points the dialogue, and the inanities of a newly wedded pair are relieved by suspicions and attacks of insulting jealousy on the part of a husband. It is not that we would deny that occasionally husbands have cause for jealousy, but that all the incidents which precede and follow the finding of a gentleman in pink pajamas in the bridal chamber are of such a nature as to preclude even the idea that he was there by the bride's consent or desire. Consequently the husband's rage and her tame acceptance of it and the resulting development of the play are things that might have passed for reality in the days of Marguerite of Navarre—only they didn't—or else are worthy of a peasant's hut in the Balkans or some other primitive social state.

It claims to be based upon a French comedy and it features the deadly nauseous French plot of people who embrace and kiss and have absolutely no confidence in each other. But there the resemblance ceases. A confection of

pie crust filled with boiled cabbage or sauerkraut would bear about the same relation to a Parisian meringue that this does to a clever French comedy. All the wit, the delicacy, the cleverness with which the French can redeem a production of this sort are lacking. The Frenchman has at least the genius of shrouding his lack of idealism by a dialogue witty as well as elusive. All that was light in touch has suffered in its process of filtration through the American mind. The play is revolting for just the same reason that Anglo-Saxon profanity is the most profane and abhorrent of all the world. As Gilbert Chesterton has brilliantly pointed out, irreverence is only possible to the reverent—you remember he tells you, if you do not believe that, to sit down for half an hour and try to be irreverent about the god Thor. The French, not having the same reverence for the moral and spiritual ties of the marriage relation, can build their comedies upon it without outraging their own ideals. The American, to whom an ideal comradeship and trust are the basic elements of a happy married life, cannot burlesque marriage without self-violation.

It cannot be denied that the surprise element furnishes occasional laughter and that the facial contortions with which Mr. Dallas Wellesford and Mr. Albert Brown embellish their rather bold roles are amusing. Ethel Stanard and Helen Holmes are decidedly good to look at and are gowned with unimpeachable taste. In characters which compel our admiration, they might be most attractive. Handicapped by roles which make no appeal for sympathy and delineate woman in her most vapid and least intelligent phase, they are comparatively without charm.

What draws the public to "Keep It to Yourself" is a mystery unless it is that New York City in its comprehensive scope holds a public which obtains its ideas through the eye and is incapable of reflecting upon what it has witnessed. That the play is pleasing part of the public its crowded houses give proof. M. H. F.

THE LITTLE GRAND-MOTHER

of the

RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

Life and Letters of Catherine Breshkovsky, Compiled by Alice Stone Blackwell

New Edition

LITTLE, BROWN & COMPANY

34 Beacon Street

Boston

Price \$1.50

PROGRESS OF THE SUFFRAGE FEDERAL AMENDMENT UP TO DATE

KNOWN IN THE

65TH CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES AS
SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 2
and HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 1

*Proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States Con-
ferring upon Women the
Right of Suffrage.*

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several states as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said Legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution namely:

"ARTICLE

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

History of Amendment

First introduced in the Senate, January 10, 1878, by Senator A. A. Sargent, of California.

REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE:

In the Senate:

1878, Adverse majority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1889, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1890, Without recommendation.
1893, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Without recommendation.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.
1917, Unanimously.

In the House:

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.
1917, Sept. 24, Woman Suffrage Committee created, yes 181, no 107.
1917, Dec. 15, Reported from Judiciary Committee without recommendation.
1918, Jan. 3, Reported favorably from House Suffrage Committee.

VOTED UPON:

In the House:

January 12, 1915: yeas 174, nays 204 (378 voting).
January 10, 1918: yeas 274, nays 136 (410 voting).

VICTORY!

In the Senate:

January 25, 1887: yeas 16, nays 34 (50 voting).
March 19, 1914: yeas 35, nays 34 (69 voting).
October 1, 1918: yeas, including pairs, 62; nays 34.
February 10, 1919: yeas, including pairs, 63; nays 33.

Present Status in Senate:

February 17, 1919: Reintroduced in the Senate by Senator Jones, of Washington.



MRS. A. W. PARMELEE

MRS. W. L. BRYANT

MRS. A. L. BAILEY

THE Green Mountain State has gone to the head of the class in New England. The Green Mountain Girls, as the *Burlington Free Press* in its friendly editorials calls them, have the honor of making Vermont lucky twenty-three in the list of states where women may vote for president in 1920. It is a splendid victory!

Two years ago Vermont's Legislature granted to the women of Vermont municipal suffrage. The new voters made a praiseworthy record at their first spring election. It is true that the property declaration required as a qualification for voting made extra work for listers and town clerks. These town officers therefore remonstrated. Opponents of suffrage caught eagerly at the remonstrance and at the time of the convening of the Legislature this year, January 8, were framing a bill to repeal municipal suffrage, claiming that it was an unqualified nuisance. The bill was introduced in the Senate and promptly killed.

In the meantime the Committee on Suffrage and Elections had been appointed in both Houses and they would do credit to the most forward looking Legislatures in the country. The suffrage legislative committee, headed by Dr. Grace W. Sherwood of St. Albans, in testing out the temper of the legislators, saw that



DR. GRACE W. SHERWOOD,
Who Headed the Legislative Committee.

there was an astonishing amount of state rights sentiment among them, enough, in fact, to put Vermont in the class of states bordering on the Gulf, although it is overwhelmingly Republican, and even though on the north is borders on the king of England's country—all white—and on the west is separated only by Lake Champlain from white New York.

In view of the prevailing attitude on the subject of suffrage in Vermont the legislative committee started out to win all additional suffrage that the Legislature could grant. Accordingly, Senator Martin Vilas of Burlington, as staunch a friend as suffragists ever had, introduced in the Senate a presidential suffrage bill giving to the women all the voting rights, in addition to the municipal suffrage already granted, which can be secured by legislative act. The bill passed the Senate January 29 by a vote of 20 to 10, every man being in his seat.

WHEN the bill went on to the House a vigorous attempt was made by the opposition to hold it up in committee. This move brought about a hearing before the committee, at which Dr. Sherwood, armed with statistics to the credit of the women at their spring election, and with the names of the thousands of women who had signed the suffrage petition during the recent canvass, made an eloquent appeal to the legislators, asking them at the close of her speech to "help Vermont women keep up with the world progress in equal suffrage, and not let it be said that only the women of China and Japan were behind our women in this great movement."

The bill was reported out of committee favorably, whereupon a heated discussion from the floor followed. In the course of the speech-making our supporters seized the opportunity of claiming for Vermont some of the new democracy that is reaching every corner of the earth. Matters were brought to a temporary halt by a motion to postpone consideration of the bill indefinitely. The motion was lost, the vote being 137 to 77. After more discussion the bill was advanced to a third reading by a vote of 128 to 82. The following day, February 6, it was passed by a vote of 120 to 90.

Vermont
Takes lead
New England

GREEN
MOUNTAIN
LEGISLA-
TURE
TAKES
SECOND
STEP
Toward
COMPLETE
ENFRAN-
CHISEMENT
of
WOMEN

MUNICIPAL
SUFFRAGE
1917

PRESIDENTIAL
SUFFRAGE
1920

Vermont es lead in v England



MRS. JOANNA CROFT READ MRS. J. BORDEN ESTEE MRS. L. H. OLZENDAM

So much for the bare facts of Vermont's victory. A word should now be said for the suffragists themselves who, with the same tenacity of purpose that won Illinois, New York and Oklahoma, earnestly set to work to show that the women of Vermont do want and need suffrage and that they have benefitted by the limited enfranchisement already obtained. It is not necessary to tell any suffrage campaigner how much work, latent as well as plainly visible, lies back of a victory, or that it takes but little short of one's life blood to build up through the years the sentiment required for making possible a triumph in democracy such as has been achieved in Vermont. It means courage, determination, patience and vision to do it, and the leaders of what might be called the Fighting Twenty-third—not regiment but state, in this case—have all of those required qualifications.

FIRST there is Mrs. Annette W. Parmelee of Enosburg Falls. Mrs. Parmelee had the grit to stand by and defend suffrage at its unpopular beginning. Moreover, she has never ceased to stand by and defend. She is controversial by nature, and verbally as well as mutely, over the name of Priscilla, gets the best of many an opponent. Mrs. A. L. Bailey of St. Johnsbury, the state president, lives up to her theory that good nature and tact have a great deal to do with making friends for suffrage. Mrs. Lilian H. Olzendam of Woodstock, chairman of the ratification committee, who has strengthened the state organization and pushed the petition campaign with energy and efficiency, has been ably assisted by Mrs. W. L. Bryant of Springfield. Mrs. Bryant has developed a genius for raising money. I fancy that suffragists, far and near, will want to know the secret of her success. Mrs. Read of Burlington, who has lent valuable aid to the legislative work, is fast developing into an expert on municipal elections. We are looking to her to show the women of Vermont how they may use the ballot for the best civic advancement of the state. Dr. Grace W. Sherwood of St. Albans, chairman of the legislative committee, has been assisted by Mrs. Fred Blanchard and Mrs. J. B.

Estee, both of whom live in Montpelier and have a close acquaintance with legislative procedure.

DR. SHERWOOD is looked upon as one of the foremost members of her profession and has made a notable record for herself. Eight years ago she founded a sanitarium in St. Albans. It was not easy to launch the undertaking in a northern New England town, where the old prejudice against the woman physician loomed large. However, with patience and tact, and with ability that has commanded increasing respect, as the years have gone on, she has overcome all of the early scepticism. She has been a worthy object lesson in advancing the cause of women in her state. As one of the state Senators exclaimed, "Dr. Sherwood has earned the right to ask for anything she wants, and what she wants will be good for everybody in Vermont."

There are others who should be mentioned: among them are Mrs. L. K. Thomas of Richford, state treasurer, whose unique experience in civic housecleaning will be given space in a later issue of the *WOMAN CITIZEN*; and Mrs. Thomas of St. Albans, in charge of the local petition work, whose county went over the

(Continued on page 804)

MRS. JUSTINA LEAVITT WILSON,
Who Represented the National in Vermont's
Campaign.

Are You Keeping Up with the Times?

This table has changed since you saw it last!

Where Women Vote ABROAD

Women were granted full suffrage

in	in
Australia	1902
Austria	1918
Canada	1918
Czecho-Slovakia	1918
Denmark	1915
England	1918
Finland	1906
Germany	1918
Holland	1919
Hungary	1918
Iceland	1918
Ireland	1918
Isle of Man	1881
New Zealand	1893
Norway	1907
Poland	1918
Russia	1917
Scotland	1918
Sweden	1919
Wales	1918

Twenty countries in all!

† According to word from the president of the Vereeniging voor Vrouwenkiesrecht.

Municipal Suffrage

in	in
South Africa	1915

IN THE UNITED STATES

Women Were Granted Full Suffrage

in	in
Wyoming	1890
Colorado	1893
Idaho	1896
Utah	1910
Washington	1911
California	1912
Arizona	1912
Kansas	1912
Oregon	1912
Alaska	1913
Montana	1914
Nevada	1914
New York	1917
Oklahoma	1918
Michigan	1918
South Dakota	1918

Women Were Granted Presidential and
Municipal Suffrage

in	in
Illinois	1913
North Dakota	1917
Nebraska	1917
Vermont	1917
Municipal	1917
Presidential	1919

Presidential Suffrage

in	in
Rhode Island	1917
Indiana	1919
Wisconsin	1919

Primary Suffrage

in	in
Arkansas	1917
Texas	1918

School or Tax Suffrage

in	in
Kentucky	1838
Minnesota	1875
New Hampshire	1878
Massachusetts	1879
Mississippi	1880
New Jersey	1887
Connecticut	1893
Iowa	1894
Ohio	1894
Delaware	1898
Louisiana	1898
Wisconsin	1900
New Mexico	1910

Women Voters of the World!

There are approximately one hundred million women voters in the world today. Twelve and a half million of them, in twenty-four states will be entitled to vote for the next President of the United States.

Notorious Antisuffrage Corruption

By Alice Stone Blackwell

LAST November in the investigation of the activities of the brewers there was unearthed a statement by their representative that he thought it very undesirable for the public to learn of their opposition to woman suffrage, but that they could put a person like-minded with themselves in touch with all the channels of anti-suffrage activity.

In the spring of 1916 the Public Service Commission of New Hampshire published an official report on the activities of the Boston and Maine Railroad from 1912 to 1915. It was notorious that for years this railroad had largely controlled and grossly debauched New Hampshire politics. The road finally got into financial difficulties which led to a Government investigation and amazing revelations resulted.

It was found that the railroad officials had made a combine with the liquor interest to control the Legislature and the Constitutional Convention of 1912, and had spent the stockholders' money for various things which had no proper connection with railroad interests—among others, in opposing woman suffrage. The report of the Public Service Commission said:

"The officials of railroad corporations do not own the railroads, and the funds of those corporations are not their funds, to do with as they will. They are the funds of the stockholders, held in trust to be used for the benefit of the stockholders in promoting the objects named in the charter of articles of incorporation. Their use for any other purpose is a fraud on the stockholders, who have not consented. Even if the stockholders did consent, the use of railroad funds for other than railroad

purposes would be illegal. But it is not to be presumed that all the stockholders of the Boston and Maine Railroad, or even in every case a majority of them, would have consented to the use of the funds of the company in opposing woman suffrage, the initiative and referendum, and an amendment of the constitutional provisions relating to taxation; in attempting to secure the election to a national convention of delegates favorable to a particular candidate for the presidency; in traveling about the state to secure information as to the probable attitude of Senators and Representatives elect with regard to public officials to be elected by the Legislature; in buying drinks and other entertainment for members of the Legislature; in making an alliance with the liquor interests."

All these things, the Public Service Commission said, were "shown by evidence" to have been done. 'For a further extract from this Government report, see *The Woman's Journal* of April 8, 1916.)

IN the last number of the WOMAN CITIZEN there was printed a choice and juicy bit from the hearing on the meat packers' combine, in which Mr. Heney, attorney for the investigation committee of the Federal Trade Commission, made Mr. Veeder, representative of Swift & Co., admit that "very likely" Swift & Co. was against suffrage, and "very likely" he did advise the company that suffrage was going to sweep the country, and it would not be good policy to get in the position of being against it, and the company would, therefore, better make its contributions to the anti-suffragists under the seal of secrecy.

Here are three striking instances where "Big Business," in the bad sense of the term, has been caught in opposing votes for women. Its opposition is one reason why the suffrage movement has had such hard sledding for so many years. Ought not the cause to be loved for the enemies it has made? And is it not encouraging that even the attorney of the Beef Trust now says suffrage is "going to sweep the country?"

Many Honest Converts

SOME of the persons who have lately been eulogizing Roosevelt ought to blush to remember how they set down as due to hypocrisy and vote-seeking his warm expressions in advocacy of equal suffrage. That charge will no longer be brought against him; but at short intervals it is brought against other public men. There are some opponents of equal rights who seem constitutionally unable to believe, or at least to confess, that any prominent man is a sincere believer in woman suffrage. Especially when anyone who was formerly opposed declares himself a convert, they insist that he must be a convert "for revenue only."

With the suffrage movement sweeping ahead at its present rate, there is, of course, ample reason for all the time-servers to get on the band-wagon. But why assume that everyone who advances with the forward movement of the age is a time-server? When Wilson came out with his recent exhortation to Congress to pass the Federal Suffrage Amendment, a certain Republican editor relapsed into the mud-slinging of the 1916 campaign and declared that neither Mr. Wilson nor Justice Hughes really believed in suffrage in his heart, though they vied with one another in recommending it, for campaign purposes. And hardly a day passes without somebody bringing a similar charge against some member of Congress.

But why besmirch our leading public men with insinuations of

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YOU will find a charming assortment of silk and parchment, in the new shapes and decorations.

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insincerity on this question? There has been a widespread conversion of late among men who are not in politics, and who could have no political end to gain by it. Look at the broad fact that Michigan, Oklahoma and South Dakota have just extended full suffrage to women by popular vote, though all three of them had previously defeated it. New York carried it in 1917 by a large majority, after defeating it by a large majority two years before. With this marked change of opinion going on visibly among the rank and file of men, why assume that any prominent man who announces a similar change of view must be a humbug? As Edmund Burke well said, "He who accuses all mankind of corruption should remember that he is sure to convict only one."

A Roosevelt Reminiscence

A PLEASANT Roosevelt reminiscence was given the other day by "Madame Washburn," of Worcester, Mass., the mother of Robert Washburn, whose brilliant speeches on equal suffrage and other subjects have often enlivened the Massachusetts Legislature.

Once, while lunching at the White House, she told President Roosevelt that she sometimes wished she lived in Germany.

"Why so?" he asked.

"Because the Emperor gives a piece of silver to every woman who is the mother of seven sons. I am qualified to receive it."

"I should like to do that, too," answered Roosevelt, "but I would give it also to every woman who is the mother of seven daughters."

By Federal Route

NATION-WIDE prohibition is now established by law. When the bells rang to celebrate the ratification of the Federal Prohibition Amendment by the thirty-sixth State, and the news was spread upon the front pages of the press in big headlines, the breasts of the suffragists swelled with mingled feelings. Apart from their emotions as temperance women and as good citizens, there were certain aspects of this victory which especially appealed to them as suffragists.

It forecasts another victory. Their minds leaped forward to the day when the bells will ring for the ratification of another Federal amendment—a victory wickedly and stupidly delayed, but already in plain sight. With this joy was mingled strong impatience at the inexcusable postponement. But the joy was by far the greater factor.

There was in it a spice of vindictive satisfaction in the final knocking out of an old enemy. The liquor interests have fought woman suffrage tooth and nail from the very beginning.

There was a reasoned gratification, too, in the knowledge that a strong blow had been struck at the decrepit doctrine of States' rights, which still seeks to bar the advance of women to political liberty by the national route. There is satisfaction, also, in the removal from national politics of an issue that has often had complicating effect upon ours. The way is now cleared for the next Federal amendment—and it is coming.

Breshkovsky's Lectures

MADAME BRESHKOVSKY'S lecture tour in the United States is being arranged by W. B. Feakins, Times Building, New York City. All applications for lectures should be sent to him, not to Miss Blackwell.



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When writing to, or dealing with, advertisers please mention the WOMAN CITIZEN

Vermont Takes the Lead

(Continued from page 801)

top in the canvass because she stuck to her job in spite of influenza and the handicaps of a Vermont winter; also Mrs. John Spargo of Bennington, Mrs. James A. Merrill of Rutland, both of whom have shouldered big county responsibilities, and Dr. Marion Horton of Windsor, who as county chairman paralleled in her efficient work for suffrage the excellent record she has made in Red Cross activities.

THUS did Vermont score a new point. The winning of presidential suffrage not only means a step toward full enfranchisement for the women of the state; it not only provides an object lesson for the opponents of suffrage who, against their inclinations, or interests, or both, have seen democracy advance in spite of the determined efforts that have usually blocked reforms; but the victory that has given Vermont the lead among New England states will act as an incentive, as encouragement to the neighboring states where the fight is still in progress.

Here's hoping that Maine, New Hampshire, Connecticut and Massachusetts may follow suit!

JUSTINA L. WILSON.

Important Ruling

ATORNEY-GENERAL CURETON, of Texas, has handed down an opinion in which he holds that the women voters of the state will not have to register again this year in addition to paying their poll taxes for the year. The attorney-general holds that it was evidently not the intention of the Legislature to require a registration of the women voters this year. It is held that the payment of the poll tax and the procuring of a receipt is a form of registration. This ruling clears up what has been regarded in some sources as a conflict in the provisions of the legislative act granting primary suffrage to the women of the state.

Ohio State Convention

THE Thirty-third Convention of the Ohio Woman Suffrage Association will be held in Columbus, February 26 and 27, at the Hotel Deshler.

At the Convention officers will be elected, also the state delegates to the National Convention to be held in St. Louis, in March. Reports will be received from standing committees on finance, literature, enrollment, organization. The political committee will report and make recommendations for the future.

Nemesis!

BY order of the Nebraska court the anti-suffragists, together with the state, must pay the costs of the long legal battle which was waged against the suffragists of the state and which ended on January 25 in a glorious victory for the suffragists. The costs of the suit will approximate \$5,000. Included in this cost is the pay for the court stenographer whose task it was to write out the technical objections which the lawyers for the anti-sisted must be taken down.

Full citizenship is a qualification for voting in Nebraska since the abolishing of the alien law which permitted aliens to vote on six months' residence in the state. This important amendment to the state constitution was adopted by the voters at the last election.

Maine Politicians for Suffrage

TELEGRAMS endorsing woman suffrage were received recently by the Maine Woman Suffrage Association from four of the State's delegation in Congress—U. S. Senator Bert M. Fernald and Congressmen John A. Peters, Wallace H. White, Jr., and Ira G. Hersey. The telegrams were called to the attention of the legislature.

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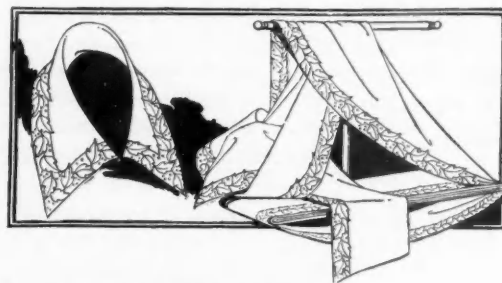
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IN ADDITION

Royal Wilton Rugs

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Indiana's Suffrage Record

SUFFRAGE made a clean sweep in the Indiana Legislature this year. The presidential suffrage bill, the full suffrage bill and the resolution memorializing the United States Senate to vote for the Federal Suffrage Amendment, all passed either unanimously or with few dissenting votes.

On February 6, Governor Goodrich affixed his signature to the presidential suffrage bill and thus completed the process necessary to give the women of Indiana the right to vote for presidential electors in 1920. This was the second bill to receive the governor's signature during the session, the first document to be signed by the governor being the resolution urging the Senate to vote for the Federal Suffrage Amendment. The pen used in signing the documents was presented to the Woman's Franchise League.

On February 10 the House of Representatives by a vote of 91 to 0, passed the Beardsley joint resolution to amend the state constitution to grant suffrage to women, making citizenship a basis for the franchise for both men and women. The bill passed the Senate without a dissenting vote on January 31. It is necessary for the full suffrage bill to pass the next Legislature before it can go to the governor for signature.

"I am more pleased with the fact that the full suffrage bill was passed unanimously, that both parties united behind this great electoral reform, than with any other developments of our suffrage campaign," said Mrs. Richard E. Edwards, president of the Woman's Franchise League. "We have had support and help from practically every man of political prominence in the state. It argues well for the success of the measure in the next Legislature."

With the passage of the Beardsley amendment by the House last week, the legislative program of the Woman's Franchise League, as outlined for this year, was completed and the legislative headquarters at the State House closed. The legislative committee presented each member of the Legislature with a little card from the Franchise League expressing the thanks and appreciation of the women of Indiana for the advancement of the suffrage measures. The legislators especially responsible for pushing the suffrage measures were Representatives Johnson, Kimmel and Miltenbarger, and Senators Broan, Ratts, Beardsley, Van Auken, English, McKinley and Alldredge.

Miss Betsy Edwards, legislative chairman, Mrs. E. A. Gould, vice-chairman, Mrs. Edwards, and her official staff, will continue to keep in close touch with legislative matters, especially those bills on registration or election which may affect the suffrage for women.

What Satisfies Mrs. Edwards

THIS story is told on Mrs. Edwards, the famous suffrage leader of Indiana, by one of her colleagues:

"Mrs. Edwards came home from Indianapolis last week, looking dragged out and discouraged. I asked her what luck she had had. She answered: "'Oh, fair.'" Then I said: "Didn't your bill pass?" And she replied:

"'Oh, yes—90 to 3.'

"Well, isn't that an enormous majority?

"'Well, yes.'

"Well, what's the matter then, why aren't you satisfied?

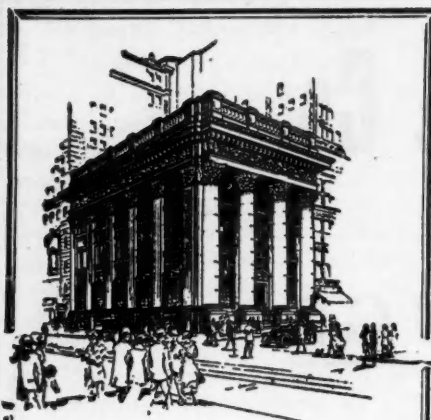
"'Because those three got away from us.' Then her face brightened and she added:

"'However, one of them is sorry and promised to vote right on the other suffrage bill next week, and I have hopes of the other two.'"

No Less Humiliating

"Women are taxed without representation, governed without their consent, tried, convicted and punished without a jury of their peers. Is all this tyranny any less humiliating and degrading to women under our Democratic-Republican government today than it was to men under their aristocratic-monarchical government one hundred years ago?"

SUSAN B. ANTHONY.



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Women in Industry

Equal Opportunity

THE women of Great Britain are promised equal pay for equal work and other safeguards by Premier Lloyd George in his answer to the memorial presented by the British Women's Industrial League, according to reports from London. Not only will the opportunities opened to women during the war be continued, but the door will remain open for the fullest possible advancement of women in all lines, the Premier promises.

The Premier's promise is contained in a letter written to Lady Rhondda, and he declares that "It will be my care to see that in all these industries no discrimination shall be made against the employment of women in any suitable occupation.

"In regard to the payment of women workers, I am a supporter of the principle of equal pay for equal output. To permit women to be the catspaw for reducing the level of wages is unthinkable. It is not desired by enlightened employers, to whom good production and uniform wages are desirable; cutting of wages, with its consequent instability, is not at any time either in their interest or in that of the nation.

"It is scarcely fair to say that women are not being consulted on important questions of reconstruction. More in this direction might be done and shall be done, but they are already represented in the women's employment committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction.

"Your memorial raises the question of training and educational facilities, and to this I can unhesitatingly reply that steps shall be taken to insure for women the opportunities that they seek in our schools and universities to fit them for the trades and professions in which they can suitably engage."

Clerical Occupations

THE great increase in the number of women workers in Great Britain during the war is indicated by the final report of the British Civil War Workers' Committee. Not including the munition industries, 878,000 women found employment as substitutes for men workers, according to the official report. The principal spheres in which women workers substituted for the men are: Commerce, 354,000; civil service, 99,500; transport, 78,000; postoffice, 59,500; clerks and similar employments, 57,000; finance and banking, 63,000; and non-government industries, 89,000.

Citing the fact that the whole question of the future position of women in clerical and commercial occupations is one of great importance as well as great difficulty, the report recommends that the Ministry of Harbor should be asked to set up, in connection with the Labor

Resettlement Committee, a committee to consider and advise on this particular problem.

To Regulate Hours

A NINE-HOUR day for elevator girls is the provision of a bill introduced by Mrs. Ida B. Sammis in the New York Assembly, and in the Senate by Senator Pitcher. Night work is prohibited in the provisions of the bill and girls under eighteen are not to be employed at any time. The measure also provides for seats in elevators.

On Governing Board

ETHEL E. TULLOCH of San Diego, Cal., enjoys the distinction of being the first woman to be made a member of the governing board of the National Federation of Post Office Employees. She was elected fifth vice-president of the organization, after having served as a district organizer for the federation. She is a clerk in the San Diego post office.

To Protect Children

THE stamp of legitimacy will be placed on all illegitimate children whose fathers can be identified in a legal way, if a bill to this effect, introduced by Assemblyman Mary Lilly in the New York Legislature, is passed by that body. The bill provides that a child shall bear the name of its father and have the same rights in law as a child born in wedlock. It is the belief of Mrs. Lilly that such a law would reduce the number of illegitimate children by compelling men to acknowledge their responsibility.

15,000 Strong

THE WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE of Philadelphia, with a membership of 15,000, has declared itself unqualifiedly in favor of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. The attitude of the organization was made known in the following appeal made by telegram to Senator Penrose:

"The Women's Trade Union League of Philadelphia, comprising 15,000 organized men and women, who stand committed to woman suffrage, voted at its meeting to demand that you as their representative vote 'yes' on the Suffrage Amendment when it comes up for vote in the Senate."

Shorter Hours

BILLS to provide shorter working hours for women and children now pending before the Massachusetts Legislature are receiving the attention of the suffragists. The bills provide for a 48-hour week, 9-hour maximum day for women and minors. Household workers, private stenographers, trained nurses or agricultural workers are not included in the bills.

A Suffrage Parable

I WILL open my Mouth in a Parable: Behold in the year 1918 a certain man—Uncle Sam—went forth to sow the seeds of DEMOCRACY. And it came to pass that he loaded up a Ship (the AMERICA) full to the gunwales of FREEDOM'S Seeds. And he started the Ship for far distant lands across the seas, where the Peoples had great need of it. Thereupon arose the murmurings of many voices, as 27,000,000 women—nieces of Uncle Sam—hastened after the Ship. These damsels were exceeding wroth, and forthwith they stated their grievances:

"Hark ye, Uncle Sam, why dost thou not give to us that portion of thy DEMOCRATIC Substance that falleth to us? Lo, these many years have we served Thee; in Peace and in War; in Health and in Sickness; in Harvest Times and Fallow Seasons. Have we not sold thy Liberty Bonds upon the street corners, and proclaimed thy War Savings Stamps from the Houselops? And never have we transgressed a Commandment of Thine. And yet Thou givest no Political Freedom to us, that we may celebrate True Citizenship. Have Thy Seeds of DEMOCRACY been sown among Thorns? Are they dead seeds? Have the Cares of the World and the Deceitfulness of Politics and the Lusts of other things entered in and choked true Freedom?"

And Uncle Sam hearkened unto these women, for he knew their words were true and their requests were just. And straightway he entered into his Ship and forthwith commanded the Captain (Woodrow Wilson) to give these Handmaidens of DEMOCRACY their full share. And Captain Wilson did as he was bidden.

Behold the sailors on the lower deck of the America (known as Congressmen) at once bestowed upon these anxious women their due of DEMOCRACY, of which they had for a long season been deprived. But lo, among the sailors on the upper deck (called the Senate) arose a babble of voices. Thereupon 63 of these Senatorial Sailors prepared forthwith to give these women of their precious Cargo of Liberty which was their due. But, alack!—there were 33 Senatorial Sailors who knew not True DEMOCRACY, nor regarded FREEDOM. They protested and refused to obey Captain Wilson's orders. As a result of their mutinous conduct indignant utterances were heard throughout the Ship America.

Forthwith it came to pass that John Bull and Mrs. Canada—of neighboring lands—offered sympathy to Uncle Sam, saying: "We learn with sorrow that Thy Senatorial Sailors refuse LIBERTY to the Women of their own Land, even when they are willing to send Freedom abroad. Why practice they not what they preach? Perchance they know not that DEMOCRACY (like charity) beginneth at Home.

But, Samuel, let not thy Heart be troubled, for LIBERTY which was lost in thy Republic is found in our own Monarchies. Yea, verily. For know ye that we have bestowed upon our females of Great Britain and Canada full DEMOCRACY. So when these things have come to pass, thy slothful Senatorial Sailors will know that LIBERTY—EQUALITY—FRATERNITY are nigh, even at the door."

And Uncle Sam spake, saying, "DEMOCRACY has been sown upon good ground in America, and shall yet bear Fruit, 30 Fold, and 60 Fold, and 100 Fold, giving Political Liberty to its people—men and women; for I say unto you Monarchies, there is more Joy over one woman's winning her own enfranchisement than over ninety and nine who have secured it without effort."

And finally it came to pass that Uncle Sam rebuked these 33 mutinous Senatorial Sailors and had them cast into the SEA of Oblivion, and the Place thereof knew them no more. Selah.

LILLIAN A. RUSLING.

St. Petersburg, Fla.

What About 1917?

IF you were trying to illustrate the growth of a measure, a sentiment, a party, year by year, you would feel in conscience bound to take the record year by year, wouldn't you? What then must you think of the table compiled by the anti-suffragists and recently and publicly submitted to show the growth of Socialism from 1916 to 1918.

We repeat it here:

NEW YORK CITY VOTE				
	1916	1918	(With women voting)	Per Cent.
Republicans..	303,057	293,516	(9,541 Loss)	3
Democrats				
(Tam.)....	321,510	559,278	237,768	74
Socialists....	27,173	86,427	59,254	220
Whole Vote..	652,740	939,221	286,481	44

TOTAL NEW YORK STATE VOTE				
	1916	1918	(With women voting)	Per Cent.
Republicans..	835,820	956,034	120,214	14
Democrats...	686,862	1,009,936	323,074	48
Socialists....	52,560	121,705	69,265	133

This is by way of making the point that with women voting the Socialist vote has leaped forward 220%, from 1916 to 1918.

But what is the matter with 1917? Why leave it out?

This is why:

There was an unprecedented increase in the Socialist vote in 1917, men only voting.

If you compare 1917 with 1918 you find that the Socialist vote did not gain. On the contrary, it fell off 42,000 in the first year that women voted in New York. It fell from 165,650 to 123,071.

But do facts matter to the anti-suffrage statisticians?

Not at all. They wanted to prove that the woman vote increased the Socialist vote. So they proved it—not by facts, by suppressing facts.

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Room with Bath.....\$2.50 and up
Double Room with Bath... 3.50 and up
Parlor, Bedroom and Bath...\$5 to \$7
Dining Room a la carte, serving the highest
grade foods at moderate prices.**Recognition
for
Women**

decoration which their courage and self sacrifice have earned for them. In Great Britain many women have been decorated, and I am sure our Allies in this war will never say that the American woman, in courage, devotion and patriotism, is inferior to any woman on earth."

In this connection it was said that in France one woman has been awarded a place in the Legion of Honor, and that Italian women have been awarded titles which heretofore have been reserved wholly for men who have performed deeds of valor on the battle front.

Representative Smith of Buffalo is quoted as in favor of a bill empowering the President to confer the Distinguished Service Cross upon those women who have rendered their country distinguished service during the war, provided the President does not already have this power.

An Honor Belated

FRANCE has awarded to a woman nomination to the Knighthood of the Legion of Honor, which was won forty-eight years ago. The nomination says:

"Mrs. Gustave Erhardt for exceptional services in the siege of Strassburg. She conducted at the peril of her life on September 17, 1870, through the German lines Prefect Bashrin from Bischwiller to Schiltigheim, whence he was able to reach Strassburg, which was invested."

Mobilize for Reconstruction

THE women of St. Louis are to be mobilized for reconstruction, war relief and civic welfare work, under the auspices of the St. Louis Civic Welfare Association which was organized recently by the welfare section of the Mayor's Reconstruction Committee. Mrs. Lon O. Hocker, chairman of the welfare section of the Mayor's Committee, is the president of the association.

The main features of the program outlined by the association are co-operation with Government in finding employment for returned soldiers, welcoming returning soldiers, estab-

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JOHN P. TOLSON, Manager.

**Government Decorations**

LEGISLATION empowering the President to bestow government decorations upon women who served their country with distinction during the war is proposed by Senator William M. Calder of New York. The New York Senator is quoted as saying that as soon as the law can be determined on the question, he will present a bill providing for the recognition of women war workers. Senator Chamberlain, Chairman of Committee on Military Affairs, and other prominent Senate and House members are said to be heartily in accord with such a law as proposed by Senator Calder. Secretary Baker, while not committing himself on the subject, is said to favor such a plan, and it is not believed that any difficulty will be encountered in obtaining the passage of the bill.

"I am not exactly sure as to the best way of meeting the very general and very just demand that women who have made such sacrifices and who did such heroic work during the war receive such recognition from their government as their conduct entitles them to," said Senator Calder in discussing the matter. "Just what powers the Commander-in-Chief has now in relation to this matter I do not know, but I am having the law looked up and when this is done will be in a position to suggest the nature and scope of the legislation needed."

Representative Griffin of New York, a strong supporter of the Calder plan, had the following to say about the extension of this honor to women: "We have no titles to bestow upon our heroic women, but we can give them the

lishing community centers, a child labor program, a campaign of education and enlightenment in connection with the social hygiene problem.

Mrs. George Gellhorn, of the Missouri Suffrage League, is a vice-president of the organization.

War Decorations

THE Belgian Minister has presented the Order of Queen Elizabeth to 37 women war workers of Japan. Among those receiving this decoration were three Japanese princesses and five American women.

Old Spanish Traditions

BECAUSE of economic conditions New Mexico, the one remaining Western state which has not enfranchised its women, is not concerned in finding a solution for the women workers problem, according to the report of the Federal director of labor. Reports from the employment service bureaus of the state in the period before the signing of the armistice shows that in an average week there were twenty-seven applications on the part of women for work, and but five calls for women workers. Since the end of the war, the reports show, eleven applications for work were made in one week, while twenty-five calls were made for women workers.

"Women have not been placed on state advisory boards and community labor boards because they would have no work to do," says the Federal director in his report. "This state has not placed women in industry. Old Spanish traditions still held are to the effect that a woman's place is in the home."



Correspondence



The Delay Explained

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

ALLOW me to point out that the paragraph in THE WOMAN CITIZEN of December 21, comparing the delay in the issue of the return of the general election in this country unfavorably with the time required for a similar return in "the cow counties of Oklahoma," is based on a misapprehension of the facts.

The delay in the case of Great Britain was caused by the necessity of waiting until the votes of soldiers absent on duty had been received. Many of the men were in far distant places, Mesopotamia, Palestine, the Murman coast, etc.

The provision for recording these votes of sailors and soldiers was one of the novelties introduced by the Representation of the People Act, 1918. But for the necessity of waiting for these all the returns could easily have been published immediately after the day of the election.

MILLICENT GARRETT FAWCETT.

London, England.

[It was by way of indicating a parallel in the impatience with which American women awaited news from the two elections that the comparison above quoted was made. There were perfectly legitimate reasons for delay in both cases, but in both delay was hard to bear.—Ed.]

Some Salient Points

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

I FEEL it is my honorable duty to you, and to my race, to thank you for publishing the article of November 16th, commenting on Senator John Sharp Williams's statement on the floor of the United States Senate, expressing his attitude on Negro women and the franchise in the South, and I also want to thank you for the high tribute paid to the mothers and wives of Negro soldiers left behind to do their bit.

I am absolutely in accord with woman suffrage. But in my judgment it is mere folly not to face the issue and recognize the actual facts. If the Negro women of America have proved themselves worthy of the right to vote under the government in which they live, prepare them for it. In each Congressional district there should be a committee appointed, and the chairman of that committee should send an appropriate person to each county in each district to give lectures on political science. That would give a

civic education to each Negro woman who is eligible to vote.

There are a number of Senators and Representatives who were elected on the errors and blunders made during the reconstruction period by Negro men, it having often been charged that large sums of money were appropriated to build bridges across creeks which had been dry over three years, and that silver cuspidors and gold tassels for curtains and draperies were voted for. These antiquated stories have been the southern politician's most advantageous material. But the way to avoid this political calamity, when woman suffrage is in its infancy, is to prepare the Negro woman so that when the political responsibility is given her she will have been prepared to meet it. In the South, where the masses of Negroes are, especially in the rural districts, the sessions of schools which are supported by the government never exceed six months annually. Seventy per cent of the colored girls discontinue school after they have completed their eighth grade course. Fifty per cent of colored schools in rural districts haven't been in existence over thirty years. So in order to promote the high ideals of woman suffrage, recognize these points.

WILLIAM C. REID.

East Hampton, L. I.

Personal

Mrs. Jenks Goes to Armenia

MRS. BARTON P. JENKS of Providence, formerly president of the Rhode Island Equal Suffrage Association, and prominent in social and philanthropic circles, sailed recently for Armenia as a member of the Unit sent by the Administrative Department of the Armenian and Syrian Relief Commission. The Unit goes under the protection of the United States Government for the purpose of rehabilitating stricken Armenia.

"We are going back to the oldest Christian nation of the world to save it from extermination by starvation," said Mrs. Jenks in a recent press interview.

"We are going to get back the hundreds of Armenian girls now in Turkish harems and the hundreds of children between the ages of five and fourteen whom the Turks stole from the Armenians and took into their country as slaves under Moslem rule.

"We are going to build orphanages as homes for these children and establish schools where they may be educated.

"We are also going to build homes and get the Armenian refugees back to the land."

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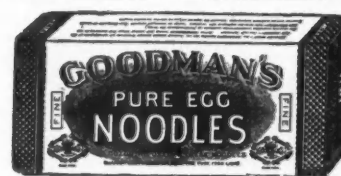
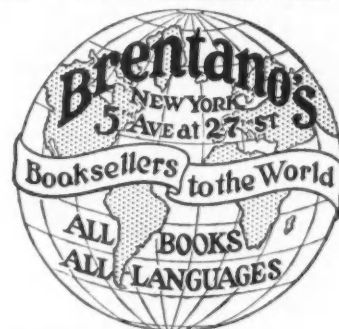
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Women on Committee

THREE women have been named members of the Roosevelt Permanent Memorial National Committee, the organization of which was announced on February 2 by Mr. Will H. Hays, chairman of the Republican National Committee. The women members of the organization, which includes the names of many noted persons, are Mrs. Whitelaw Reid of New York City, Miss Harriett E. Vittum, of Chicago, and Mrs. Mary A. Gibson of California. The committee has already opened offices in New York City.



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Millions of Illiterates

THE last report of the Secretary of the Interior brings down and gives startling liveliness to Census Bureau figures. The census of 1910 showed five million and a half illiterates, of whom more than four and a half million were twenty years or over—a number equal to the total population of California, Oregon, Washington, Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Arizona, Nevada, New Mexico, and Delaware. The Secretary points out how these conditions were actually reflected in the draft.

"It would seem to be almost axiomatic that an illiterate man cannot make a good soldier in modern warfare. In the first draft between 30,000 and 40,000 illiterates were brought into the Army, and approximately as many near illiterates.

"They cannot sign their names.

"They cannot read their orders posted daily on bulletin boards in camp.

"They cannot read their manual of arms.

"They cannot read their letters or write home.

"They cannot understand the signals or follow the Signal Corps in time of battle.

"There are 700,000 men who cannot read or write who may be drafted within our Army within the next week or two. Training

camp for soldiers are not equipped for school work, and the burden of teaching men to read the simplest English should not be cast upon the officers or others in camps. We should give some education to all our men before they enter the Army."

Slow to Admit Women

OF ninety medical colleges in America sixty admit women, says the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, in its recent educational issue. Michigan University Medical School, which opened its doors forty years ago, was one of the pioneers.

Minimum Wage for Teachers

A MINIMUM wage for city teachers is one remedy suggested by the Federation of Teachers' Associations of New York to meet the shortage of teachers in the public schools.

According to the report of this body made before the officials of the Department of Education, more than 1,000 classes in New York public schools are without teachers and the number of new teachers available from the training schools will not provide for half of next year's shortage. It was stated that hundreds of teachers had left their positions to do war work. The larger salaries paid in this work make them reluctant to return to their former positions.

Education and Reconstruction

"ONE of the greatest factors in reconstruction is education," said Hon. Dr. Cody, Minister of Education for Ontario, when addressing the City of Ottawa Teachers' Institute at a recent conference. "And people are turning to the schools from practically every walk of life in order to remedy the condition left by a state of war. And the school has been straining to assist vitally in the great problems which now face us as a nation."

"Women have won the right to share in determining the policy of this land by their sacrifice during the war, and remember when you exercise your franchise, that in the long run you will get the kind of government that you desire. There is one sphere in the government in which women can be of great value, and that

is in education. It is to be hoped that many women will find places on school boards and boards of education, and thus serve their respective communities."

Vermont's School Fund

Vermont's permanent school fund has now reached a total of \$1,364,027.02, according to the treasurer's report. The interest on the amount invested is annually expended toward helping to educate the youth of the state through the public schools.

Voice of the People

THE Farmer's Institute of Summit County, Ohio, passed a resolution at its recent meeting at North Springfield, urging Senators Harding and Pomerene to vote for the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

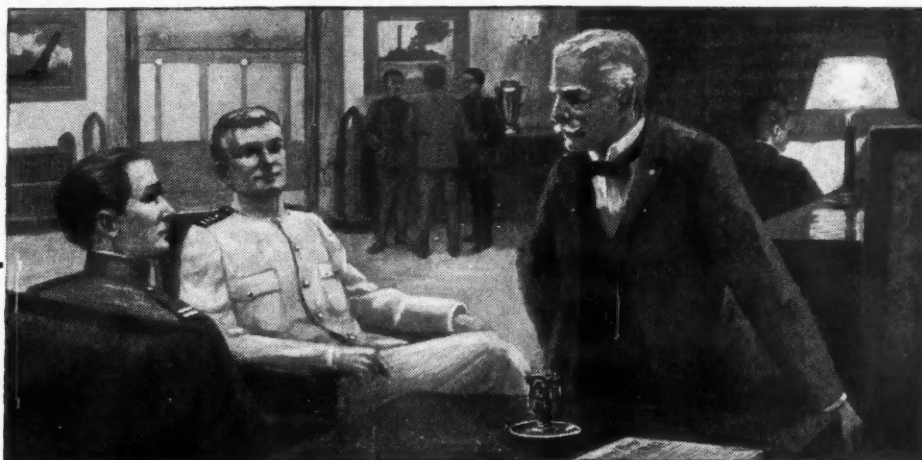
THE resolution memorializing Congress to vote for the Federal Amendment, which was passed unanimously by the Nevada Legislature was presented by Assemblywoman Sadie Hurst. It had the support of the W. C. T. U., The Woman Citizen Club and the Women's Civic League.

THE Wisconsin State Grange, in annual session at Oshkosh in January, adopted resolutions urging the Senate to pass the Federal Suffrage Amendment. The resolution was adopted following an address by Mrs. Ben Hooper, first vice-president of the Wisconsin Woman Suffrage Association and an active worker for the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

AT a meeting of the Board of Directors of the Woman's Municipal League on Wednesday, February 5, it was voted that the league endorse the resolutions concerning the treatment of women under international law adopted by the National American Woman's Suffrage Association, as published in THE WOMAN CITIZEN, February 1.

Miss Heckrich's Death

THROUGH the death of Miss Clara M. Heckrich, which occurred at Minneapolis in January, the suffrage cause has lost a valiant worker. Miss Heckrich had served the Minnesota Woman's Suffrage Association as secretary for the past two years and she was active in all its avenues of work.



The Last Word About the War

And How Colonel Sibley Was Helped to Write It

SCENE: (Army and Navy Club, New York, where Commander Ellsworth, U. S. N., and Captain Trowbridge, U. S. A., are having a conference and an after-dinner cigar in the Club Library and are joined by Colonel Sibley, U. S. A., retired)

The Colonel: Well, comrades, I win!

The Commander: Been fighting again, Colonel? Who says you're retired?

Colonel: I was retired, but now I'm in action again or soon will be, and this time with the pen instead of the sword.

Captain: How's that?

Colonel (Drawing closer to the table and glancing around): Well, comrades, I don't mind telling you in confidence that I just signed up with the Editor-in-Chief of a big magazine (name censored for the present) to write a series of articles on the Great War.

Commander: Tell us about it.

Colonel: Well, it's going to be a long campaign. The Editor, whom I have just left, wants an extended series of articles, to begin with an exhaustive survey of the causes which led up to the War.

Captain: The causes? All of them? Well, you've sure got your work laid out for you.

Commander: I should say you had.

Colonel: The Editor feels that way

himself. He's now concerned chiefly about what has happened up-to-date and the authority upon which my statements will be based. The Editor's a big gun in the business, you know, and his rivals will be getting his range if he exposes himself. He wants to secure a strategic position so that he can't be successfully attacked on anything he prints.

Captain: Well, what did you suggest?

Colonel: I'll tell you. While he was talking I was thinking and I finally told him that what he wanted as a reserve-force was some late general reference work of recognized reliability that he could fall back on. "That's it," he said, and then asked: "Which one?"

Commander (Turning his head and glancing at a set of The New International Encyclopaedia in its special case): I'll bet I can tell which one you named.

Captain (Glancing at the set): Ours, of course.

Colonel: You're both good guessers. Of course I named The New

International and the Editor nodded his head and said: "That's the very work I had in mind, not only as an authority on the causes of the War and what has already happened, but when peace comes I hear the publishers are to bring the war-volume down to date at once and are to send it to all subscribers in exchange for the war-volume now in their possession so they'll know the last word about the conflict."

Commander: Well, that settled it, I suppose.

Colonel: Yes, I told the Editor that the selection of The New International as our authority simplified the problem and he added that it not only simplified the articles, but solidified them and made them so authoritative that he would be able to follow out with safety his plan to publish the series of articles in book form.

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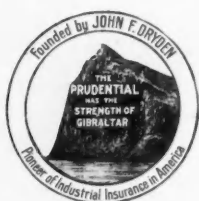
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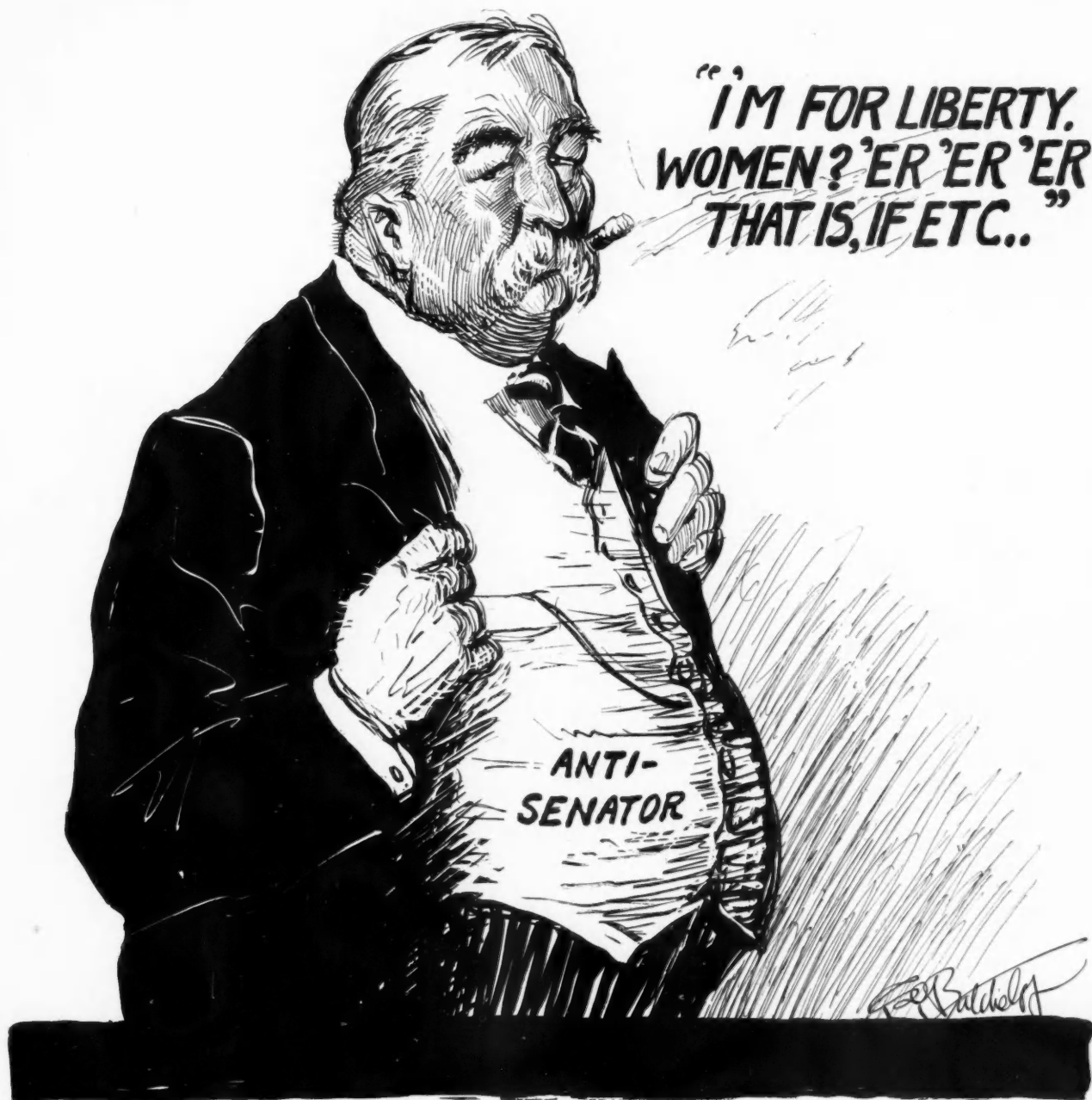
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THE WOMAN CITIZEN

Founded June 2, 1917

Published every Saturday

Ten cents a copy; yearly subscription (52 numbers),
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CONTINUING the Woman's Journal,
founded 1870 by Lucy Stone and Henry B.
Blackwell, as a weekly newspaper devoted to
winning equal rights and especially to winning
equal suffrage for women, and published
weekly in Boston, Massachusetts, from 1870
to 1917. Continuing also the Woman Voter,
and the National Suffrage News. As the
official organ of the National American
Woman Suffrage Association, the *Woman
Citizen* tries to maintain intimate contact be-
tween the Association and its two million
members throughout the United States.

PUBLISHED BY

The WOMAN CITIZEN CORPORATION
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In the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating
memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the
cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's
irresistible progress.

The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie
Chapman Catt, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Miss
Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, and
Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

Vol. III, March 1, 1919. No. 40.

CIRCULATION CONTEST

Because of the failure of the contestants in the Woman
Citizen Circulation Contest to name the County and the Local
Club which should have credit for subscriptions, it proves im-
possible for the Woman Citizen to make the award of the
\$25.00 prize to the County and the award of the \$25.00 prize
to the Local Club sending in the largest number of subscrip-
tions over one hundred, in accord with the announced terms
of the contest.

Also, since no one qualified as a co-operating subscriber,
everybody instructing that subscriptions be credited directly
to the state association, we are unable to make that award as
originally planned. By the terms of the contest no one could
be a cooperating subscriber in a state that had already taken
up the work in an official way.

The fairest adjustment seems to be to award the second,
third and fourth prizes to the states finishing in the second,
third and fourth positions in the contest. Authority to make
this change, under certain conditions, is given us in a ruling
just received from the post office department. The ruling
follows:

"You are informed that in the next issue of the publication
you should carry a notice to contestants to the effect that un-
less the desired information is furnished, you will proceed to
award the 2nd and 3rd prizes to the state associations in those
states from which the 2nd and 3rd largest number of subscrip-
tions were received. After several weeks have been allowed
to elapse from the date of the publication of this notice you
may proceed to award those prizes as stated in the notice, pro-
vided sufficient data has not been furnished by contestants to
enable you to award those prizes in accordance with the terms
of the original order."

In compliance with this ruling we publish the proposed
change, which will become effective in due time, unless the
data is forthcoming.

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NEW STYLE VOL. III

MARCH 1, 1919

NUMBER '40

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

For Your Information

BECAUSE of its possibly direct bearing on the ultimate destiny of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and all its state auxiliaries, the "Women Voters' Conference," to be held coincidentally with the National American Woman Suffrage Association's Jubilee Convention in St. Louis, March 24-29, promises to be of absorbing interest to every member of the Association.

It doesn't take two eyes to see from the summary of the objects of the conference, as given below, the potential significance of this effort to line up the women voters in some steadfast coalition with the women who would be voters, and it is easily among the possibilities that some far-reaching plan of organization with a dual function will be worked out as a method of including the women of the country, voters and non-voters, in a formation as intensive as vast.

As announced on the initial invitation, the objects of the Conference are to find answers to the following questions:

1. *Why does the United States lag behind other nations in extending the vote to its women?*

2. *By what policy can the enfranchisement of women be most speedily brought to final triumph?*

3. *Are women voters treated with the dignity and respect they merit by political parties? If not, how may the present custom be improved?*

4. *Have women voters accomplished the most possible with their franchise? If not, how may they achieve better results?*

5. *Can women voters work for good causes most effectively as an independent non-partisan group outside the party or as partisans within the parties?*

6. *What can be done to make the slow-moving machinery of American Government respond more quickly to changes in popular sentiment?*

7. *Shall a Women Voters' National Organization be formed, into which auxiliaries of the National American Woman Suffrage Association may automatically pass after full enfranchisement?*

DELEGATES

Each fully enfranchised state, viz.: Wyoming, Colorado, Idaho, Utah, Washington, California, Oregon, Montana, Nevada, Arizona, Kansas, New York, Michigan, South Dakota and Oklahoma will be permitted fifty delegates each.

CREDENTIALS

Delegates must secure credentials signed by the President and Secretary of their State Auxiliary of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, or, where this has lapsed, of the Chairman and Secretary of the Ratification Committee.

VOTING PRIVILEGES

All properly accredited delegates as above described will be entitled to vote in the Conference of Women Voters.

OTHER PRIVILEGES

All delegates to the Conference of Women Voters are invited to attend the Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, where they will be accorded all privileges except the vote. A person may be a delegate to each body, but a separate credential is required for each, and no credential can be accepted by the National American Woman Suffrage Association Convention from any organization except one which has paid dues into the National Treasury. (This is a rule of the Constitution.)

SUFFRAGISTS all over the country have naturally been more or less confused by the press reports of the various resolutions that have been introduced into the United States Senate since February 10.

First came the reintroduction of the amendment in its old historic form by Senator Wesley Jones, Republican, of Washington. As the wording of the resolution was identical with the reso-

lution rejected by the Senate by one vote on February 10, Senator Jones's resolution has no standing, save as it serves to keep the measure nominally before Congress.

Next came Senator Gay, of Louisiana, with a resolution that insures that no state shall deny suffrage on account of sex, but leaves the enactment or enforcement clause to the states themselves.

Then there is Senator Jones, of New Mexico, who has been working over a draft of the resolution which will deny to states the right to deny suffrage to women who are citizens or who have or may become citizens through personal naturalization, their qualifications for the suffrage to be determined by exactly

(Continued on page 819)

Is There Room At the Top?

THE assurance that women belong at the bottom of the business and professional ladder seems more deeply entrenched in financial circles than perhaps any other.

Men speak of women's relation to money as women speak of children's relation to it. The symbol of one is a penny bank. The symbol of the other is a stocking or a jar on the pantry shelf. Neither women nor children are expected to know anything about investments or capital, securities or dividends.

Is this really a statement of things as they are, or is it a bit of flotsam drifted loose from masculine prejudice?

To start with the only concrete basis one can find—the census of occupations—it looks like a fact.

In the Trade group of occupations, according to the 1910 Census, there were 23,159 women in the bankers and brokers section. Roughly 20,000 of these, or 87 per cent, were clerks, stenographers, bookkeepers, etc., while 7 per cent were bank cashiers and 6 per cent had attained independent posts such as bankers, stock brokers, promoters, commercial and loan brokers.

Out of 183,000 or more men in banking and brokerage business 43 per cent were, in 1910, in the clerical branches, 17 per cent were cashiers of banks, and 40 per cent were in the highest group, brokers, bankers and commission men.

That is six out of 100 women went to the top in financial enterprises as against forty out of one hundred men in cognate groups.

Is a six per cent success the best that can be expected from women?

No one thought anything of this inequality in 1910, when a woman bank cashier seemed to flout nature itself.

MEANTIME, enter the war. Women were mustered in to sell Liberty Bonds. They arose as one woman out of every kind of background, from the farm to the stage. And they sold bonds. They sold them by the millions of dollars worth, men urging them on, patting them on the back and hurrahing for woman's willingness to serve her country, as if that alone had enabled her to perform a feat foreign to her nature. That is, in order to hold consistently to their life-long notion that a woman, like a hen, can count only up to five, men intimated that she had sold bonds with her heart instead of with her head.

"Doubtless," said Samuel Johnson with perfect conviction, "a woman could speak in public, but if she does it is only like a dog standing on its hind legs."

The shrewdest financiers, however, were not fooled. Bond-selling and bond-buying are not trained animal tricks, and the wise ones know it.

Men like William McAdoo and Frank Vanderlip and Bonbright Brothers quickly saw that women have a native faculty for bond selling. Mr. Bonbright believed that the 8,500,000 women who bought bonds in the Third Loan did not all buy them for sentimental reasons but because they understood the investment qualities at issue. His faith in woman's financial sagacity has even carried him to the point of making a business venture—an all-woman uptown bond office for the convenience of the woman investor.

Mr. Bonbright had tried out three women as bond sellers, Mrs. Jacob Riis, Miss Alice Carpenter and Miss Mathilde Spence, and had found them all good. Out of this experiment has grown the branch of Bonbright Brothers at 7 East 44th Street, under the charge of Mrs. Riis.

For Women in Wall Street?

Mrs. Riis, as the presiding genius of the uptown bond-selling offices, chintz-draped, soft-cushioned, demurely rich, as who should say, "Pray, don't let me intrude," has notions about

woman at the top of the bond-selling business. Her notions are her own, gathered on the way to the high places on the finance ladder. They are, by so much, hall-marked as authoritative.

"THERE is no sex monopoly of shrewdness in investing money," is her major theme, "neither is it a mystic rite." If she will set herself to the task any woman may acquire the qualities of balanced judgment needed to know a good investment when she sees it. She must gain a sound knowledge of the history of the business which is issuing the stocks or bonds she is selling. She should be able to analyze its future prospects. That is, she must use information, plus personal experience, plus good judgment. But she would have to use these same qualities if she taught school or made Sally Lunn. They are qualities a thoughtful woman uses every day and those which create the basis of her sub-conscious reactions in every testing point of her life. They are qualities which may be stimulated by duties in the household. It is even possible that successful home-making may make a good substratum for the bond-selling business.

Mrs. Riis counts thirty-five an ideal age for a woman to enter the bond-selling business and tells of successes gained by women over forty. Finance seems to be one of the few professions in which experience in life's evaluations counts for more than mere youth.

If the urge for mating is really the one great handicap to woman's climb to the top of the ladder, here is a chance for the one who has served her biologic functions and emerges enriched in mind and judgment by it. "Provided, of course, she is really enriched by intelligent use of her mental faculties during these years," Mrs. Riis hastens to interject.

This is a point worth thinking about twice. It vaults the biologic hazard and puts a silencer on the overloud wail of the race-suicide-haunted group who can find no compromise between woman's two sets of obligations. "She must bear children," says nature and the state. "She must earn her living," says the present economic condition. Up-to-date it is only nature who has remonstrated about her doing both together so long as she was content to abide in that estate into which God had called her—the lowly estate of the small-pay envelope. Society's fear for the race has become acute only since women invaded the upper reaches of economic activity. It is acutely anxious over the woman bond-broker.

Right here Mrs. Riis's testimony furnishes another bit of evidence that the home itself may gain when woman enters the field of finance. Woman as spender has been an economic target. Mrs. Riis thinks that if woman understands investments she gains a saner judgment of the value of what she spends.

"It is the successful woman who invests money independently," she declares. "The woman with sufficient self-reliance to make a name for herself on the stage or in business does not turn over all her affairs to some man to transact for her, as does the woman who is overprotected from the use of her own judgment.

"This is true of successful home-making women as well—those who have manipulated their household income to the best advantage. They want to take a hand in the investment of funds. Such a woman is more willing to go to another woman and

frankly betray her initial ignorance than to a man, who will, she fears, set her stupidity down to the fact that she is a woman, instead of remembering that many professional men, far removed from business affairs, do not know a security from a druggist's diploma. A successful woman is also more ready to believe in women as bond-sellers. Her habit of envisaging women as achieving things makes her say, "If I can make a record on the stage, why can't so-and-so make a record in Wall Street?"

Being literal-minded, of course, we all worship the obvious gods—such as, for instance, the Stock Exchange. "If women have really begun in numbers to master the intricacies of investments and of buying and selling securities, why don't they get on the Stock Exchange?" Evidently the highest god-of-things-as-they-are has repudiated them.

"Why should any woman *want* to get into that howling pit?" asks Mrs. Riis. "Why should any man want to for that matter? Isn't there a better financial career for either sex?"

It is perchance, then, that the financial bird of prey is about to be tamed into the domestic goose, highly specialized to lay golden eggs, through the entrance of women into the money market?

It might be.

At all events, Mrs. Riis claims that one of the best-known women in the bond-selling field is too social-minded to sell her own talents to advantage.

AFTER which one begins to sniff an unalterable feminine quality. We always said that women would be too ladylike to make money; that when it came to the pinch they would see it as out of the picture. "But they don't," says Mrs. Riis. "I have found none who shrink from making money. Perhaps there are not many who see it as an end in itself; it is something to be earned and passed on for human wants."

Of course there are people who will wait to be shown before they will accept the statement that women are rapidly advancing out of a six-per-cent-success into a forty-per-cent-success in the business of selling and buying stocks and bonds. These people will go on denying until they read the occupation statistics in the next census report. There are men who will even then try to lock the doors of the Temple of High Finance and keep women in the vestibule.

But there are already plenty of men who are eager to beckon them into the innermost recesses of the Temple itself.

Mr. Ernest Smith of Devonshire Street, Boston, is one of the financiers who is enthusiastic for the woman bond-seller and says that men who don't want women in the business of investments don't know what they are missing.

Signs of the times all seem to be pointing one way and that is towards belief that a one-sexed investment policy is no better than a one-sexed city government, and that as women earn money, they are bound to invest it according to their own notions of sound finance. Having reached the point where they have become investment-conscious, as it were, they will not rest until they have become directors of financial concerns and buyers as well as sellers of stocks and bonds.

The banks began a dozen years ago to fit up rooms for ladies—as if men and women needed segregation even in the cutting of their coupons and the opening of their deposit-boxes. But even this was a concession to the fact that women had deposit boxes in their own name and owned coupons in their own right. Now almost all the larger trust companies have special women's departments for the transaction of the increasing volume of securities owned by women.

Newspapers with ear to the ground have scented this awakening of women's interest. They are featuring it, mainly, as first-aid to women investors, who see a bond now as a surer way of saving money than by putting it in the broken sugar bowl or carrying it in a stocking.

A Wall Street woman's club, publishing a monthly bulletin, *The Business Woman*, gained 200 Wall Street women in its first fortnight. That's a straw going with the wind. It and the other straws seem to show that the Wall Street woman is not going to ditch the financiers of the country, neither is she going to jettison the race.

She may not be setting the Hudson River afire as yet, but she is as likely to as one of her male rivals, who, after being a bond-seller with a \$7,000 salary for some years, remarked recently to one of the humble-minded feminine learners of his craft that "the physical year" of his concern ended in March.

(To be continued)

For Your Information

(Continued from page 817)

the same qualifications as determine men's right to the suffrage. This resolution is to leave out the enactment clause altogether.

And finally Senator McKellar, of Tennessee, is said to be fathoming still another form of the resolution which will antidote some of the objections made by southerners to the original form.

The Democrats have claimed that they can deliver the necessary votes under the new forms proposed. Whether the Republicans would be as hospitably inclined to the new forms as to the old has been open to question.

By the time this is read some further action may have been taken which will have reopened the question or closed it for this Congress.

"WAR is no longer man's private concern," said Secretary Baker at the Victory Dinner in Washington. "I have seen French women go right up into the very mouths of the big guns to perform their work of succor. I have seen the women of England turn to with a will when the Empire was in danger. We take pride in our wonderful army, and I, for one, do not forget that it was the mothers and the wives and the sisters of America who made that army great.

"Women must help in the great work ahead of us. If we are to have a League of Nations, they must help to make it real."

THE Woman Citizen

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Finishing Up in France

RELIEF work in France continues to be subject to change over night. In planning for work after the war should end, we thought that the first unit under Dr. Finley would be released for civilian work and that the Gas Unit would be kept busy with gas patients indefinitely. This was what we had been told by the French Authorities. The contrary happened.

The Finley Unit—After the armistice was signed, the Finley Unit was attached to the French Army of Occupation and ordered to Mayence in Germany. When they reached Metz there was so much sickness among the prisoners of war who were being sent back by Germany that the Unit was placed in a hospital and given charge of 150 beds of the most serious cases of pneumonia and grippe. They borrowed several nurses from the Gas Unit and for some weeks were busy night and day. At the time of my leaving Paris they had been ordered to proceed to Mayence, but a cable received since then reports that they have been sent to Cambrai in the liberated region. A letter just received from Dr. Finley says that the *repatriés* are pouring into Cambrai at the rate of 1000 to 2000 a day, that many of them returning from Germany are in a dreadful condition from old neglected wounds and all sorts of illness. The Unit is working with the American Committee for Belgian Relief. Dr. Finley writes that when she reported to the Commanding officer, he said, "Thank God, you've come."

Gas Unit—After the war was over instead of there being continued work in caring for gas patients, the hospital at Cempuis, where the Gas Unit was working, was soon empty and the patients' places were taken by returning prisoners of war, who came in large numbers. These men were not seriously ill, but needed a few days' rest and good food and the sort of care which the French were able to give them, and nothing further. Early in December the Unit was released and came to Paris on its way to Lorraine to take over the management of the dispensaries which they had agreed to staff in co-operation with the A.F.F.W. With the war ended, France seemed able to look after her own wounded, but the problem of refugees who, from all over France, are eagerly streaming back to their own homes, and of the civilians who have been held prisoners behind the German lines, was one that seemed to need all the help that could be given. Dr. Lefort and I had been long searching for a suitable quarters for a hospital in Nancy. The refugees were pouring back into Nancy, which is the center of a very populous region, many villages in the neighborhood having been damaged, but not completely destroyed. There was a great need of a hospital for women and children. Military hospitals were crowded to the doors and the accommodations of the Nancy Civil Hospital were quite insufficient. Dispensaries were very busy and there was no hospital to which they could send patients in need of hospital care.

Dispensaries—We first supplied Dr. Flood as doctor for the Nancy dispensaries, where there were 100 patients a day coming for treatment. Dr. McMahon took charge of the dispensaries at Epinal, where there are two crèches under the direction of the mayor's wife, for whose medical care our doctor is also responsible. Dr. Titlow went to Luneville, Dr. Barsness to Neuve Maison. Each of these towns is a center from which dispensaries are managed in five or six other villages. Since

By Mrs. Raymond Brown

Director-General Women's Oversea Hospitals

the first of the year we have opened a dispensary at Chateau Salins, under Dr. Dederer, who has been accepted as a substitute for Dr. Bruyn, who has come home. Chateau Salins was occupied first by the French in 1914 and then by the Germans and it is now French territory. The A.F.F.W. have a relief station there.

Jeanne d'Arc Hospital—The girls' boarding school at Nancy, which we took for a hospital on December 15th, was opened early in January with 30 patients; on the 15th there were 45. The putting of this building into commission showed quick work, as the damage done when it was struck by a bomb was greater than we had thought. The furnace and plumbing were badly damaged and had to be completely renovated. A great many windows were broken and glass is almost impossible to obtain. There was considerable furniture in the building and the operating room and laboratory equipments were sent from Labouheyre in the White ambulances which are now attached to the Lorraine work. We have a small but capable staff at the hospital at Nancy. Dr. Lefort's time is almost entirely taken with her duties as director of all our work in Lorraine. Dr. Flood is house physician as well as treasurer. Dr. Formad, who has been director at Labouheyre, has become surgeon. Dr. Brown will live in the hospital and now has charge of the Nancy dispensaries. Miss Halsey, our efficient bookkeeper at Labouheyre, and Miss McConnell, housekeeper, have both been transferred to the hospital at Nancy, as well as Miss Scott and Mrs. Olds, nurses. To quote from a letter just received from Dr. Lefort, "This hospital at Nancy is filling a great need. These poor people come in on trains that sometimes have taken days. They stop in towns, are sent to any large empty building to rest and then sent on further. They are tired, cold, dirty and hungry, many of them sick and feeble. They have the hunted expression one sometimes sees in animals. They are all confused, many weeping because they have been separated from family and friends. They all look so relieved and happy after the first care given them. The French authorities have asked that we give the equipment of this hospital, which they call a '*petit bijou*,' to the Nancy Civil Hospital when we leave."

Foug Hospital—We took the management of a small hospital at Foug, just outside of Toul, early in January, Dr. Seagrave becoming Director. There were 3,000 children in this foundry town, who with their mothers, depend on the hospital for medical care. Dr. Seagrave also has a dispensary in a nearby refugee village and plans to open a dispensary in Toul. The foundry management have agreed to pay the running expenses of the hospital while we furnish the staff. They have asked that a young French doctor work with Dr. Seagrave, preparing to take over the hospital at the end of our six months. Under this arrangement this hospital will probably not cost more than 2500 francs a month.

Soissons—The work for the destroyed villages East of Soissons, which we were asked to start by some French friends, has greatly developed. The chateau at Lime, which we were given for headquarters by its owner, Princess Poniatowski, proved uninhabitable. We are now located in a house at Soissons, requisitioned by the Sous-Préfet, which was repaired by German prisoners. We undertook this work only after consultation with

the Committee for Devastated France, whose work is confined to the area west Soissons, and the local authorities. In order not to pauperize the people by indiscriminate giving, we have left certain supplies in various villages in the hands of some leading woman, for her to sell at very low prices, usually below cost. We have just received 1,000 francs from these sales from the mayor's wife in Acy, and at her request have reinvested it in kitchen utensils to be sold in the same way. We have had a donation of 3,000 francs from Madame Prioux, who owns a chateau at Courcelles, one of our villages, and the French nurse of our Unit, Mlle. Pressoir, has received a contribution of 23,000 francs with which to establish a milk station in one of them. Since my departure, Mrs. Stevenson has obtained a railroad car from the authorities, which has been sent filled with beds and mattresses. The cost of the work to us has been very little, as it is being done largely by volunteers.

THE following extract is from a letter from Mrs. Stevenson, director of the Relief Unit:

"We were at the extremity of the canton of Braine today at a group of little villages which have suffered dreadfully. Practically all of the inhabitants were unable to escape at the time of the German advance in May and were with the Boches in their villages until the big push in August, when they were evacuated toward the German frontier, and from that time until the armistice was signed they were driven from one place to another, sleeping along the road part of the time, eating what they could find in the fields and, of course, dying off like flies. Only a few are back in each of the small villages we visited and these few are living for the most part in cellars, their homes, whatever part of them remains, being without exceptions roofless. They made us welcome in their cellars, however, and made us drink a cup of their precious coffee, which is so dear and so hard to obtain. The *revitaillement* of this particular section is not at all satisfactory, and our sugar, beans and milk were most welcome. In these smaller villages, I find, and particularly in these which have suffered the most, the people who have found their way back are more generous and thoughtful of one another than in the places which have been more fortunate.

"We were able to do our distributing more intelligently by having with us the daughter of the mayor of one of the villages who had come to ask for our aid. Her mother died of exhaustion on the road when they were fleeing before the Boches; their home is entirely destroyed. Nothing has been done in this section before; we were there yesterday and again today, and it is the most needy we have found. Sanitary conditions are horrible and to make matters worse there are several unburied bodies in the woods back of the town—and not all Germans.

"The people are so grateful to *l'Amerique* and *les Americaines* and they assure us that they were very fond of the American boys who fought all through this section."

Supplies—The question of transportation of supplies still remains a difficult one. Shipments usually take several months to reach Paris. All the supplies which have been sent in with such generosity by both the suffrage organizations, the Women's Apparel Association and the Stage Women's War Relief have been shipped—certain things, like sabots (children's shoes with heavy nail-studded soles) can be bought only in France. Because of the uncertainty of reaching Paris in time for distribution this winter it seems best not to ship anything further from this country.

Every organization which has sent supplies and every woman

who has helped would feel herself more than repaid if she could see the joy that they give to the women and children who receive them.

The one particular in which the work of the W.O.H. differs from that of some of the other organizations, and the key-note of the success of its work in France, has been the fact that we work steadfastly in warm co-operation with the French. We ask their advice and we take it. When we are under their orders we follow instructions. We try to do things, not the way we think they ought to be done, but the way they want us to do them. In all the 9 months of our work in France we have had the greatest courtesy and the warmest relations with French officials, both high and low, and with the French people.

IT is expected that all our work in France will come to a close by mid-summer. As the French army is demobilized the French physicians will be coming back and will be able to care for their own people. It is during these winter months that help is most urgently needed. When the spring crops are harvested and warm weather makes living conditions easier we expect to withdraw gradually.

As the French doctors come back to their villages, the physicians of the W. O. H. will turn the work over to them, with the coming of summer the need for the dispensaries will diminish. When this time comes the Nancy hospital will be turned over to the civil authorities.

A careful budget has been made for the first six months of 1919—to July first—and there is sufficient money on hand to finish the work as planned. It will not therefore be necessary, unless new and unexpected conditions arise, to ask for further contributions from generous friends.

Briefs for Suffrage

TWO men among those who worked for the success of the Federal Suffrage Amendment in the U. S. Senate on February 10, are entitled to the special gratitude of suffragists. One is an old friend, another a new one. Senator Shafroth has been of inestimable help to the suffrage cause in the Senate. As a House member, he helped Miss Anthony in the days when he was almost the only friend suffrage had in Congress. He has been defeated for the next Senate and he hoped that the amendment might be carried in this session, when he could vote for it. No word of appreciation can be too strong for his devoted and unselfish service to our cause. The new friend of suffrage is Senator Pollock of South Carolina, who broke from the accustomed rule of a new Senator following his colleague during his first year and fought not only the senior Senator from his state but every southern opponent, every enemy in his own party and in a noble and eloquent speech the day of the vote laid heavy responsibility on all Senators from either party who voted against the amendment.

IN January, 1919, Massachusetts women having practiced anti-suffrage for exactly 299 years, there were 171 cases of divorce within eight days in the Suffolk County (Boston) Court. Of these 119 cases were brought by women and only 52 by men.

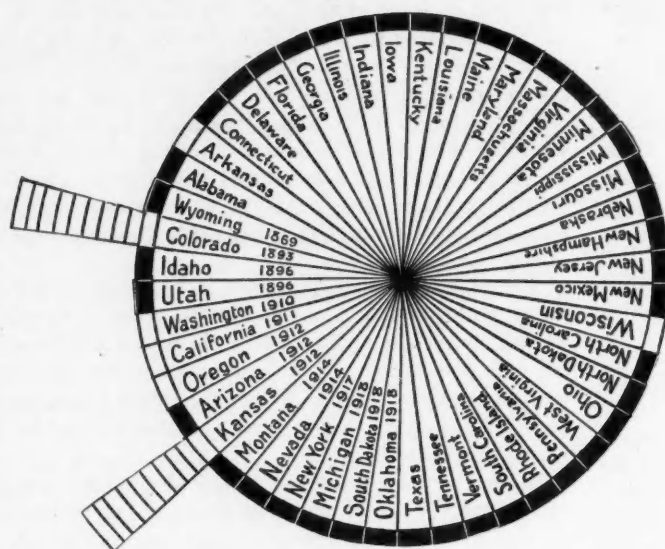
Not to put too fine a point upon it, divorce is so popular in the state reigned over by Messrs. Lodge and Weeks that lawyers are reporting their cases as held up because the court calendars are choked with divorce suits.

It was a favorite diversion once for the anti-suffragists to find some blind alley connecting divorces with votes.

Let them ruminate over the Boston court calendars.

The Woman Citizen's Wheel of Progress

Legislative Standard Number I



(See *Woman Citizen* of January 25, 1919)

THE table given above shows no less than two white "entering wedges," both in suffrage states, in our nation-wide program of social legislation of interest to women. It also corrects the schedule in the January 25 issue of the *WOMAN CITIZEN*, by making the first circle of Colorado white. Colorado was omitted before, as there was some doubt at that time as to whether the scope of the Colorado Commission was wide enough to be included.

Circle 1—Industrial Welfare Commission (Standards approved by the American Association for Labor Legislation).

The name "Industrial Commission" or "Industrial Welfare Commission" is in use in about twenty states. The functions of these commissions range, in the various states, from administering workmen's compensation acts to administering and enforcing the entire labor law of the state for both men and women and making regulations with the force of law in matters not specifically covered by statutes.

The South Dakota Industrial Commission, which administers the workmen's compensation law, illustrates one extreme, the Industrial Commission of Wisconsin illustrates the other.

The Wisconsin Commission, which is the oldest in the country, having been established in 1911, is also the model for the country. The law providing for the commission is based on the sovereign police power of the state to protect the welfare of the people. It substitutes for piecemeal legislation, which involves constant recourse to the Legislature, with its slow-moving procedure, a broad power to regulate all conditions of labor. As many labor laws had already been passed before the Wisconsin

Industrial Commission was established, its powers cover the administration and enforcement of existing law and the making of regulations supplementing or supplanting existing law. This is the best and fairest form of industrial legislation so far devised, as it makes it possible to suit the needs of the special industry, to meet the exigency of the moment and to change as conditions change. As an example of the swiftness with which the power to regulate without legislation can meet a need there is the action of this commission during the war in issuing orders forbidding night work for women street-car conductors and setting an eight-hour day for women in this work.

IN its 1917 report the Wisconsin Commission represents its functions by a "Wheel of Progress." The hub is General Administration, surrounded by a small circle representing what is essential to administration of the law, namely, the power to gather, both by visitation of places of employment and by public hearings, detailed statistics in regard to every industry in the state. A complex nest of circles and segments of circles, radiating from this center, represents the powers exercised by the Wisconsin Commission in the seven years it has been in operation. The broad fields it covers are safety and sanitation; workmen's compensation; woman and child labor—the former including besides general working conditions, minimum wage and hour regulation, the latter including not only labor conditions but truancy, employment, apprenticeship, mediation and arbitration, and a miscellaneous classification. The functions under these heads give many sub-heads, many so

broad in scope that they in turn subdivide. Thus the sub-heads under Safety and Sanitation are factory inspection, including inspection of mines, quarries and logging camps and subdivided into sanitation, ventilation, lighting, accident prevention and fire protection; boiler inspection; elevator inspection; bakeries and confectioneries; sweatshops; cornshredders, and the building code—the latter as applied to theaters and halls, schools, hotels and tenements and the safety of building workmen.

The Wisconsin Commission is made up of three members, serving six years, one going out of office every second year, with many deputies, clerks and other assistants. The Legislature makes an ample appropriation; this is a point of prime importance, as the industrial commissions of some states are made of no more value than so many words on paper, by lack of appropriation.

THIS is the model. No other commission comes up to the Wisconsin standard. The others cover some of the same functions, in some cases only a few. A few add single features which improve on Wisconsin. Those nearest are the other six commissions represented in the Wheel, namely, Kansas, Oregon, California, Colorado, Washington and Arkansas. The Industrial Commission of Ohio, it should be said, has a scope wider than these, almost as wide as Wisconsin itself, but it has no power over wages and must therefore be omitted, as minimum wage regulation is one of the social standards laid down by our Wheel.

The Ohio Commission is unique in that it has the power to regulate both men's and women's hours, provided in the latter case the hours set are better than those set by law.

The six commissions on the Wheel satisfy the condition lacking in Ohio, though they do not, like Ohio, have jurisdiction over both sexes or cover workmen's compensation and safety devices, arbitration and conciliation, and unemployment.

These six commissions(*), in Arkansas misnamed "Minimum Wage Commission," cover, for women's and children's work, the administration of the statutes and the power to regulate hours, wages and working conditions, the latter in respect to health, safety and sanitation.

The Kansas Commission has a wider power under these heads than the others—wider indeed than Wisconsin—for it has blanket power to set the hour limits in all women's industries, since there is no statute on this subject; in all the other states, except California and Oregon, whose power in respect to women's hours is like that of Ohio, the commission observes the

legal maximum in industries covered by statute, but can regulate hours and other conditions in industries not covered by statute.

UTAH also has an Industrial Commission covering hours, wages and working conditions for women, but unfortunately its powers come short of the standard set by our table. It can administer existing laws, but can make no regulations of its own.

Next in scope to Utah among the commissions not quite up to the standard is that of New York, which has no power over wages, can only enforce the statute setting hours, but has wide power to regulate working conditions.

Kansas is a representative commission, so a few of its regulations—called in other states promulgations, determinations or orders—will give an idea of the scope of the six commissions whose field as regards sex and subject matter is more circumscribed than that of Wisconsin.

A general order, addressed to all employers of women and minors, requires the reporting to the commission of certain data about each and every woman and child employed; a sanitary code for mercantile establishments lays down rules in regard to cleanliness of rooms, lighting, ventilation, drinking water, toilet, wash and dressing rooms. A promulgation in regard to laundries covers hours (9) and minimum wage (\$8.50 for experienced workers); for public housekeeping establishments, hours (8 for 7-day week, 9 for 6-day week); mercantile establishments, hours (9), minimum wage (\$8.50 for experienced workers), telephone operators, hours (8 for a basic week); minimum wage, various for exchanges in communities of different sizes. For learners in all these industries lower minimum wages are laid down.

On September 10, 1918, the Washington Commission made an interesting war ruling covering all industries, which set a relatively high flat rate minimum wage (\$13.20) for women in all industries during the war, and laid down the pioneer state-wide equal pay law. This equal pay order is to be found on this page of the WOMAN CITIZEN. Unfortunately this order of September 10, 1918, came too late in the war to give us any experience of how these high wage standards for women would work.

* Exact titles are: Kansas—Industrial Welfare Commission; Oregon—Industrial Welfare Commission; California—Industrial Welfare Commission; Colorado—Industrial Commission; Washington—Industrial Welfare Commission; and Arkansas—Minimum Wage Commission. M. S. B.

THE Minimum Wage Board of the Bureau of Labor at Manitoba has set \$12 a week as the lowest wage for skilled female help in mail order houses, printing shops and garment factories. A nine-hour day and forty-eight-hour week was agreed upon for mail order houses and nine-hour day and fifty-four-hour week for printing establishments.

Action of State Conventions on the Principle of Suffrage and Action by Federal Amendment

Arizona.....	Dem. 1918.	Endorsed Federal Action
	Rep. (a)	" " "
Arkansas.....	Dem. 1918.	" " "
California.....	Dem. 1918.	" " "
	Rep. 1918.	" " "
Colorado.....	Dem. 1918.	" " "
	Rep. 1918.	" " "
Connecticut.....	Dem. 1918.	" " "
	Rep. Principle—not F. A.	" " "
Idaho.....	Dem. 1918.	Endorsed Federal Action
	Rep. 1918.	" " "
Illinois.....	Dem. 1918.	" " "
	Rep. 1918.	" " "
Indiana.....	Dem. 1918.	" " "
	Rep. 1918.	" " "
Iowa.....	Dem. 1918.	" " "
	Rep. 1918.	" " "
Kansas.....	Dem. 1918.	" " "
	Rep. 1918.	" " "
Massachusetts.....	Dem. 1918.	" " "
Michigan.....	Dem. (State suffrage only)	" " "
	Rep. 1918.	Endorsed Federal Action
Minnesota.....	Dem. Central Committee	Endorsed Federal Action
Missouri.....	Dem. 1918.	Endorsed Federal Action
	Rep. 1918.	" " "
Montana.....	Rep. 1918.	" " "
Nebraska.....	Dem. "Equal suffrage only"	" " "
	Rep. " " "	" " "
New Jersey.....	Rep. 1918.	Endorsed Federal Action
New York.....	Dem. 1918.	" " "
	Rep. 1918.	" " "
North Carolina.....	Rep. 1918.	" " "
Ohio.....	Rep. 1918.	" " "
Oklahoma.....	Dem. 1918.	State suffrage only
	Rep. 1918.	" " "
Pennsylvania.....	Dem. 1918.	(One wing Dem. Platform Committee)
Rhode Island.....	Dem. 1918.	Endorsed Federal Action
	Rep. 1918.	" " "
South Dakota.....	Dem. 1918.	" " "
	Rep. 1918.	" " "
Tennessee.....	Rep. 1918.	(State Executive Committee)
Texas.....	Dem. 1918.	Endorsed Federal Action
Utah.....	Dem. 1918.	" " "
	Rep. 1918.	" " "
Vermont.....	Dem. 1918.	Equal suffrage only
Washington.....	Rep. 1918.	Endorsed Federal Action
West Virginia.....	Dem. 1918.	Endorsed Federal Action
Wisconsin.....	Dem. 1918.	" " "
	Rep. 1918.	(Principle)

(a) Republican State Committee in 1916.
Republicans in 1916 endorsed the principle in Maine, New Hampshire, New Mexico, North Dakota, and Virginia.
Democrats in 1916 endorsed the principle in Montana, Ohio, Vermont, Virginia and Wyoming.

Laws Every Woman Should Know

SECTION 39 of Labor Laws of the State of Washington, passed in 1890, is the first equal opportunity law: "Hereafter in this state every avenue of employment shall be open to women; and any business, vocation, profession, and calling followed and pursued by men may be followed and pursued by women, and no person shall be disqualified from engaging in or pursuing any business, vocation, profession, calling or employment on account of sex."

Section 5 of Industrial Welfare Commission of the State of Washington, Order of September 10, 1918, is the first general equal pay law: "That women doing equal work with men in

any occupation, trade, or industry in this state shall receive the same compensation therefor as men doing work of the same character and of like quantity and quality, the determination of what constitutes equal work to rest with the Industrial Welfare Commission."

"THE votes of the six million English women to whom the franchise has been given, helped defeat the pacifists and Bolsheviks in the last election," said Miss Helen Fraser recently at Kansas City, in discussing the political status of women in England.

A Financial Service for Women Who Own Securities

MANY women who have investments do not desire or may find it inconvenient to give their personal attention to business details. If this is your problem, you can solve it, at very moderate cost, by placing your securities in a **SAFEKEEPING ACCOUNT** with our **TRUST DEPARTMENT**.

We assume responsibility for the physical safety of your securities. We collect your income with promptness, forwarding it or crediting it to your account, as you may choose. From time to time, if desired, we make an impartial examination of your investments, and report to you as to changes which, in our judgment, seem advisable.

The services mentioned above are those directly connected with the care and supervision of securities, but we can also relieve you of attention to many other matters, such as the payment of taxes, interest on bonds and mortgages, insurance premiums, rents, allowances to children, relatives, etc.

We shall be pleased to have you call at either our Uptown or Downtown Offices, where officers of our **TRUST DEPARTMENT** will be glad to give further information regarding our service, and to explain how it will meet your needs.

This Company, through its Trust Department, acts as:
Executor Administrator Trustee under Deeds of Trust Testamentary Trustee Guardian
and in every other fiduciary capacity

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What Babushka Says

DURING these recent days people have been crowding the largest halls and fairly tumbling over one another in their eagerness to hear Catherine Breshkovsky, "the Little Grandmother of the Russian Revolution." The readers of the **WOMAN CITIZEN** will be glad of a chance to read some of her thoughtful words, especially as the press reports of her speeches have often been grossly inaccurate. She says it astonishes her to see how different they are from what she really said. For instance, she tells me that the other day she declared she would be willing to work twenty years longer to keep Russia from having another Czar. One of the papers reported her as saying that she would be willing to work twenty years longer in order to get the Czar back!

She greatly enjoyed her visit to Wellesley College, and to Dana Hall, a preparatory school near by. She loves young people and is at her best when speaking to them. And they love her. In the College Chapel all their faces turned toward her like flowers toward the sun. When she came out she had to pass between two long hedges of enthusiastic girls, with smiling faces, shining eyes and waving handkerchiefs. They sang a song they had made in her honor; they cheered her, and gave their class and college yells and leveled innumerable cameras at her. And her face shone even more brightly than theirs, and she said, "The Siberian bear is flattered!"

On her arrival some of the most graceful girls had performed a dance before her, with waving shawls and streamers. She insisted upon coming down from the terrace and dancing with them, to their extreme delight.

Her big, warm, loving heart constantly makes her forget conventionality. She spent the night at "Tower Hall," which houses two hundred of the girls. In the middle of breakfast she suddenly started up and made the round of the great room, shaking hands with all of them. Then she returned to her seat, saying apologetically, "I ought to take my breakfast asunder (separately). I could not support not to go to them!"

At Dana Hall she interrupted her address to stoop down and kiss two of the host of little girls who sat on the floor drinking in her words.

Here are some gleanings from her speeches, there and at the Boston Women's City Club:

"DURING the three years that Russia was in the war our women kept working without rest, for we had 20,000,000 soldiers under arms. The Czar wanted to ruin Russia; he did not provide for the needs of the soldiers. During those three years it was all that Russia could do to maintain them; and who did it? The women! In the villages, on the farms, in the forests, everywhere, our peasant women worked like men at the hardest tasks. When I returned from Yakutsk to Irkutsk, a journey of 3,000 miles, there were no horses, and it was women who drew the sledges that carried the mail, in a temperature of 45 to 50 degrees below zero; and they had little boys and girls with them. In the factories wives replaced their husbands. Women took men's places in the schools. It was the women who kept the country going and supplied the army and the people with clothes and food. For this reason, and because we have always been a democratic people, when Kerensky's government proclaimed equal suffrage for women there was no objection anywhere. It was taken as a matter long ago decided."

* * *

"NEVER will you find children so full of life and play and gaiety as the little Russians, or so grateful to those who take care of them. They are grateful for every smile, for every caress. They will do everything you bid them, if you love them. I taught school from seventeen years old to twenty-seven, and I

know my peasants. Even in the most remote parts of the country the people are not ferocious. The Americans who go to Russia to teach the orphans will find a recompense in their gratitude and love."

* * *

"DEAR and good children and friends of mine: Perhaps this will be the last time that I shall have the pleasure and the honor of visiting your beautiful college, but I pray you not to forget my words. After we have praised God* we must not forget his creatures. There is no creature more beautiful and miraculous than man and his soul. Everyone—children, old men, the crippled, the uneasy—everyone has a soul that can be made better and better, only we do not pay attention to that. We think, 'There are so many people, let them live as they can.' It is a great fault. For millions of years all the sciences and arts and religions have been working to make people better. All these have been forwarded by human beings. Perhaps our far ancestors 2,000 years ago were very weak, but they were able to make efforts to do better and to give their children a better future. Let no little child be deprived of the opportunity to become a super-being. Everyone who is called a hero or a genius—all these came forth from the human race. If you are attentive to all who surround you, and to their needs, not only material but spiritual, you will find in everyone something very interesting and perhaps great.

"When you are mothers, you must pay attention to your children. With good parents we are sure to have good children. We must make it easy for children to develop the best sides of their souls. In Russia we have had some beautiful writers, artists, and musicians; but if all our children were educated and developed we should have a thousand times as many good writers, painters, teachers, and pastors.

"Those who have every privilege are under obligation to share their advantages with those who are less fortunate. You are perhaps the happiest girls in the world, being surrounded by excellent conditions, mental, moral, and material, and having the opportunity to study every branch of knowledge.

"Thus far you have received everything and given nothing. You are in debt to mankind. Somebody built these beautiful college buildings, wrote these books, constructed this organ; all these worked for your happiness. If so many have worked for you, you must pay your debt to mankind. There are so many who have not a thousandth part of your opportunities! You must spend your time to make them good and noble and with their consciences satisfied. Nothing makes one so happy as a satisfied conscience.

"Life is very complex. Things are hard to foresee. We cannot say, 'I have written a program for my life upon my desk, and I am going to carry it out.' We do not know what will happen; but we must be careful to be honest, to be true, to work for others.

"Every human creature is most precious, yet we prize other things more—money, ornaments, arts, and sciences—more than the human soul; good books, good music, more than a child. But who created the books and the music? Human beings. All the most beautiful philosophies and religions have been worked out by human minds. There is nothing better, more wonderful, more miraculous than the human soul. Always be attentive to aid those who need to be aided."

* * *

"NO country now can live separate from others, shut off like ancient China, by a stone wall. People go to and fro, and examples are contagious. All countries are mixed together by their interests. You cannot have a bad sheep among good sheep, or it spoils all; especially such a big sheep as Russia."

* * *

"THEY say Russia is unhappy for lack of a leader. Our country is too big and too democratic to leave the fate of all its people in the hands of one man. It will never again endure, for long, a dictator or a Czar. Our people would not have submitted to the Czar for so many years but that they believed he was appointed by God. As soon as they ceased to believe that they overthrew him. What they want now is a National Constitutional Assembly, elected by universal suffrage, and they will never be satisfied until they have it."

A. S. B.

* This was spoken after the chapel exercises at Wellesley.—A. S. B.



For Every Face—A Hat

If you were to stand for a moment in our workroom you would see them come into being—in endless procession like a flock of lovely birds, each new one rivalling the last. Here a lisere straw modelled by deft fingers becomes a toque. There a pretty flower creation is fashioned exactly after a new Paris model which comes straight from one of those wonderful little shops on the Rue de la Paix. Like some faces—they are hats of which you never tire.

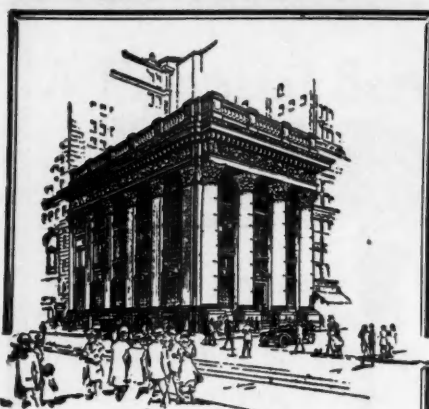
For present wear with the suit or the serge dress and furs we have an attractive array of new liseres, milans rough and fancy straws, featuring the season's new garnishings of burnt ostrich, flowers, ostrich pompons and ribbon.

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Within the Organization

Montana Women Organize

SUFFRAGISTS in Montana have begun the work of perfecting a state organization to co-operate in the work of obtaining full suffrage for all the women of the United States and to assist in winning the right of suffrage for the women of other countries. Mrs. Theodore Brantly, of Helena, has been named temporary chairman, and will have charge of the work of organizing the state. The organization expects to have at least two representatives in each county.

The two women members of the Montana Legislature—Mrs. Emma Ingalls, of Flathead County, and Mrs. Maggie Smith Hathaway, of Ravalli County, are actively interested in the work of organizing the state council of the proposed National Union of Women Voters. The organization will be non-partisan in character, and will lend its support to such matters as the extension of the right of suffrage and the obtaining of legislation protecting women and children in industry, providing higher moral standards, the extension of educational training and other laws which will properly safeguard the interests of the women and children.

Bureau of Citizenship

A BUREAU OF CITIZENSHIP has been opened under the auspices of the Americanization Department of the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association. The headquarters will be used for conferences relating to education, for citizenship demonstrations on methods of Americanization and also as a reading and rest room.

At the mid-winter meeting of the State Suffrage Association, held recently at Worcester, ten young women gowned in white and wearing suffrage colors, presented Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, state president, with bundles of petitions from each of the ten wards in Worcester. The petitions bore the certified signatures of 16,400 women who took this means to show their desire for the ballot.

Woman on State Ticket

THE Republican Party of Michigan has given official recognition to the new voters by nominating a woman as one of the Party's two candidates for member of the State Board of Agriculture. This action was taken recently at the state convention, the first held since the women were given the full rights of the franchise. Mrs. Dora H. Stockman of Lansing, who was nominated by the Republicans, is the first woman ever chosen candidate for a state elective office in Michigan.

The convention gave women one-third of the representation on the State Central Committee.

Contributions

**N. A. W. S. A. CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED
DURING THE MONTH OF
JANUARY, 1919**

REPORTED BY EMMA WINNER ROGERS, TREASURER
Annual Pledges—

Florida Equal Suffrage Association	\$100.00
Woman's Franchise League, Indiana	150.00
Mrs. Eben Clarke	25.00
N. Y. State Woman Suffrage Party	700.00
Mrs. Robert Gould Shaw	500.00
Mary Ware Allen	15.00
Sarah Pickering	10.00
Mary O. Pickering	10.00
Mrs. F. W. Webber	50.00
Mrs. Pierre Jay	20.00
Mrs. James Winsor	10.00
Elsie B. Murphy	150.00
Mrs. Henry L. Patrick	25.00
Mrs. H. L. Hamlin	10.00
Mary T. Blauvelt	2.00
Mary T. L. Gannett	25.00
Mrs. C. E. Ellicott	25.00
Mrs. Chas. Bond	50.00
Mrs. A. M. Beardsley	2.50
E. Virginia Smith	10.00
Mrs. Nathan P. Avery	15.00
Mrs. J. M. Lassell	50.00
Mrs. Cora A. Chapin	2.00
Pauline W. Holme	5.00
Mrs. Mary Gale Hibbard	10.00
Mrs. H. D. Coffinberry	25.00
Helen Dean La Monte	5.00
Henrietta C. Boldy-Lyon	5.00
Mrs. Elizabeth Towne	10.00
Mrs. G. H. Bass	10.00
Maud B. Benedict	5.00
Amy Grace Maher	5.00
Texas Equal Suffrage Association	229.00
Annie L. Sears	20.00
Mrs. Robert Burdette	25.00
Mrs. Joe T. Alderson	5.00
Sarah G. Spalding	2.00
Mrs. W. W. Woods	10.00
Mrs. Andrew J. Peters	1.00
Miss Martha S. Kimball	100.00
Mrs. Evelyn Ordway	10.00
Isabel Howland	25.00
Virginia Thorburn	10.00
Mrs. Sophronia Lovelace	2.00
Mary W. Chapman	5.00
Mrs. Alfred Winsor	15.00
Ella H. Crockett	1.00
Mrs. Susan M. Dorsey	1.00
Mrs. John F. Weir	5.00
Leroy E. Miller	2.00
Mrs. J. T. Coolidge	100.00
Mrs. Ella Knox Keener	5.00
Friends Equal Rights Association	50.00
Ellen C. Sablin	10.00
Mrs. J. A. Haskell	5.00
Mrs. George A. Piersol	25.00
Adelheid C. Bedal	5.00
Edith L. Stebbins	25.00
Mrs. Mary Van E. Ferguson	5.00
Mrs. E. J. Van Everen	5.00
Albert B. Williams	10.00
Mrs. Albert B. Williams	10.00
Edith V. Poole	10.00
Mrs. Henry S. Graves	10.00
Katharine Blunt	20.00
Margaret D. Moxham	3.00
Mrs. E. S. Reed	2.00
Mary P. Crane	10.00
Estelle B. Crane	10.00

\$2,824.50

General Donations—

Dora Baker	5.00
Eva S. Potter	10.00
James Byrne	25.00
Mrs. Stiles Burr	10.00
Congressional Committee (Proceeds Mass Meeting)	105.81
Annie C. Neely	1.00
Carrie C. Catt	70.23

227.04

Members' Dues—

Florida Equal Suffrage Association	50.00
Oklahoma Woman Suffrage Association	20.00
No. Eastern Feder. Women's Clubs	50.00
Woman Suffrage Party, Louisiana	100.00
No. Dakota Votes for Women League	150.00
Mississippi Woman Suffrage Association	20.00
Rhode Island Equal Suffrage Association	10.00
Friends Equal Rights Association	23.70
Suffrage Amendment Alliance	40.00

463.70

Total.....

\$3,513.24

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BLACK AND WHITE SILKS

Japanese Habutai.....	yard 75c to 2.50	Chiffon Dress Taffeta.....	yard 1.75 to 2.50
Dress Satin.....	yard 1.75 to 4.00	Crepe Meteor.....	yard 2.00 to 4.50
Satin Charmeuse.....	yard 2.00 to 4.00	Crepe de Chine.....	yard 1.50 to 3.00
Georgette Crepe.....	yard 1.75 to 3.00		

1,000 Pieces

Genuine Chinese Pongee Silks

Selected qualities; 33 inches wide . . . yard 68c, 95c and 1.15

Indiana State Convention

THE Indiana Woman's Franchise League will hold its annual convention April 1 to 3 at the Claypool Hotel, Indianapolis. This will be the first gathering of the suffrage clans since the granting of the right of presidential suffrage to women citizens of the state by the Legislature last month. Following so closely after the national suffrage convention at St. Louis it is expected that a number of leaders of national prominence will attend the Indiana gathering en route home. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt will give the address on the opening night of the convention and she will also speak at the dinner which will be the social feature of the gathering. The convention will devote a large share of its time to talks and discussions on the best use the new voters can make of their franchise privileges.

Pleases Southern Women

SENATOR POLLOCK'S address on suffrage before the Senate on February 10 has evoked the greatest enthusiasm among the women of the South. Hardly had the members of the Augusta Equal Suffrage League read the news of Senator Pollock's advocacy of the suffrage amendment than the League wired the Senator the following message signed by Mrs. Mary Meade Owens, President:

"Congratulate you on suffrage stand. Geor-

gia women join the women of South Carolina in urging you to use your influence in favor of the immediate passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, and thus help redeem the South from the unenviable position of holding the United States back from democracy."

Women's Day

MARCH 5 is scheduled as Women's Day in the New York Legislature. On that day the organizations composing the New York State Joint Legislative Conference will go before the Joint Committee on Labor and Industries on behalf of the measures now pending in the Legislature effecting women in industry. Measures advocated by the Legislative Conference cover hours of labor, health insurance, minimum wage, and protective measures. The organizations that have banded together for this special legislative work are the Women's Trade Union League, New York State Consumers' League, Consumers' League of the City of New York, Young Women's Christian Association, New York State Woman Suffrage Party, and the State Federation of Women's Clubs.

A LARGE number of women, many of them owners of farms, were in attendance at annual Farmers' Week at the University of Missouri.

CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED DURING MONTH JANUARY, 1919, FOR THE WOMEN'S OVERSEA HOSPITALS

REPORTED BY EMMA WINNER ROGERS, TREASURER	
Mrs. J. T. Odell.....	\$5.00
Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Association.....	14.80
Eunice Stebbins.....	25.00
Virginia Branner.....	25.00
New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association.....	30.00
Miss A. Halsey.....	200.00
Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association.....	112.00
Olean Woman Suffrage Party.....	328.67
Mrs. C. J. Nordstrom.....	5.00
Saranac Lake (Mrs. Delamar).....	35.00
Horseheads—Chemung Co.....	142.37
28th Congress District.....	80.58
Franklin County.....	30.00
New Hampshire Equal Suffrage Association.....	558.43
Equal Suffrage League of St. Louis.....	3,431.03
Equal Suffrage Party—Georgia.....	100.00
Mississippi Woman Suffrage Association.....	30.35
Iowa Equal Suffrage Association.....	10.00
North Carolina Suffrage League.....	50.00
Mrs. Alice Kamrar.....	50.00
Terre Haute Fran. League (Bake Sale).....	110.00
Suffrage Amendment Alliance (Winifred F. Warder Memorial).....	35.00

Total..... \$5,408.23

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Room with Bath.....\$2.50 and up
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Dining Room a la carte, serving the highest
grade foods at moderate prices.

Women Voters Conference

And
CELEBRATION OF DOUBLE ANNIVERSARY
Of The

National American Woman Suffrage Association
and the Winning of Wyoming
Abridged and Tentative Program

All Meetings Statler Hotel Unless Otherwise
Indicated

SATURDAY—MARCH 22ND

Meeting N. A. W. S. A. Board of Directors,
evening.

SUNDAY—MARCH 23RD

N. A. W. S. A. Board of Directors will receive
delegates and visitors informally Statler Hotel,
evening.

MONDAY—MARCH 24TH

Executive Council N. A. W. S. A., morning and
afternoon.

EVENING—CONVENTION OPENS

PROGRAM: Community Singing
President's Address. General Discussion on the
Inquiry: Why has the United States lagged behind
other nations in granting votes to women?

TUESDAY—MARCH 25TH

Morning and afternoon—Convention.
Evening—Public Dinner, Statler Hotel.
(Engage places, Mrs. Leslie Thompson, 755
Century Building, St. Louis, \$2.00 per plate.)

WEDNESDAY—MARCH 26TH

Morning and afternoon—Convention.
Evening—Committee and Sectional meetings.

THURSDAY—MARCH 27TH

Convention 9:30-11 A. M.
11 A. M.-5:30 P. M.—Conference of Women
Voters.

SECTIONAL THEMES:

1. What may women voters do to further the
welfare of women in industry?
Mrs. RAYMOND ROBINS, Chairman.
2. How may women voters conserve the welfare
of the Nation's children?
Chairman announced later.
3. How many women voters assist the movement
toward improved social morality and social
hygiene?
Chairman announced later.

EVENING—PUBLIC MEETING
The Odeon—Prominent Speakers—Boxes \$10 each.

FRIDAY—MARCH 28TH

Convention 9:30 A. M. to 11 A. M.
11 A. M. to 5:30 P. M.—Conference of Women
Voters.

SECTION DISCUSSIONS CONTINUED:

1. How can the laws of the several states de-
fining the legal status of women be unified
and improved?
Chairman announced later.
2. What can women voters do toward the im-
provement of election methods?
Chairman announced later.
3. What can women voters do toward making
the United States more worthy of leadership
among the world's nations?
Chairman announced later.

GENERAL DISCUSSIONS:

- Can women voters work more effectively as an
independent, non-partisan group or within the
parties as partisans?
- How can women voters become a responsible
part of political organizations?
- Organization Women Voters.
- Adoption By Laws.
- Election of Officers.

EVENING—PUBLIC MEETING

The Odeon—Prominent Speakers—Boxes \$10 each.
SATURDAY—MARCH 29TH

MORNING—Simultaneous meetings. Convention
and Conference Women Voters.
AFTERNOON—Joint session Convention and Con-
ference to discuss.

How may voters and non-voters best co-operate

1. To secure the vote for all the women of the
nation in the shortest possible time?
2. To secure the vote for the women in all
civilized countries?
3. To carry out the Women Voters' Legislative
Program?

EVENING SESSION if necessary for completion of
business.

Special features will be introduced in various parts
of the program to commemorate the fiftieth anniver-
sary of the first grant of Woman Suffrage in Wyom-
ing and the fiftieth anniversary of the first organiza-
tion to secure the enfranchisement of women.

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New York City
Cordially invites you to
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Friday, March 7th, 1919
at one o'clock
in the
Large Ball Room
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HOTEL COMMODORE
42nd Street and Lexington Avenue

"Woman Suffrage in the Nation"

Speakers:

HON. JOSEPH E. RANDELL
U. S. Senator from Louisiana
for Democratic party

HON. WILLIAM M. CALDER
U. S. Senator from New York
for the Republican party

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT
for the enfranchised and
disfranchised women of America

PHILIP GIBBS

The greatest war correspondent of the era
will speak on

"Women's Work in the World War"

Luncheon promptly at One O'Clock

Tickets, \$2.00

Apply to WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY

373 Fifth avenue

Tables seat eight and ten

First come first served

Indiana Sets the Pace

THE Indiana Woman's Franchise League holds the record for swift work in getting names to a suffrage petition. In 48 hours the signatures of practically every person of importance in two counties were secured. This was done to convince the state Senator from that district that the women of his counties do want to vote. In addition to the petition the Senator was triumphantly presented with numerous requests from men and women in his home county urging him to support all suffrage measures that might come up in the Indiana Legislature. To convince another Senator that the men and women of his district were anxious for full suffrage for women, he was shown the signatures to the petition from his county. There were 9,990 from one county and several thousand from another smaller county which is practically wholly agricultural and has, therefore, rather meagre means of communication.

THE women of Buffalo are forming themselves into civic leagues and meeting in the various schoolhouses in the evenings, by courtesy of the school board. At the first meeting of the Civic League in the First Ward sixty-seven women attended. Mrs. T. J. Gormley, as chairman of the league, presided. Mrs. John W. Cameron spoke on "Citizenship."

"HAVE a little heart—votes for women," read the message on the heart-shaped Valentines which appeared on the desk of every member of the South Carolina General Assembly on February 14.

Hotel Accommodations

Write directly to any of the following hotels and secure your own accommodations for the great Suffrage Jubilee Convention to be held at the Hotel Statler, St. Louis, March 24-29.

If you do not see here what you want in this list, write to Mrs. Leslie Thompson, Chairman Hospitality Committee, Suffrage Headquarters, 755 Century Building, St. Louis, Missouri.

St. Louis Hotels and Rates

STATLER HOTEL—9th and Washington CONVENTION HEADQUARTERS

400 rooms with bath. Single \$2.00 to \$5.00; Double \$3.00 to \$6.50.

WARWICK HOTEL—15th and Locust

100 rooms with bath. \$1.50; \$2.00; \$2.50 for one person. \$1.00 extra for each additional guest in a room.

JEFFERSON HOTEL—12th and Locust

20 rooms with bath. Single \$2.00; double \$3.00.
30 rooms with bath. Single or double \$4.00 per day.
200 rooms with bath. Single \$3.50; double \$5.00.
50 rooms with bath. Single or double \$6.00 to \$8.00 per day.

AMERICAN HOTEL—7th and Market

35 rooms with bath at \$1.50 per day, per person.
95 rooms with bath at \$2.00 per day, per person.
60 rooms with bath at \$2.50 per day, per person.
60 rooms with bath at \$3.00 per day, per person.

AMERICAN ANNEX—6th and Market

35 rooms with bath at \$1.50 per day, per person.
35 rooms with bath at \$2.00 per day, per person.
80 rooms with bath at \$2.50 per day, per person.

MARYLAND HOTEL—9th and Pine

50 rooms with bath. Single \$2.00 to \$3.50; Double \$3.00 to \$5.00.
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El Paso League Celebrates

THE Equal Suffrage League of El Paso, Texas, celebrated its fourth birthday with a luncheon at the Hotel Sheldon on February 3. Certain members of the league were decked in caps of yellow representing the states which have full suffrage, others wore caps of yellow and white representing partial suffrage states and others caps of black, representing the non-suffrage states. Mrs. O. A. Critchett, president of the league, presided. Mrs. S. J. Fennell was toastmaster. The honored guests at this affair were eighteen candidates for city offices in the coming primaries.

During the program suffrage was toasted in both prose and rhyme. Special tributes were made to each of the foreign countries that have given suffrage to women. Mrs. Critchett gave the toast to the State President, Mrs. Minnie Fisher Cunningham.

An outline of the work accomplished by the El Paso suffragists since their organization was sketched by Mrs. Critchett. Formed to secure for women the exercises of the right of suffrage by appropriate legislation by nation and state, the league has led an active life. In addition to being a potent factor in the gaining of the primary suffrage for Texas women, the league has to its credit a redoubtable program of war service work. It has participated in all the various drives; furnished several secretaries for War Savings Stamp work, prizes being awarded to three for their services in this work; raised money for soldiers' Christmas boxes and adopted a little French orphan, ten years of age. During the "flu" epidemic several of the members worked in private homes and hospitals.

Following the luncheon the election of officers took place, resulting in the reelection for the third successive time of Mrs. Critchett as president of the league. Her staff of officers includes: Mrs. Horace A. Lay, first vice-president; Mrs. I. J. Bush, second vice-president; Mrs. Robert Townsend, recording secretary; Mrs. E. H. Yale, corresponding secretary; Mrs. H. P. Corbin, treasurer; Mrs. Alex. Ferguson, auditor; Mrs. C. J. Oxley, custodian; Mrs. S. J. Fennell, parliamentary; directors, Mrs. Julia A. Sharp, Mrs. William Wallace, Mrs. S. J. Fennell, Mrs. A. W. Depew and Mrs. W. C. Campbell.

THE Equal Suffrage League of St. Louis furnished 200 women to the Council of Defense for the United War Fund Drive, took charge of twelve buildings for the Belgian Babies' Drive, and participated in the second Patriotic Food Show.

"SENATOR HITCHCOCK is splitting hairs when he declares that he is opposed to the National Woman Suffrage resolution, but that when the matter comes up in his own state he 'may be among the advocates.'"

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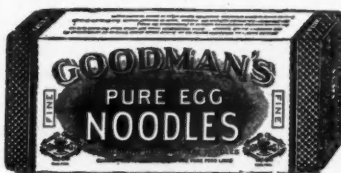
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**Mrs. Fawcett to Retire from
 Presidency**

AFTER fifty-two years of remarkable service on behalf of the suffrage cause in Great Britain, during which time she has served in both official and unofficial capacities, Mrs. Millicent Garrett Fawcett has announced her intention to resign from the office of president of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, and her decision not to stand for the executive committee to be elected this month.

Mrs. Fawcett's retirement, coming closely on the heels of the political emancipation of the women of Great Britain and their participation for the first time in the elections of the country, rounds out a career which has been actively identified with practically every constructive phase of the long campaign for the ballot in Great Britain. The earliest records of the suffrage movement show Mrs. Fawcett a moving spirit in all meetings and deliberations. As chief speaker, as a member of important committees, as a leader of deputations, as a writer of authoritative articles germane to the suffrage cause, Mrs. Fawcett has contributed to every step in the progress of women. In fact to follow the history of her activities is to follow the history of the advance of the woman movement.

"Statesman reformer" is the way the *Common Cause* speaks of this well known suffrage leader when writing in glowing appreciation of her practical service to the cause.

It was her happy privilege to have been a factor in opening the doors of education for women, in gaining for them recognition in the world of industry, in creating public sentiment and forwarding legislation which has safeguarded their work and given them a right to their own earnings.

The *Common Cause* pays further tribute to Mrs. Fawcett, saying: "Mrs. Fawcett is justly accredited with having the same relation to the enfranchisement of women that Wilberforce had to the abolition of the slave trade, Massini to the rebirth of Italy, Shaftesbury to the release of the factory children, Cobden and Bright to the repeal of the Corn Laws.

The women of Great Britain will ever remember that it was under the leadership of Mrs. Fawcett that they came into their citizenship. The triumph for woman suffrage being closely followed by the triumph of the allied cause, Mrs. Fawcett says in a letter to the *Common Cause* that in her mind the two facts are ever closely connected.

Mrs. Fawcett's retirement means that the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies will lose Mrs. Fawcett, president, but not Mrs. Fawcett, the indefatigable suffrage worker, as she will continue as an ardent member of the Union.

South Africa and Suffrage

IN South Africa suffrage has reached the definite stage of government recognition, even though that recognition takes the form, so familiar to suffrage, of an excuse to procrastinate. The government has announced that it is now ready to consider woman suffrage, but it will only consider it in connection with a broader suffrage bill, a consolidating Franchise Bill for the Union. Women must wait, that is, till the general subject of the franchise is gone over by parliament, but when it is, they are practically promised a part in it.

Meantime the suffrage movement itself has taken a new turn. In 1902 the first suffrage society was founded in South Africa, at Dur-

ban, followed by Cape Town, a few years later, and in 1911 the Women's Equality Association of the Union of South Africa (W. E. A. U.) came into existence. Its aim, in the words of the editor of its organ, *The Woman's Outlook*, was "to clamor for the vote."

Of late years new influences have crept in. Members have urged that new tactics might accomplish the same end as the mere playing upon one string. At the last conference of the Women's Equality Association of the Union of South Africa a policy was urged that would prove that "women are entitled to the equality they seek and that their works prove the contention that they are ready to take their place beside men as equals in the great tasks of reconstruction." It has brought out that if, as in Great Britain, the vote was awarded to women for services rendered, so would a policy of good deeds work in South Africa. In spite of a vigorous opposition from those who believed that the right to vote was the best of arguments in a democracy, the new opportunist policy prevailed and the conference adopted, by amendment to its constitution, a program of social measures to be pushed by the league, in part at least, with the object of thus indirectly furthering the cause of woman suffrage. The program includes legislation on the social evil, liquor, marriage and other subjects.

Clemenceau Favors Suffrage Bill

THE day when the women of France will be granted full citizenship rights is not far distant in the opinion of suffragists, as a result of the support given the municipal suffrage measure now being considered in France by Premier Clemenceau. The fighting premier not only has given his support to the plan to give women a voice in the peace conference and the League of Nations now being considered by the Paris Conference, but has declared that he favors the passage of the municipal suffrage measure pending in the Chamber of Deputies.

French suffragists have been actively engaged in presenting their cause for some months and for some time have been promised the right to vote in municipal elections, which, it is believed, will be followed within a short period by the extension of full suffrage. The municipal suffrage bill was introduced in the Chamber of Deputies some time ago and frequent reports telling of the activities of French suffragists give assurance of the passage of the bill.

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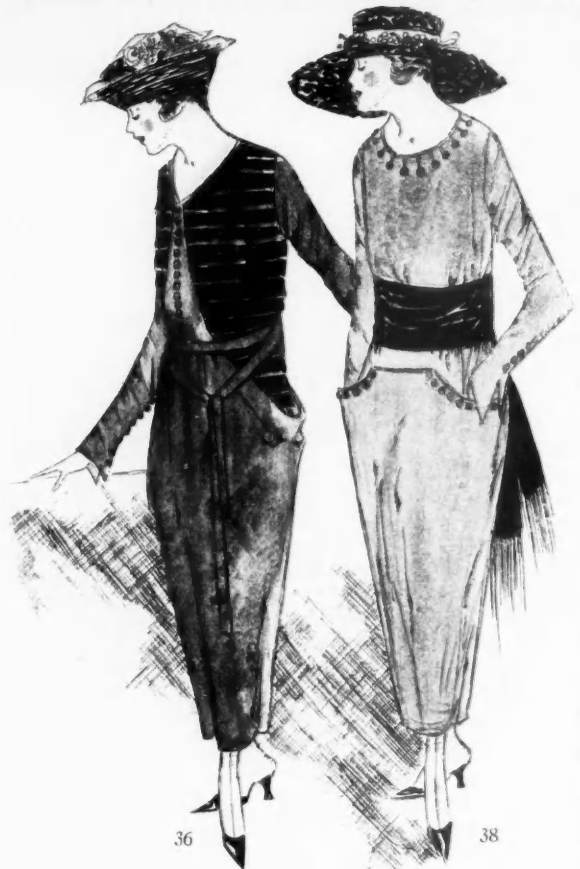
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Founded June 2, 1917

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winning equal rights and especially to winning
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Woman Suffrage Association, the *Woman
Citizen* tries to maintain intimate contact be-
tween the Association and its two million
members throughout the United States.

PUBLISHED BY

The WOMAN CITIZEN CORPORATION
at 171 Madison Avenue, New York
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In the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating
memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the
cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's
irresistible progress.

The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie
Chapman Catt, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Miss
Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, and
Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

Vol. III, March 8, 1919. No. 41.

CIRCULATION CONTEST

Because of the failure of the contestants in the Woman
Citizen Circulation Contest to name the County and the Local
Club which should have credit for subscriptions, it proves im-
possible for the Woman Citizen to make the award of the
\$25.00 prize to the County and the award of the \$25.00 prize
to the Local Club sending in the largest number of subscrip-
tions over one hundred, in accord with the announced terms
of the contest.

Also, since no one qualified as a co-operating subscriber,
everybody instructing that subscriptions be credited directly
to the state association, we are unable to make that award as
originally planned. By the terms of the contest no one could
be a cooperating subscriber in a state that had already taken
up the work in an official way.

The fairest adjustment seems to be to award the second,
third and fourth prizes to the states finishing in the second,
third and fourth positions in the contest. Authority to make
this change, under certain conditions, is given us in a ruling
just received from the post office department. The ruling
follows:

"You are informed that in the next issue of the publication
you should carry a notice to contestants to the effect that un-
less the desired information is furnished, you will proceed to
award the 2nd and 3rd prizes to the state associations in those
states from which the 2nd and 3rd largest number of subscrip-
tions were received. After several weeks have been allowed
to elapse from the date of the publication of this notice you
may proceed to award those prizes as stated in the notice, pro-
vided sufficient data has not been furnished by contestants to
enable you to award those prizes in accordance with the terms
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In compliance with this ruling we publish the proposed
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NEW STYLE VOL. III

MARCH 8, 1919

NUMBER 41

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

For Your Information

NOW that March 4 has put an end to the desperate efforts of the Democratic majority in the United States Senate to retrieve the fatal error into which the Democratic minority plunged the party by defeating the Federal Suffrage Amendment on February 10, women voters and suffragists the country over are indicating to the National American Woman Suffrage Association that they are watching with intense interest the reorganization of the Republican party machine in the Sixty-sixth Congress to see whether or not the Republicans are going to fall into the anti-suffrage trap whereby the majority can be victimized by the minority.

That this minority will work in the Sixty-sixth Congress to keep the political machinery in the hands of the reactionary few at the expense of the liberal many is apparent, just as it was in the Sixty-fifth Congress under the Democrats. In the line-up for chairmanships, as for the speakership, the line of cleavage between the reactionary and the progressive keeps appearing.

Meantime correspondents of the National Suffrage Association are pointing out that Republican leaders have, all during the Sixty-fifth Congress, assured women that a Congress under Republican domination could be relied on to pass the Federal Suffrage Amendment, and all efforts to keep the real power of the party machinery in reactionary hands are viewed with growing challenge by the woman electorate.

At a luncheon for 250 women delegates to the National Conference of the League of Nations held at the Hotel Statler, St. Louis, on February 27, ex-President Taft spoke for suffrage to the following effect:

"He used to think that the introduction of women in politics would make no difference, as the women in any community would vote as the men did. He now thinks the ballot would be good for the women and for the country; first, because women are more sensitive to the trend of public opinion than the men and less hampered by traditions of politics. Second, because the vast number of women coming into industries need the ballot for protection in order that they may meet men engaged in the same work on equal terms."

The Democrats' Blunder

FROM a sheaf of editorials, principally from southern newspapers, the National American Woman Suffrage Association has assembled some extracts by way of showing the strength and reach of the conviction that the Democratic party has made an irretrievable blunder in handing over to the Republican party the opportunity to walk away with the credit of passing the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

"THE opposition of the Southern Democrats was responsible for this last defeat."—Washington, D. C., *Post*.

"WHY should the Democratic Senators be so stupid as to crack the Democratic skull against what is almost an accomplished fact?"—Springfield, Mass., *Republican*.

"ALTHOUGH both Democrats and Republicans were among the minority who voted against the measure the Democratic party faces the danger of being blamed for the defeat of suffrage."—Los Angeles, Cal., *Herald*.

"THE solid Democratic South again defeated woman suffrage in the Senate—the fourth time. The women lacked one vote. The dike is leaking, the light is breaking, another shove or two and the reactionaries will be swept away by the suffrage broom."—Helena, Mont., *Herald*.

"THE responsibility for its defeat yesterday rests squarely on the Democratic party. The Democrats contributed a minority of the votes for it and a majority of the votes against it. Twenty-four Democrats and 31 Republicans voted for the amendment, while 18 Democrats and 11 Republicans voted against."—Pittsburgh, Pa., *Press*.

"OBVIOUSLY he (President Wilson) could not suffer under the moral drag entailed by the undemocratic attitude of his own party while insisting upon democracy from European officials. As the spokesman for universal democracy it was vital that he have his own party in line for the principles he is advocating."—Pittsburgh *Leader*.

"THE Democratic party has been beaten at the congressional elections. Today the women voters control the fate of all political parties in America. The incoming Congress will doubtless make it a first duty to pass the suffrage amendment. The Republicans will go into the presidential campaign claiming that they have given the vote to half the voters of the United States."—New Orleans, La., *Item*.

"UNFORTUNATELY for the Democrats, however, viewed from the angle of tactical expediency, the Republicans are likely to derive greater advantage from the result than their opponents. Although the Republicans are the minority party in the Senate, they gave the measure stronger support than the Democrats. Moreover, this Senate is a Democratic Senate, while the next Senate, which will pass the resolution, will be a Republican Senate. It is to be feared that the new voters who through this process ultimately will be added to our electorate will not be in a frame of mind to make an equitable discrimination in balancing accounts between the two parties; that they will

be inclined to visit upon the Democratic party as a whole the blame."—Louisville, Ky., *Courier Journal*.

"ACCORDING to a Washington correspondent there is little question but that the Republican party stands to gain by the failure of the Democrats to support the amendment. They say there will undoubtedly be a special session of Congress called. The amendment will be reintroduced and that it will be easily carried."—Fort Worth *Record*.

"THE Democrats in the Senate had yesterday an opportunity to annex the extension of equal rights to woman as a party asset. They let it pass.

"Their failure constitutes a serious party liability, of which the Republican majority in the next Congress may be relied upon to make the most!"—Atlanta *Constitution*.

"IT is the opportunity of the Democratic party to do this now; or, else, it will be the Republican party's opportunity to do so next year—and the latter, it may not be doubted, can be depended upon to take full advantage of it. For, be it recalled, both the Democratic and Republican parties stand now committed to the proposition, so far as platform declarations are concerned; so that it only remains to be seen which one will make good—and, incidentally, get the credit for enfranchising the women of the nation."—Augusta, Ga., *Chronicle*.

"HOW those impassioned, fiery Southern Senators must have been laughing in their sleeves when they stood up in the Senate yesterday and pleaded pitifully that the suffrage question be left to the separate states. 'States Rights, States Rights!' came their ringing plea.

"These are the same men who calmly voted away all states rights on the Prohibition question.

"Consistency thou art indeed a jewel unknown to some Senators."—Baltimore, Md., *Star*.

"MR. WILSON was re-elected by the votes of California women, but his party has declared in effect, through the votes of Democratic Senators, that the California women ought to be disfranchised. If the ballot is not a proper instrument for the hands of American women as a whole it is an impropriety in the hands of California women, therefore the action of Democratic Senators in voting against submission of the suffrage amendment was tantamount to a condemnation of the fair Californians who made Woodrow Wilson President. It is not an agreeable prospect to most Democrats, that of the likelihood of the opposition party again coming into popular acclaim as the 'great emancipator.'"—Dallas *News*.

"IF this Congress had submitted the Anthony amendment the Republicans would have been denied the opportunity of doing so in the 66th, which they will gladly jump at and thus capitalize the issue in next year's national fight; and with twelve million American women voting today under respective state enfranchisement laws, Democratic success in the fall of 1920 would have been practically assured, regardless of war investigations or anything else.

"But it is too late now. You can't unscramble eggs. The die is cast. The G. O. P.'s have caught the bait and gone off with it, and—

"Heavily rests the responsibility on a small minority!

"Watch out for reprisals in 1920!"—James A. Hollomon in *Atlanta Constitution*.

"ATLEE POMERENE by his deciding vote against suffrage in the Senate yesterday puts a burden upon his party which is certain to be embarrassing in 1920. What is more important, he puts the Senate of the United States on record against a great, forward-looking act of justice."—Cleveland *Plain Dealer*.

"AND the opposition comes mainly from the so-called Democratic party. It is no wonder that Europe looks upon American party politics with bewilderment. The Democratic label seems oddly placed on a party that refuses the vote to nearly half the population."—Chicago *Post*.

"THE woman minority has won," conceded the New York *Times* after the Senate had rejected the Federal Suffrage Amendment by one vote. Its triumph is but postponed. The thing is put practically, to a practical generation.

"The Democrats have blundered politically. The farther-seeing Republicans in the next Congress will take advantage of that mistake."

"NATURALLY enough, some practical politicians among the Democrats at Washington are figuring on what is likely to happen to their party at the North if the women voters in sixteen states take revenge at the polls next year for the defeat of the Suffrage Amendment in the Senate by the action of Southern Democrats.

"If Northern women already armed with the ballot, and Northern Democrats generally who are opposed to Prohibition decreed by centralized power at Washington, conclude for different reasons that the Democratic Party as now controlled by the South is not to their liking, it may be many a day before another Democratic Administration or another Democratic Congress will appear at the national capital. Prohibition and woman suffrage are different propositions, but a political organization which deals with them inconsistently, making enemies by the hundreds of thousands in both directions, must be electioneering for a vacation."—*The World*, New York City.

His Ideas

TWO days after he had voted against the Federal Suffrage Amendment Mr. Wadsworth told a New York state group at a dinner in Albany that he was worried about "the tendency of the Federal Government to invade the tax fields." He thinks it would be "the beginning of the end of local self-government."

Mr. Wadsworth's ideas of local self-government are like those of the ambitious chameleon which succeeded in changing his colors to fit his background until he got on a plaid shawl, when he burst.

Having done as much damage as possible to "local self-government" in the state he is supposed to represent by disregarding the majority suffrage vote of the state and by flouting the expressed wishes of his Legislature, such fears sound as if Mr. Wadsworth's mind were trying to climb the hill of democratic justice with brakes set.

After having just voted to keep one-half of the "overtaxed" adults of the country from any representation in its government, he thus proclaimed his fears of the injustice he had himself perpetrated: "Overtaxed people make a fertile field for those who desire to tear down our institutions which have now existed for more than a hundred years."

Dangerous Legislation

LEGISLATION in regard to venereal diseases is pending in many states. We would once more remind our readers that it should be carefully watched, as the Federal government is trying to secure throughout the nation such measures as will enable the authorities to shut up all women of bad character suffering with these diseases, and to keep them shut up until cured. It is an importation into America of the European system of state regulation of vice. It was first introduced by Napoleon in the hope of safeguarding the health of his soldiers. It has been thoroughly tried out in France and other European countries, and has everywhere proved futile from the hygienic point of view, and debasing from that of ethics. By the acknowledgment of its strongest European supporters, they have never been able to get more than a small fraction of the prostitutes under medical and police control; and France, where this legislation has prevailed longest, is worse scourged by these particular diseases than most other countries.

The bills introduced in this country do not specify women. They say "Any Person"; but the prime object is to get the power to shut up such women, and to keep them from infecting men.

Although this legislation as a health measure has everywhere failed in Europe, the American authorities are determined to try it, and we shall probably have to make this costly and demoralizing experiment, and learn the folly of it for ourselves. There are two points, however, which can be safeguarded, and women should look out for them.

Do not permit the passage of a clause permitting persons to be arrested merely on suspicion, and forced to undergo examination. Illinois allows this: and the Chicago papers lately reported the case of two perfectly respectable girls who were arrested on suspicion, because the police saw them chatting with some sailors. The girls were forced to undergo examination; they were shut up till the result of the examination was known, meanwhile being kept away from their work; their names were published in the papers, with the fact of their arrest as suspicious characters; yet when they were finally brought into court, they had to be discharged, because there was found to be nothing the matter with them, and no evidence at all that they were bad girls. This was a case of over-zeal on the part of the police; but the law gives them unlimited power to blackmail innocent women.

The second point to guard against is a blanket clause giving the health officers power to take "such other measures as they may see fit" or "deem necessary" to suppress venereal diseases. Under this clause, any health board could license brothels and issue official health certificates to prostitutes, as has been done in many European countries; in short, could take any high-handed and objectionable measures that it chose. Let the law state clearly what the health authorities may do, and not make them irresponsible dictators in dealing with this class of troubles.

A. S. B.

Stones from Glass Houses

MR. PRESCOTT F. HALL, an irreconcilable opponent of equal suffrage, says that if any additional proof were needed of women's unfitness for public life, it may be found in the "exaggerated statements" lately made by a certain militant suffragist. Some women's utterances undoubtedly are not governed by sober fact; but are women the only persons who make exaggerated statements?

When Massachusetts was about to give women school suffrage, a member of the Legislature said, in opposing the bill: "If we make this innovation, we shall destroy the race, which will be blasted by Almighty God!" That was forty years ago, and the race is still here. In New York, when a married women's property law was proposed, a member of the Legislature said of the women who asked for it:

"They do not appear to be satisfied with having unsexed themselves but they desire to unsex every female in the land, and to set the whole community ablaze with unhallowed fire. The object of these unsexed women is to overthrow the most sacred of our institutions, to set at defiance the divine law which declares man and wife to be one, and establish on its ruins what will be in fact and in principle but a species of legalized adultery."

When a bill was introduced in New York in 1899 to require that women should form part of every school board, the Albany Anti-Suffrage Association sent to the members of the Committee on Cities a letter denouncing the measures as "legislation that threatens the home; threatens the sacredness of the marriage tie, threatens the church, and undermines the foundation of our great republic." Such quotations might be multiplied almost indefinitely. Exaggerated statements have characterized the opposition to equal rights, from the very beginning of the movement down to the present day, and especially of late since the nation-wide suffrage amendment has attained its big majority in both houses of Congress, anger and fright have increased the natural tendency of the opponents to exaggeration, and some of the recent articles in their official organ sound as if they had been composed by a committee of lunatics from Bedlam at the full of the moon, as Henry Kingsley said of the native names of certain places in Australia.

No anti-suffragist can afford to throw stones at any suffragist for exaggerated statements; there is too much glass on the premises on his own side. As for the unwise behavior of a few "militant women, it is not a circumstance to the violent things that have been done by men in pursuit of self-government. Witness the French revolution, witness what is going on in Europe today. In the words of Mrs. Poyser: "I'm not denying that women are foolish. God Almighty made them to match the men!"

A. S. B.

THE Woman Citizen

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Is There Room at the Top?

ABOUT 40 years ago a girl of 20 and a lad of 22 stood together beside a stream separating two towns of a middle Atlantic state.

"Will you marry me, Alice," said he, "as soon as I get enough? It won't be long."

"I don't mind getting married, John," said she, "but I don't really want to *be* married. I hate to keep house. I like to teach."

"But," said John, "it doesn't pay you to teach. You have 60 pupils now and get \$400 and I have 30 pupils and get \$800; in ten years I'll certainly have at least \$3,000, and you may not get then what I get now."

"But there's the work," said she; "I like my 60 pupils."

"Oh well," said John, "if you like the company of 60 of other people's children better than three or four of your own!"

Which was very improper talk 40 years ago.

"But really, for company," persisted Alice, "it would be a colored maid, or two, instead of 60 children, all day long."

So they parted.

And John married Mary.

There are plenty of spots in the United States where that might happen today, although the salary discrepancies have in some places grown less striking. And even where "equal pay" illumines the school law, if it is not true that all the well-paid work is given to men, it is true that all men are appointed to well-paid work.

THIRTY years ago John wired from his factory in a mid-western city to Alice, still teaching in the old home town: "Mary and I have a job for you. Come at once. Mary says wear your best. Bring credentials."

On her arrival Mary explained, "John is president of the school board. The superintendent is behind the times. There was talk of getting a young man assistant superintendent at \$2,000, but John said he thought he could get a woman supervisor who would do the work for \$1,200, so we sent for you."

And Alice took the job with thanks.

Incidents like this are still happening, but not so light-heartedly on either side as in those days. For several reasons.

Twenty years ago there walked into the office of a school superintendent, who was a big-headed, great-hearted man, an irate lady.

"I took the train as soon as I heard it," said she. "You may refuse to answer if you want to. Why did you nominate a stupid, uncouth fellow like Smith to the new office of assistant superintendent?"

"Yes," said the superintendent, "I know. But he is an honest man, and will not play politics."

"I can count at least fifteen honest women in your corps," said the irate lady, "who are also cultured and clever."

He of the big head and great heart rumbled his hair and acknowledged, "As the Lord lives, I never thought of a woman."

That could not happen today. In such cases the superintendent and all the male candidates think busily of women—and of how to fend them off; the local press thinks of several women, and often suppresses the thought, at powerful solicitation. And the women think of themselves. If several local women have but a single thought, the choice of a man is facilitated.

About ten years ago a state superintendent was solicited by a group of distinguished male citizens to make one of his six assist-

For Women Educators?

By Louise Connolly

ant superintendents a woman—put her into the primary work, perhaps. He answered suavely, but said to some of the local superintendents, "Don't worry. I'm not going to send a person in petticoats to inspect your work."

That is at least a prevalent condition in most of the non-suffrage states today.

Said a woman superintendent of schools, the only woman city superintendent in an eastern state, "Every new Board of Education that has been appointed since my advent shows at its first meeting that it expects to perform the painful duty of turning this dear lady out of the unsuitable niche in which it finds her. Every year, after the first meeting, I say to my mother, 'These men expect to dismiss me, but they won't; they are good sensible fellows.' But the point is that if I were a man the presumption would be that they would keep me; they would have to have a reason for dismissal. Being a woman, I am, presumptively, to go; they have to have a reason for keeping me."

The married women, the retired teachers, and the former teachers filling remunerative positions in other lines who have not responded to the President's recent call for teachers, are not all merely indifferent or mercenary. They are concerned for the best future good of the country.

Says one elderly woman of scholarship, ability, and wide experience, "If I could afford to be a dollar-a-year woman and the country wanted me really to use my powers, I would do it. But what they want is women at the bottom. Were I to consent to enter a class-room at low wages I might turn out 40 children well trained for citizenship, but I should interfere just that much with the dawning realization that to get efficient women teachers there must be offered decent wages and a chance for promotion."

YET the world does move. The Educational Directory for 1915-16 listed some 12,000 conspicuous educators, about $\frac{1}{3}$ of whom were women. Almost 4 per cent of the colleges and universities of the country are presided over by women. About $\frac{1}{5}$ of the county and district superintendents, but less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the city superintendents of the country are women.

In 1918-19, no state educational officer was a woman in Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Iowa, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Tennessee, Vermont, Virginia or West Virginia.

There were women: in Indiana, one out of nine, assistant vocational supervisor; in Kentucky, one out of eight, organizer of parent-teacher associations; in Michigan, one out of five, county normal supervisor; in New Hampshire, one out of seven, deputy superintendent; in Rhode Island, one out of five, a library visitor.

There are women in charge of home economic work in Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Minnesota and Utah.

And the State Superintendent of Education is a woman in Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, Montana, North Dakota, Texas, Washington and Wyoming.

A majority of the county superintendents are women in Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, Iowa, Kansas, Montana (which is an all-woman state on education unless Asgerd Haaland is a man), Nebraska, South Dakota, Washington and Wyoming. There are no women county superintendents in Connecticut, Delaware,

Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Maryland, Mississippi, New Jersey, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Utah (and that is interesting), Virginia and West Virginia.

Roughly speaking, and with some notable exceptions—for the schools of Indiana are good—the woman county superintendent is found where education is advanced, and where women have the suffrage. What is cause, and what effect? Roughly speaking, again, we may say that woman has arrived in numbers only in the lower strata of the upper crust. She has been invited considerably to care for the blind and deaf, and very largely to train the deficient and feeble-minded!

VARIOUS reasons are given both for the advent of women in these elevated positions and for their slowness in fully arriving: Woman has always been fond of drudgery, and she finds her level; woman's talent is to carry out the plans of others rather than to initiate, or at most it is to govern by indirection—to be the power behind the throne; women must remember that old prejudices die hard; women must realize that after all business must be governed by the law of supply and demand—it is necessary to have some men, and they command higher wages in the business world than do women; men need more money than women because they support families; man has behind him the suggestive force of the mass belief in his power to bring things to pass; we cannot have our schools entirely feminized, and as we cannot get able men at the bottom we must place them at the top; adolescent boys will leave school if we give them no masculine contacts; administrative positions need people who can deal with the business and political world; granted that first class women and third class men go into education, yet your third rate man who sticks to his job is better than the first rate woman with one ear open for "the other alternative"; why is our children's education entirely controlled by "biological failures"; let us not mince matters, but acknowledge frankly that "maybe you can, ladies, but usually you don't," and finally that vulgar libel, "women do not like to work under women; they prefer men."

TO those women who actually face the problem, and who wish to deal with it sincerely:

1. There has been, within a generation, a great change both in the type of man who sits in the educational chair of state and in his attitude toward the rising tide of able or ambitious women. John went into the business world both because he could make fifteen or a hundred fifty rather than five thousand a year, and also because he had no intention of being a "sissy" man—a school teacher. Alice, when she took the supervisorship, managed her superannuated superintendent with tolerant kindness. And the old gentleman fell, with a sigh of relief, into the swivel chair of a puppet king. But with the multiplication of efficient Alices, and simultaneously with the establishment of teachers' colleges and pedagogic departments in universities, there entered the profession, at the top, a new type of school man—the psychologist, the experimenter, the school statistician—in fact, the first real American pedagog. He has created, within the past forty years, a literature and is evolving a science. And he has no notion of being led about in semi-hypnotized luxury by his never-so-competent Alice. He immediately saw in the supporting spirals of her ministrations a menace. And, with no more formulated or explicit organization than the capitalists have employed toward the proletariat, he and his fellows have closed ranks and have, like the amiable Quaker in Uncle Tom's Cabin, intimated, "Friend, thee isn't wanted here," and, as the old adage has it, "set her down without it."

These blythe young creators of the new pedagogic world are good to their Alices. Many of them are firm believers in the theory of political and economic equality. They teach normal schools and incite their pupils to aspiration and to the solving of problems. They write books in conjunction with their female assistants and put both names on the title pages—naturally their own first. They gladly announce that you can't tell either by chemical reaction or microscopic inspection, nor yet by the higher photography, the brain of a male from that of a female. They are devoted to fair play and the square deal, and they always set apart for papers by women, at least one session of each convention, which some of them always attend! They are, in fact, courageous and magnanimous knights errant, trying hard to make a professional corps out of the rank and file of that army of female class teachers which Horace Mann's enthusiasm for Teutonism established here in a form so wondrously like that of the German military machine. To see one of these crusaders haranguing a hall full of elementary public school teachers about the "ideals of our profession," willingly carrying the load of their uniform docility up the Hill Difficulty, and to see this host of privates, conscientiously striving to amalgamate the impulses to independent action, scientific observation, and freedom of conclusion to which he urges them with the meticulous obedience and close formation which tomorrow's routine is going to require of them, is a humorously pathetic spectacle. But the lads are in earnest. And the women are as impressionable as they are faithful. And undoubtedly as a result there is often a miraculous feeling of freedom evinced by the platoon.

It may be asked, Why do not young women take a larger hand in this creation of the profession? It may be answered, They all fill positions demanding drudgery.

Nevertheless, in spite of all their liberal creeds, these, our foremost educators, moved by an instinct next in strength to the two fundamental instincts of maternal and of sexual affection, namely, the instinct of males to form a ring for the defense of their families, will next day checkmate any Alice who seeks to join their circle.

You may search the educational literature of the past two decades for this tendency and you will search in vain! The journals which they edit, the conventions which they run, the associations which they form, say nothing about it—no more than do the eastern newspapers define the policy of the Pacific capitalists towards migratory labor. They just say nothing, and keep Alice out—if they can. There are Ella Flagg Young episodes ever and anon, but they are Monadnocks, not mountain chains in the educational landscape.

There has been a change in the type of woman who tries to mount to the dizzy heights of \$3,000 emoluments and to those lofty titles beginning with "super." And this change has been as potent as the other in delaying the inevitable advent of equal opportunity.

The early women were few, earnest, striving souls, the survival of the fittest among that consecrated company which stormed the doors of the men's colleges, founded the women's colleges, performed prodigies of self-improvement and efficient achievement, and broke through.

Nowadays, there is an inclined plane which is also a graduated screen, and the men govern the grade and the scale. That is to say, Alice is not now set to prop a decaying gentleman, because she is necessary, yet cheap. Nowadays, with the feeling that "the women voters (or the women's clubs) will make a fuss," or that "the suffragists will get after us," or that "women ought to

(Continued on page 843)



Jubilee Convention Program

SATURDAY, the last day of the Jubilee Convention, in St. Louis, promises to be the liveliest day of all, for that is the day when the effort will be made to form a composite working organization of voters and non-voters.

The questions that are already uppermost throughout the 2,000,000 membership of the National, as indicated by the steady stream of inquiries already flowing into headquarters, are: "Will the National maintain its old identity? Does it mean two separate organizations? Will there be a mergence of the old body into the new? What would be the relative standing of voters and non-voters in any composite group? How could such a dual organization be made to function satisfactorily?"

All which questions only time and the Convention-Conference can answer.

The joint program of the convention and the Women Voters Conference shows that all the meetings are to be held in the Statler except the evening mass meetings on Thursday and Friday, March 27 and March 28, which will be in the Odeon.

Although the convention will not open formally until the evening of March 24, St. Louis will be the point of convergence for women voters and suffragists well in advance of that date. The Executive Council of the National Suffrage Association will be in session on Saturday, March 22, and the official board of the National will receive delegates and visitors at the Statler Sunday evening. Monday is given over to the Executive Council again. In the evening the convention opens. A special feature of the opening is the introduction of the address of the President, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, which usually comes later in the program. The address will present Mrs. Catt's idea of the power inherent in the coalition of women voters and women would-be voters and will be the torch to kindle a general discussion on the question "Why has the United States lagged behind other nations in granting votes to women?"

All the day-time hours of Tuesday and Wednesday are requisitioned for convention business, lightened in between by the public dinner at the Statler on Tuesday evening. The National's program interrupts itself here long enough to call attention to the fact that reservations for places at the dinner must not be sent to National headquarters but to Mrs. Leslie Thompson, 755 Century Bldg., St. Louis.

Within the Organization

A SUFFRAGE FAMILY

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and the

SIX YOUNG VANDERLIPS.

BOTH MR. and MRS. VANDERLIP

ARE ARDENT SUFFRAGISTS.

and the

FAMILY IS TRAINED

in the

FAITH

The first hours of Thursday morning will take care of convention business and the meeting will then merge into that Conference of Women Voters which is already spiking women's interest from Maine to California.

The voters program for the day will proceed in a sort of sectional formation, the sectional themes to be as follows:

1. What may women voters do to further the welfare of women in industry?
2. How may women voters conserve the welfare of the Nation's children?
3. How may women voters assist the movement toward improved social morality and social hygiene?

The feature of Thursday evening is the mass meeting at the Odeon, with speakers of nation-wide prominence, the full list of whom will be announced shortly.

Friday morning Convention business again gets the floor from 9:30 to 11, to be followed by the voters, still in sectional formation and discussing the following:

1. How can the laws of the several states defining the legal status of women be unified and improved?
2. What can women voters do toward the improvement of election methods?
3. What can women voters do toward making the United States more worthy of leadership among the world's nations?

Enrolled by Thousands

THE signatures of 93,000 Connecticut women were on view at the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Headquarters at Hartford last week. These signatures, affixed to sheets headed, "We, the undersigned believe in equal suffrage for men and women," testify to the demand for suffrage in the home state of Senators Brandegee and McLean. The list of signatures is increasing daily.

Cards bearing the exact number of women enrolled in each county under the suffrage banner, as shown by the signatures, called attention to the fact that in many of the counties the number of women signing exceeded a majority of the number of men voting in the 1916 gubernatorial campaign, which was considered a normal voting year. No comparison was made with the

1918 vote as the number of men voting was notably lessened because of the war.

Every precaution was taken by the circulators of the enrollment sheets to see that the signers were of voting age and eligible to full political citizenship. Every sheet bore the name of the circulator. Miss Mary Elizabeth Hutt, executive secretary of the state suffrage work, has been in charge of the signature campaign.

Is There Room at the Top?

(Continued from page 841)

be represented," a place—usually in the supervisorship of primary work, or domestic work, or welfare work—is set apart for some women, *and the woman is selected by a board of men.* Strange to say, she quite often succeeds! For when a woman whom seven men find admirable is set to supervise seventy or seven hundred other women, the outlook is not good. But there are charming women who are able also, and many men can learn by experience.

Yet in any gathering of woman supervisors you will find an exceptionally good looking, well dressed, and amazingly feminine group. A male board of examiners has been known to select for a position of grave responsibility a girl two years out of college, with the A. B. degree and a high color, turning down a sal-low lady of 35, with three degrees, ten years of fruitful experience, and a notable capacity for gentle leadership. Doubtless a board of women would make equally egregious mistakes in rating young men. The sole woman who may sometimes be found in these appointive or selective boards has great opportunities for studying masculine reactions, and is often impressed by their uniformity. A board of nine, consisting of nine distinct social and intellectual grades, will chant in unison, as an adolescent Mrs. Nickleby leaves the room, "That's a peach," and will ruminate, ten weeks later, when the remnants of the poor peach are brought again to notice, "Ah, well, perhaps women ought really not to be given boys' classes. Boys need the strong hand of a man."

WHAT is the goal of a sane suffragist in this matter?

Equal opportunity for all positions—the personal fitness of each candidate to be the criterion. And equal pay for *equivalent* work.

HOW is this to come about? Chiefly by the entrance of women into well-paying businesses. A woman can buy as cheap and sell as dear as can a man. Secondly, by the creation of mixed boards of education and of examination. The good and intelligent woman in a community who refuses to go on a board of appointment ought to get one of the present-day dramatic sentences—twenty years and \$10,000 fine—for she is far more guilty of treason than is she who thinks that the laboring man, even if a sinner, should be helped to a defence. Thirdly, attractive women must be chivalrous, and carefully abstain from making their way by even the most innocent exercise of charm. And fourthly, the present leaders, our "educators" par excellence, must, if they would see their visions of the art of teaching based on the science of education realized, un-Teutonize our schools—establish something like democracy among teachers, fight, no matter through what intimidation, for the duty and the right of the teacher to help develop a fearless love of truth, a keen sense of justice, a generous kindness to all men, and a will to righteousness among all pupils. One by one, then, as the women join them, be they few or many, they will work with them as true women should.

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Who's Who Among Candidates

AFTER tackling practical political problems at first hand, and voting at one general election since enfranchisement, many of the women of New York have come to the conclusion that politics is more or less a game of blind man's buff, as men have been playing it, and they think the time has come to take off the blinders.

In other words, women found it difficult to obtain accurate information about candidates for nomination within the party ranks before the primaries, and still more difficult to secure adequate information concerning nominees after they had emerged from party primaries with a party emblem stamped upon their more or less noble brows.

Wherein lay the difficulty? Was there anything unusual in the election of November, 1918, to make information difficult to obtain? If so, it was not apparent to the naked eye. Were not the same sources of information open to women voters as had always been open to men? All and more too, as every woman's organization, together with hundreds of trained workers throughout the state, were doing their best to bring essential facts home to the new electorate. Why, then, were thinking women frankly bewildered as they held their first ballots in their hands and looked at the list of candidates and read the proposed constitutional amendments?

Perhaps the shortest and best answer to that question would be, "Because they were 'thinking' women."

By E. Jean Nelson Penfield
of the New York Bar

FROM surface facts, a hasty reasoner might see in such frank admissions new life given to the ancient "anti" argument which pictured a mysterious and unbridgeable chasm between political lore and the feminine intellect which had something to do with that otherwise respectable science known as biology; but, so far as systematic and designed inquiry could be trusted to bring the truth to the surface, men and women seemed to be about equally well informed. Hence, I submit that a better guess is that women were more disturbed than men by the enveloping twilight haze of the political world in which they found themselves wandering, because they were unaccustomed to this misty half-light through which men had stumbled for years.

At any rate, women, who were making an earnest study of the problems which faced the newly enfranchised voters, began to ask such questions as—How can we expect an intelligent electorate when there is no adequate plan to supply voters with reliable political information? Must women enter upon their new political life handicapped by foreordained ignorance which spells ineffectiveness? Must we see the hard-won primary law condemned and inoperative because such conditions have never allowed it a fighting chance to function normally as the channel of an informed and thinking electorate?

TO make a long story short, the Woman's Practical Law Association finally drafted the following resolutions, which were adopted at once by women's organizations all over the state, including the New York State Federation of Women's Clubs, the Woman Suffrage Party of both the state and Greater New York, the Women Lawyers' Association, the Women's City Club and the Bronx Woman's Club:

Whereas, Women are just entering upon their political life in the great Empire State, and their duty to the state demands that they seriously consider the best methods of rendering the highest and best service to the state of which they are capable and,

Whereas, We feel that the greatest need of a democratic government is an enlightened and intelligent electorate, and, mindful of the fact that under present laws and conditions, both the men and women of the state are seriously handicapped in the discharge of their duty as citizens, because of the haphazard and unreliable methods by which political information is disseminated; and,

Whereas, We consider it bad business of state to allow such a chaotic condition longer to exist, and, furthermore, are unwilling that the new electorate be subjected to such handicap; be it

Resolved, That the (name of organization), in convention assembled, endorses the plan proposed by the Woman's Practical Law Association, and pledges its support to the passage of a bill in the next legislature by which authoritative facts concerning all candidates for office, and both sides of every measure to be submitted to the voters of the state, shall be sent to every voter in the state, according to a plan similar to that adopted by, and now in force in, the state of Oregon.

There has not been sufficient time to enable the Woman's Practical Law Association to send either a copy of these resolutions or a copy of the proposed law to all clubs throughout the state, but we are trusting that there will not be a single woman's club in the state that will not put its organized force back of

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this constructive and basic legislation. Such a law will help to lead both men and women voters out from the present political blind alley into the open, and, in time, will produce an informed and vitalized electorate which shall inspire as well as demand sane, wise and just public enactments, and which will make it inexpedient for political parties to choose any but the best candidates for office.

THE law as proposed, and which was drafted by the writer in co-operation with Assemblyman Fertig, provides that the Secretary of State shall send to each voter a printed pamphlet giving facts concerning all candidates for office. Each candidate or political party would furnish its own material and pay a stated sum for such service. The important point is that data from all parties and candidates concerning men and measures (for and against) will be printed in one pamphlet and sent to every voter. That there be no unnecessary printing, it is provided that each county will have its own pamphlet—presenting men and measures before the voters of that county. A similar plan is provided for cities.

Before primaries, a similar pamphlet will be issued for each political party, giving facts for and against the candidates for nomination. Such pamphlets will be sent to the registered voters of each party, Republican pamphlets to Republicans and Democratic pamphlets to Democrats, etc. In all these pamphlets, any person or organization may also, over responsible signatures, give reasons why a candidate should *not* be elected.

Should anyone be alarmed at the apparent expense to the state for postage, printing, etc., he should remember that this cost is reduced to a minimum by the returns for space charges made to candidates and political parties whose sketches and statements are printed, and he should also remember that these charges to candidates and parties for space (whether it be for or against a man or a measure) offer superior advertising facilities at far less cost than is now paid. In other words, the state, the candidate, the political party and the electorate all get a square deal.

WHILE this article is written at the invitation of the editor, with the thought of its general interest to all states facing similar election problems, yet I hope I may, in conclusion, be allowed to voice a special appeal to our New York readers.

No bill ever passed itself in a Legislature. It takes the constituency urge to bring a bill out of committee and to a successful vote.

As the *Woman Citizen* goes to press, this election law bill is in the judiciary committees of the New York State Senate and Assembly. A short legislative session is predicted. The time is short, and the need for help immediate and important. Please do two simple things at once:

First, write or telegraph to your Senator and Assemblyman at Albany, and also to Senator A. W. Burlingame and Assemblyman L. M. Martin, as chairmen of the judiciary committees of the Senate and Assembly, respectively, urging them to use their influence to bring the bill providing for candidates, pre-election pamphlets, introduced by Assemblyman Fertig in the Assembly and by Senator Graves in the Senate, out of committee and to a successful vote in both Houses.

Second, interest your local newspapers in the bill, and urge them to put their splendid influence back of it at once.

The public hearing before judiciary committees is at the Capitol, March 12, at 2:30 p. m., room No. 311. All friends who can should be present.

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Psychoanalyzing a Phrase

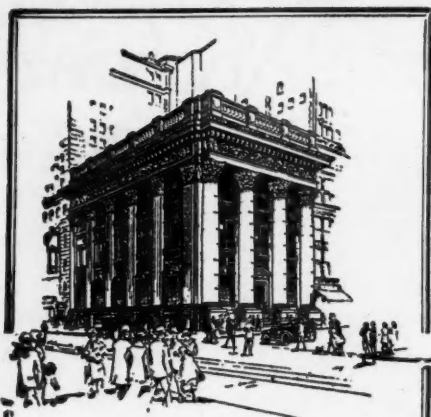
IF you were a psychoanalyst you would know that when an editor writes with an idea which he would be ashamed to put into harsh English coiled around the roots of his sentence, he does it because that idea has lain for a long time coiled around the roots of his soul.

The editor we are thinking about at the moment is Colonel George Harvey who, writing not long ago in his *Weekly*, talked about the "all but feminine spitefulness" shown to General Wood, and in his phrasing betrayed two notions smuggled down in his sub-conscious mind which he would probably repudiate with his conscious mind. One of them is that spitefulness is a generic attribute of the female of the species; the other, that whatever spitefulness any man might show would be so far behind the feminine brand as to be "all but."

The writer injected his entirely extraneous phrase about spitefulness into an article describing General Wood's fine work at Camp Funston in installing "a sort of university" in the American Army. The article gave General Wood deserved praise.

But Colonel Harvey's method of insinuating that General Wood is a victim of spite was exactly that which his hypothetical woman would display if she happened to feel spiteful.

Just how much basis of fact is there for using spiteful as a feminine adjective? About as much probably as in masculinizing "unchaste." Both these efforts to segregate vices went out of fashion, and mainly out of print, with the nineteenth century.



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Women in Industry

Under Government Control

JULIA O'CONNOR, representative of Telephone and Telegraph Workers on the committee appointed by Director General Burleson to investigate wages and working conditions in these industries, has handed in her resignation on the ground that the committee is hampered and handicapped and has done no work of any value.

Miss O'Connor further charges that "repudiation of contracts, interruption of friendly relations, destruction of long-established arrangements for collective bargaining, persecution and hostility for membership in a union—this has been the unpleasant history of Government control of the telephone industry. Methods of discrimination unparalleled under private control have been practiced by officials of the telephone companies upon employees who joined or remained members of a union; and in the absence of a disavowal, the odium of this state of affairs must rest upon the Post Office Department.

"Incomplete and sketchy as has been the survey made by the committee, it has revealed a condition which demands instant remedy. Wages of telephone operators and mechanics, particularly the former, have generally been below the living level. On the important subjects of hours, or arrangement of tricks, overloading and strapping of boards, the long reach, the degree of supervision and testing and whether or not it is unfair or burdensome; in fact, all the myriad and complex considerations of vital importance have received no attention whatever."

As to the telegraph workers, whom also she represented on the committee, Miss O'Connor calls attention to the failure to apply the increased wage scale announced for August 1. "A memorandum presented to the committee showed that on August 24, 1918, the Western Union Telegraph Company made an agreement with its employees by which increases of five, ten and fifteen per cent, based on seniority, would be granted all employees and would be dated to take effect as of August 1, 1918. This agreement was never placed in effect, because the Director General denied to the individual companies operating under the telephone and telegraph administration the right to negotiate with their employees on the subject of wages."

Women Doing Men's Work

REPORTS made by the United States Employment Service following a survey of all the industrial centers in the country indicate that approximately 1,500,000 women were doing men's work at the time the armistice was signed. This was more than ten per cent of the total number of female workers of all classes who

numbered 11,000,000. Working conditions and wages in these new fields in which women have found a place as a result of the war have been so satisfactory that the great majority of these workers prefer to remain in the positions they now hold, according to the report of the bureau. The number of women engaged in these new fields has been only slightly reduced, it is said.

One result of the cessation of fighting has been a big drop in the calls for women workers, it is reported. During the week of Nov. 2, a week before the signing of the armistice, 52,000 calls for female help were received, while the number of calls for such help received during the week of Feb. 10 was but 28,000.

The number of women railroad workers has been almost doubled in the last year. On January 1, 1918, the number of women employed by the railroads was 60,000. In October of the same year the number had increased to 101,000. Under government operation of the railroads there is said to be no present disposition to reduce the number of women workers in order that their places may be filled with men.

Minimum Wage the Basis

FROM Iowa comes evidence of what probably happened to equal pay promises in many places during the war. Miss Mary Burd and other social workers of Davenport were assigned to make out a budget for a working girl. "We were ordered," says Miss Burd, in the *Patriot-Phalanx*, "to be very specific and to give the exact number of every wearable needed for a year. We inquired what this was to shed light upon and were told that the intention was to establish a scale of wages for the women workers in the munition factory. The women, it was said, had replaced the men at the same wages, and this arrangement was to be changed."

A minimum, not an equal wage, is still the highest standard that the mind of many an employer can grasp for his women workers.

Protest Dismissal

THE National Women's Trade Union League filed a protest with the Railroad Administration against the summary dismissal of thirty women in the parcel room at the Union Station, Washington. They have been replaced, not by returning soldiers, but by boys of seventeen years or under.

The Director-General of the Railroad Administration recently issued an order for the dismissal of various classes of women employed on the railroads during the war.

THE United States Department of Labor issues a multigraphed preliminary bibliography of 57 pages, on Reconstruction. It is compiled by Laura A. Thompson.

Women Labor Leaders at Peace Conference

THE 10,000,000 women in industry in the United States will be represented at the Peace Conference by a delegation of four of the most prominent leaders of the organized women of the country—Miss Agnes Nestor of Chicago, president of the Glove-Makers' Union; Miss Melinda Scott of New York, of the Hat Trimmers' Union; Miss Rose Schneiderman, president of the New York Women's Trade Union League, and Miss Mary Drier, chairman of the New York Legislative Congress.

Important Legislation

MANY measures of importance to women are recommended for the consideration of the Wisconsin State Legislature by a committee on post war reconstruction. Many changes and improvements in the state's laws were recommended as a means of combatting Bolshevism, and bringing about an improvement in the working conditions of working people and farmers. One of the most important recommendations contained in the program of constructive social legislation was one favoring equal pay for women.

Other proposals in which women are more or less interested are a basic eight-hour day, a dismissal wage to enable the laborer to live through the period of readjustment, rehabilitation of victims of industrial accidents, extension of vocational education to persons between seventeen and eighteen years of age, one day of rest in seven, higher salaries for school teachers and scholarships for working boys and girls from continuation schools.

What Union Women Want

THE National Women's Trade Union League of America, representing 300,000 trade union women, in a cable to President Wilson, set forth demands which they wish the President to present to the Peace Conference when the international labor program is considered. The demands covered the following main points:

Compulsory education for every child up to sixteen years of age.

Part time education up to eighteen years.

Abolition of child labor.

Eight-hour day, 44-hour week; no night work for women.

Equal opportunity for women in trade and technical training.

Equal pay for equal work.

Women Office Workers Bill

THE Women Office Workers Bill, prohibiting night work after ten o'clock, making one day of rest out of seven compulsory, limiting the number of hours girls can work to nine a day and bringing office buildings under the

same sanitary regulations as stores and factories, has been introduced in the New York Legislature by Senator Loring M. Black, Jr.

"I was amazed when I first learned that our labor laws did not protect office workers," Senator Black is quoted as saying. "It is just as important for the American girl in our office to have short working hours and wholesome working conditions as it is for the foreign-born factory girl to have some protection."

The bill has the backing of the Women's Joint Legislative Committee.

Concerning Equal Pay

IN his annual report the Secretary of the National War Labor Board has this to say about equal pay:

"The rights of women in industry have been rigidly protected by the War Labor Board with respect to questions of wages, health and general welfare. In all cases where women perform the same work as men they shall, according to the policy of the War Labor Board, receive precisely the same rate of pay, and in no case be allotted tasks disproportionate to their strength."

Critical Situation

A TEMPORARY but most critical condition of unemployment is reported by the Young Women's Christian Association to exist in France among almost a million munition workers ousted of their jobs by peace. With spring, reconstruction—in many cases of their own villages—and agriculture is giving them work, but severe suffering has been entailed on them through the winter.

Decision Favors Women

THE women conductors of Detroit were more fortunate than those of Cleveland. The local division of the Amalgamated Association of Street Car Employees, as in Cleveland, sought to oust them, but Chairman Taft handed down the decision of the National War Labor Board that they should not be ousted from their jobs on the demand of the men.

The Cost of Living

FIGURES gathered by the California Industrial Commission in 1914 and again in 1918 show how the minimum cost of a woman's living has risen in the four years, while the minimum wage has remained fixed at \$9.63 a week or about \$500 a year:

	1914.	1918.
Board and room.....	\$300.00	\$360.00
Carfare.....	31.20	31.20
Sundries.....	10.00	10.00
Medical.....	20.00	30.00
Vacation.....	15.00	35.00
Laundry.....	36.00	41.60
Clothing.....	124.25	260.65
	\$524.45	\$768.45

In 1914 the wage was short of the expense; in 1918, current impressions about the velvet in wages notwithstanding, the shortage was no less than \$268.

1918 Income Tax

returns are uppermost in the minds of many women just now.

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Stage Reflections

is nothing to appeal to the morbid, and, if the wife is selfish to the point of criminality, her selfishness has the excuse of maternal love.

THE cast is excellent and rejoices in an exceedingly careful and convincing personality in Miss Kathlene McDonell who has the role of Allayne, the tried and tempted wife. Her restraint is especially commendable. One of the greatest drawbacks of the American stage is the perversion of a character through its filtration through an inferior mentality. The writer has especially in mind the dramatization of a popular book lately presented. In that book were a man and woman of a type of which America is most productive—essentially gentle, refined, though provincial people, with a splendid substratum of common sense, overlaid by a local culture and a wholesome outlook on life. In the play these two people became travesties—the woman a simpering pretender to youthful maternity, the man a cheap imitation of the office boy's ideal of a handshaker. The whole domestic atmosphere which made the book irresistible vanished from the play. The trouble was that people who were essentially not gentle folk were cast for roles which they could not mentally grasp. Brains and dramatic art could not make up for the *flair* for the part.

IT is far more difficult for a woman who is not thoroughbred to play the part of one who is than it is for a gentlewoman to play the role of one who is not. The things which constitute the essential differences between the thoroughbred and the climber are usually of the subtle order and hard to get at, while the faults of the common person are easily exaggerated, burlesqued, or assumed. So though a gentlewoman may, with fair ease, take the role of a demi-mondaine or a village coquette, the demi-mondaine or the coquette's chances of putting over the part of a gentlewoman are greatly restricted. Too much emphasis, too patent artificiality, an overdoing of the emotional, and especially the attitude toward men, betray the raw crude nature within.

Miss McDonell has in Allayne Norman rather a difficult part to play and she comes off triumphant. She had an exceedingly nice adjustment of the simplicity of an essentially

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honest and good woman with the worldly experience which must have been hers, and the capacity for yielding to a temptation which all her intelligence no less than her moral character condemned. The playwright, of course, is responsible for the clever insertion of certain errors in Allayne's conduct, but he is indebted much to Miss McDonell for handling them so skillfully. Her very beautiful voice, clear enunciation, and correct pronunciation are qualities that some of our alleged stars may well envy.

LITTLE Graham Lucas as Billy Norman has his house madly enthusiastic from the start. The birth rate may be decreasing, but, if theatrical approbation be accepted as an evidence, the philoprogenitive sentiment is, abstractly, at least, rampant in these United States. From the output in "Daddies" to the dusky pickaninny in "Ladies First," not omitting Sam and Penrod, our little ones are to the fore. We wonder if their popularity is not destined to increase (in the drama) inversely to the square of their diminution in society at large. There is a curious paradox in human nature which permits us to be most enthusiastic about the virtues or the sacrifices which we never practice. The mothers who leave their own children at home with the servants and the fathers who cannot always control their irritation with the young citizen who has quartered himself undesired upon their premises are those most tenderly impressed with Billy Norman's charm. The woman who sat next to me, and shifted her gum long enough after each appearance of the alluring Billy to exclaim rapturously "Ain't he the darling, just" will, when her own offspring offends, lay him across her lap and apply

The Net

"THE NET" is the sort of commercial safe venture which drives the would-be-critic to distraction because it is obviously out of the range of destructive criticism while, at the same time, it is lacking in the constructive features which may enlist enthusiasm. Naturally a reviewer prefers a play with a decided cast either in the wrong or right direction. It gives him—or her—an opportunity to turn off a clever thing or to air a favorite theory. Viewed from the utilitarian standpoint as ammunition supply to the reviewer's artillery, "The Net" is not a windfall. Yet it is more or less of a "thriller," has its touches of humor here and there (none too many of them, however), and, in its last act panders in essence though not in detail, to the vulgar human curiosity which made the success of "The Masquerader." We are interested in the amative crisis between a man who believes himself a woman's husband and a woman who knows that he is not her husband, but her victim, and, though attracted by him, is anxious to keep him at arm's length. There is conflict and compelling force enough, beginning with a wife's effort to get along with a worthless husband and protect her child, switching into conflict with herself when she allows another man to be accused of her husband's crime, expressing itself through the second act in the endeavor to thwart the too acute suspicions of the sanitary expert and the public prosecutor, and culminating in the last in the difficulty of handling the husband who doesn't quite understand why he cannot make love to his own wife. Except for the situation developed in the last act, there

Hotel Accommodations

Write directly to any of the following hotels and secure your own accommodations for the great Suffrage Jubilee Convention to be held at the Hotel Statler, St. Louis, March 24-29.

If you do not see here what you want in this list, write to Mrs. Leslie Thompson, Chairman Hospitality Committee, Suffrage Headquarters, 755 Century Building, St. Louis, Missouri.

St. Louis Hotels and Rates

STATLER HOTEL—9th and Washington CONVENTION HEADQUARTERS

400 rooms with bath. Single \$2.00 to \$5.00;
Double \$3.00 to \$6.50.

WARWICK HOTEL—15th and Locust

100 rooms with bath. \$1.50; \$2.00; \$2.50 for one person. \$1.00 extra for each additional guest in a room.

JEFFERSON HOTEL—12th and Locust

20 rooms with bath. Single \$2.00; double \$3.00.
30 rooms with bath. Single or double \$4.00 per day.
200 rooms with bath. Single \$3.50; double \$5.00.
50 rooms with bath. Single or double \$6.00 to \$8.00 per day.

AMERICAN HOTEL—7th and Market

35 rooms with bath at \$1.50 per day, per person.
95 rooms with bath at \$2.00 per day, per person.
60 rooms with bath at \$2.50 per day, per person.
60 rooms with bath at \$3.00 per day, per person.

AMERICAN ANNEX—6th and Market

35 rooms with bath at \$1.50 per day, per person.
35 rooms with bath at \$2.00 per day, per person.
80 rooms with bath at \$2.50 per day, per person.

MARYLAND HOTEL—9th and Pine

50 rooms with bath. Single \$2.00 to \$3.50;
Double \$3.00 to \$5.00.
50 rooms without bath. Single \$1.50;
Double \$2.50 to \$3.50.

PLANTERS HOTEL—4th and Pine

20 rooms without bath. Single \$2.00 per day.
40 rooms with bath. Single \$2.50 per day.
40 double rooms without bath. Single \$2.50;
Double, \$3.50;
60 double rooms with bath. Single \$3.00;
Double \$4.00.

MAJESTIC HOTEL—11th and Pine

50 rooms with bath. Single \$1.50 to \$2.50.
\$1.00 extra for each additional guest in a room.

MARION ROE HOTEL—Broadway and Pine

20 rooms with bath. Single \$1.50 to \$2.00;
Double \$2.50 to \$3.00.

the slipper of judgment just as forcefully, and perhaps capriciously, as if she had not witnessed the ideal mother's sacrifice for her infant. And probably the offspring will be no worse off for it—provided the slipper is wielded with moderation.

All the things that never do happen just right in real life happened just right in the play. The villain was killed at the psychological moment, the victim was forgiving and in love, Billy was in sight of one fortune and an adoring step-father, and the atmosphere of "they lived happily ever after" is fairly reeky when the curtain goes down on Billy's mama holding him to her heart, and saying, "We'll be waiting for you," to the restored engineer who must go away for awhile and set Egypt and the desert right before he comes back to her. And we have sat up and taken notice for two hours and a half, and leave contented that all these wonderful things happen in drama whether or not they do in reality.

East Is West

AS a spoonful of dessert, "East Is West" is sure to command a hearty approval. It is a pretty play, prettily staged, and the leading role even more prettily acted by Fay Bainter. The very appealing character of Ming Toy gives that young lady a wide field in which to display her very alluring tricks, while the curious mixtures of old world philosophy, of plain, common sense, with a childish ignorance of things western, offers opportunity for all sorts of clever little speeches and gay elements of laughter. Lester Loneragan, as Lo Sang Kee, has a part which draws all the sympathies of the audience, while George Nash, as Charlie Yang, has, by the pure art of his work, to overcome a great deal of hostility. There is as little in the play to draw extravagant praise as there is little to criticise adversely. It is essentially pleasing without calling into being emotion or thought.

M. H. F.

Senator Pollock's Vote

SOUTH CAROLINA which has always justly prided herself on her chivalric manhood and her deference to the gentler sex, has hitherto seemed averse to conferring the vote on women. But Senator Pollock, lately elected to fill out Senator Tillman's unexpired term, has proved himself a champion worthy of the cause and earned for himself the undying gratitude of Mrs. Eulalie C. Salley, leader of the movement in the state, and the other members of the Equal Suffrage League.

"Senator Pollock had received no instructions as to how he should vote on the measure, yet it is likely that he had an intelligent conception of public sentiment in the state and that he did not vote far wrong. Great changes sometimes take place almost imperceptibly, and the shrewdest politicians are fooled. It has been represented that a majority of the women of South Carolina were opposed to woman's suffrage, although it appears that the suffragists are well organized and the antis among the women are not. This would indicate the reverse was true.

"Senator Pollock is comparatively a young man and his short experience in senatorial life will only whet his ambition and spur him on to greater things. He is a ready debater and is at home on the stump and prepared for all comers who may wish to tackle him. There will probably be abundant opportunity for explanation of his vote on suffrage before the people, if any revival should be so inquisitive as to question the wisdom and warrant therefor. And South Carolinians are great hands for threshing out public questions before committing themselves to the candidacy of a man whose convictions they are unacquainted with. The result is, the people are generally ably represented in that state."—*Augusta Herald*, February 17, 1919.

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Suffragists Welcome President

MRS CHARLES SUMNER BIRD, first vice-president of the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association, had the honor to be one of the committee selected to extend the hospitality of Boston to Mrs. Woodrow Wilson.

To show the association's deep appreciation of President Wilson's efforts in behalf of the suffrage cause and their unfailing loyalty to him as President of the nation, a committee of suffragists waited upon the presidential party at the Copley Plaza and presented a mass of roses. Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Mrs. Charles Sumner Bird, Mrs. Oakes Ames and Mrs. Robert Gould Shaw were the members of the committee.

"It's bound to come," was President Wilson's verdict on suffrage, when thanking the women.

EIGHTEEN women have been named by the county assessor to fix the tax valuation on personal property in the homes, according to a Kansas City item.



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Education and Wages Compared

THIS table (prepared by the United States Bureau of Education) compares the wages of a group of children who left school at 14 years of age with another group who left at 18 years of age.

Earnings per week of children who left school at 14, the end of grammar school	Age	Earnings per week of children who left school at 18, the end of high school
\$4.00	14	
4.50	15	
5.00	16	
6.00	17	
7.00	18	\$10.00
8.50	19	10.75
9.50	20	15.00
9.50	21	16.00
11.75	22	20.00
11.75	23	21.00
12.00	24	23.00
12.75	25	31.00
Total salary till 25 years of age, \$5,112.50		Total salary till 25 years of age, \$7,337.50

At 25 years of age the boy who had remained in school until 18 had received over \$2,000 more salary than the boy who left at 14, and was then receiving over \$900 a year more.

Teachers Ask Increase

THE Woman's Committee of Philadelphia Teachers, who represent 90 per cent of the public school force in that city, are asking the state Legislature for a 25 per cent increase in salary. Their reasons are:

"Teachers' salaries in Pennsylvania have been lower than the United States average for over thirty years, and the difference has been steadily increasing.

"The average annual salary of teachers in Pennsylvania is only one-half as much as in New York and New Jersey.

"The salaries paid to women teachers in Philadelphia are lower than those in any other first-class city in the United States.

"The maximum for women elementary school teachers in Philadelphia is \$1,100, only one-half that of New York City; while the minimum in Philadelphia is \$600, as compared with \$900 in New York.

"The minimum paid to Philadelphia's women high school teachers after sixteen years of training is only \$700, as compared with \$1,200 paid by Chicago.

"The maximum paid to women high school teachers here is \$1,750, compared with \$2,650 in New York and \$3,000 in Chicago.

"Mr. Cattell, the city statistician, states that \$600 today has the buying power of \$250 five years ago. Yet the salary schedule in Philadelphia today is the same as it was in 1914. In Cleveland, during the same period, an increase of 30 per cent has been received.

"The high cost of living with no corresponding increase in salaries has caused much hardship among the teachers. These teachers, representing a highly trained class of employees, do not see why a rich commonwealth like Pennsylvania has not done what all business concerns have done for their employees.

Minimum Wage for Teachers

A BILL authorizing an increase in salaries of 40 per cent to elementary school teachers of New York city has been introduced in the Senate by Senator Salvator A. Cottillo. This would affect 17,000 teachers, it is said. It provides a minimum of \$1260. It is estimated the cost to the city would be \$6,000,000 in 1919.

Endorse Peace Program

A RESOLUTION drawn up by the Swedish section of the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace received the endorsement of the representatives of 47,000 Swedish women. The resolution was ratified by nearly all the women's clubs in Sweden, more than 100 meetings having been held in the interest of its ratification.

Suffrage Pioneers

SWITZERLAND, with a suffrage movement only fifty years old, has its pioneers also. Among them is Anna Heer, born in 1863, who has recently died. She was a pioneer in medicine, a specialist in women's diseases, with a very extensive private practice. She nevertheless found time to assist in the founding and carrying on of a hospital for women at Zurich, and a school for nurses. "She died," says *La Mouvement Feministe*, "on the field of honor, of a malady contracted in the exercise of her profession, a woman of strong character, of warm heart, who, not contented to accomplish an admirable work was to all in her profession a friend and a support."

In the German Assembly

THE honor of being the first woman member of the German National Assembly now in session at Weimar to speak from the floor has fallen to the lot of Frau Marie Juchacz, a Social Democrat representative from Berlin. It is reported that Frau Juchacz displayed a keen understanding of political questions during the course of her address, in which she outlined her idea of a constructive political program. She was applauded several times during the course of her remarks.

Suffrage in Hawaii

THE question of woman suffrage will be one of paramount interest in the coming session of the Hawaiian Legislature, according to press reports. Governor C. J. McCarthy is quoted as favoring suffrage for women and any measure proposed by the Legislature looking to an extension of the franchise to women would meet with no opposition from him. Resolutions endorsing suffrage have been passed by the social workers, the College Club, composed of women, and similar organizations. The Senator from Oahu has already requested the Attorney-General of the Territory to draw up a bill providing for the franchise for women.

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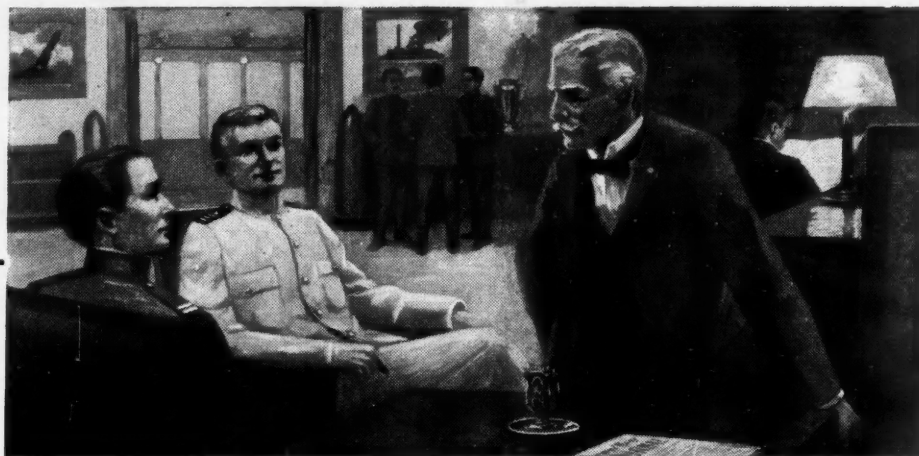
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The Last Word About the War

And How Colonel Sibley Was Helped to Write It

SCENE: (Army and Navy Club, New York, where Commander Ellsworth, U. S. N., and Captain Trowbridge, U. S. A., are having a conference and an after-dinner cigar in the Club Library and are joined by Colonel Sibley, U. S. A., retired)

The Colonel: Well, comrades, I win!

The Commander: Been fighting again, Colonel? Who says you're retired?

Colonel: I was retired, but now I'm in action again or soon will be, and this time with the pen instead of the sword.

Captain: How's that?

Colonel (Drawing closer to the table and glancing around): Well, comrades, I don't mind telling you in confidence that I just signed up with the Editor-in-Chief of a big magazine (name censored for the present) to write a series of articles on the Great War.

Commander: Tell us about it.

Colonel: Well, it's going to be a long campaign. The Editor, whom I have just left, wants an extended series of articles, to begin with an exhaustive survey of the causes which led up to the War.

Captain: The causes? All of them? Well, you've sure got your work laid out for you.

Commander: I should say you had.

Colonel: The Editor feels that way

himself. He's now concerned chiefly about what has happened up-to-date and the authority upon which my statements will be based. The Editor's a big gun in the business, you know, and his rivals will be getting his range if he exposes himself. He wants to secure a strategic position so that he can't be successfully attacked on anything he prints.

Captain: Well, what did you suggest?

Colonel: I'll tell you. While he was talking I was thinking and I finally told him that what he wanted as a reserve-force was some late general reference work of recognized reliability that he could fall back on. "That's it," he said, and then asked: "Which one?"

Commander (Turning his head and glancing at a set of The New International Encyclopaedia in its special case): I'll bet I can tell which one you named.

Captain (Glancing at the set): Ours, of course.

Colonel: You're both good guessers. Of course I named The New

International and the Editor nodded his head and said: "That's the very work I had in mind, not only as an authority on the causes of the War and what has already happened, but when peace comes I hear the publishers are to bring the war-volume down to date at once and are to send it to all subscribers in exchange for the war-volume now in their possession so they'll know the last word about the conflict."

Commander: Well, that settled it, I suppose.

Colonel: Yes, I told the Editor that the selection of The New International as our authority simplified the problem and he added that it not only simplified the articles, but solidified them and made them so authoritative that he would be able to follow out with safety his plan to publish the series of articles in book form.

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The Woman Citizen

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THE WOMAN CITIZEN

Founded June 2, 1917

Published every Saturday

Ten cents a copy; yearly subscription (52 numbers),
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CONTINUING the Woman's Journal,
founded 1870 by Lucy Stone and Henry B.
Blackwell, as a weekly newspaper devoted to
winning equal rights and especially to winning
equal suffrage for women, and published
weekly in Boston, Massachusetts, from 1870
to 1917. Continuing also the Woman Voter,
and the National Suffrage News. As the
official organ of the National American
Woman Suffrage Association, the *Woman
Citizen* tries to maintain intimate contact be-
tween the Association and its two million
members throughout the United States.

PUBLISHED BY

The WOMAN CITIZEN CORPORATION
at 171 Madison Avenue, New York
Copyright, 1919, by the Woman Citizen Corporation

In the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating
memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the
cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's
irresistible progress.

The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie
Chapman Catt, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Miss
Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, and
Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

Vol. III, March 15, 1919. No. 42.

CIRCULATION CONTEST

Prize Winners to Be Announced in Issue of March 22

Because of the failure of the contestants in the Woman
Citizen Circulation Contest to name the County and the Local
Club which should have credit for subscriptions, it proves im-
possible for the Woman Citizen to make the award of the
\$25.00 prize to the County and the award of the \$25.00 prize
to the Local Club sending in the largest number of subscrip-
tions over one hundred, in accord with the announced terms
of the contest.

Also, since no one qualified as a co-operating subscriber,
everybody instructing that subscriptions be credited directly
to the state association, we are unable to make that award as
originally planned. By the terms of the contest no one could
be a cooperating subscriber in a state that had already taken
up the work in an official way.

The fairest adjustment seems to be to award the second,
third and fourth prizes to the states finishing in the second,
third and fourth positions in the contest. Authority to make
this change, under certain conditions, is given us in a ruling
just received from the post office department. The ruling
follows:

"You are informed that in the next issue of the publication
you should carry a notice to contestants to the effect that un-
less the desired information is furnished, you will proceed to
award the 2nd and 3rd prizes to the state associations in those
states from which the 2nd and 3rd largest number of subscrip-
tions were received. After several weeks have been allowed
to elapse from the date of the publication of this notice you
may proceed to award those prizes as stated in the notice, pro-
vided sufficient data has not been furnished by contestants to
enable you to award those prizes in accordance with the terms
of the original order."

In compliance with this ruling we publish the proposed
change, which will become effective in due time, unless the
data is forthcoming.

THE WOMAN CITIZEN CORPORATION.

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The Woman Citizen

The Woman's National Political Weekly

NEW STYLE VOL. III

MARCH 15, 1919

NUMBER 42

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

A National Union of Women Citizens

A GAIN we call attention to the signal importance of the fact that at the Golden Jubilee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, to be held in St. Louis, March 24-29, there will be projected one of the greatest enterprises ever undertaken by the National Association.

This is nothing less than a national union of women citizens comprehensive of the interests of the women voters of the country, as well as of the non-voters.

Hitherto the National American Woman Suffrage Association has functioned as a body of women seeking the ballot. With the entrance of New York into complete voting power in 1917, with the addition of three full suffrage states in 1918, and the granting of presidential suffrage to the women of three states in 1919, making seven in all where women have been given presidential suffrage, the National realizes that it must look forward to a rapidly increasing force of women who are *using*, not seeking, the ballot. A reconstructed organization seems therefore demanded by the present strength of the voting women of the United States.

The creation of a national union of women voters would mark an epoch in the cause of political freedom. It would point the way to the uses women will make of that freedom after they are enfranchised.

THE name and the plan of work are to be presented for discussion and acceptance at the Convention in St. Louis. One of the working plans suggested is that of two houses, one to be made up of representatives from the voting states and the other to be made up of representatives from the non-voting states. One suggestion that comes is that the former might be known as the House of Voters, the latter as the House of Delegates.

Supposedly when a state adopts universal suffrage its state union of women citizens would become automatically a state union of women voters.

For example, in New York the branch of the national union of women citizens would be known as the New York state union of women voters. In Connecticut the state branch would be the Connecticut union of women citizens. When Connecticut emerges from its present disenfranchised condition, it would cease to be represented in the House of Delegates; it would send members to the House of Voters, and its union would become the Connecticut union of women voters.

A NOTHER suggestion that has taken form in the minds of some is that the two houses should sit in separate sessions when questions are under discussion that concern only the states where women are still working for the vote, or questions that concern only the states where women are already voters. Under such an arrangement as that the idea seems to be that each house would control the policies of its own constituency, all questions of national policy to be agreed to by both houses, one treasury serving for both houses, and each house presenting a budget for its own work.

Fifty years ago in January the American Equal Rights Association was found to be too loosely strung to hold the seething demands of the women of the country, who had been newly awakened to their need of the ballot by the events following the Civil War. History has repeated itself. In 1919 women of the country have a renewed impetus to work for the enfranchisement of all women because of the events in the Great War.

In 1869 the first National Woman Suffrage Convention in America in January marked an epoch. In 1919 the fiftieth National Woman Suffrage Convention in America marks another epoch.

In 1869 there was not a woman in the country who could vote on a question of political importance.

In 1919 women have been given the right to vote for President of the United States in twenty-four states, in which the women over voting age number 12,500,000.

NOT all these women will vote. Neither do all the males in those same states. In much the same relative proportion as the adult males, so will the adult females of these commonwealths cast their ballot for President. In many Western voting states the male population is much larger than the female population.

In fifteen of the twenty-four states where women have been granted the right to vote for the next President they now have full suffrage. These fifteen states contain more than 7,300,000 women over 21.

If the proposed coalition-organization should be effected, it would be non-partisan and non-militant. Its immediate purpose, so far as America is concerned, would be to further the complete enfranchisement of all American women; its farther-reaching purpose to equalize the democracy of the country, especially as regards conditions governing women and children. The same

purposes, immediate and ultimate, would hold good so far as the world is concerned—enfranchisement for all women and improvement in the conditions of life governing women and children the world over.

Does this mean to form a new party exclusively of women? If a party is, as the dictionary says, "a body of persons united for some purpose," it does. The proposed coalition also seems to be a party in so far as it aims to be a "part or portion" of the government.

In the sense that a party aims at "political ascendancy," the proposed coalition would not be a party. There would be no intention of massing women against men; its object would be to utilize the tendency, already existing among enfranchised women, of turning their vote-seeking associations into law-seeking agencies for better social conditions.

There are now so many of these active legislative bodies of voting women that to the National American Woman Suffrage Association the time seems to have come to co-ordinate them and mass their forces.

Fourteen Points

1. *What is the National American Woman Suffrage Association?*

A federation of all suffrage organizations in the United States except the Woman's Party.

2. *When was it organized?*

In 1869 the National Woman Suffrage Association and the American Woman Suffrage Association were organized; twenty years later these united under the name, National American Woman Suffrage Association.

3. *What is its membership?*

About two million.

4. *How does it work?*

Through education of public sentiment, the press, literature, public meetings and house-to-house visits.

5. *Do its members "picket" the White House, burn the President's speeches, use offensive banners or fight any political party?*

No, its methods are always constructive—The militant tactics are used by an impatient group of young women who think the National American Woman Suffrage Association has been needlessly slow in its accomplishments.

6. *What has the National American Woman Suffrage Association accomplished for woman suffrage?*

Through its affiliated branches it has secured the complete enfranchisement of women in 15 states; the right of women to vote for Presidential Electors in 9 additional states; full suffrage at Primary Elections in two; county, municipal, school and other forms of partial suffrage in 17; resolutions from a large number of Legislatures calling upon the United States Senate to submit the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

7. *Who first had the Federal Suffrage Amendment introduced in Congress?*

The National Woman Suffrage Association in 1878. This Association has had it introduced in every succeeding Congress and its representatives have spoken in its behalf before committees of every Congress.

8. *What is the general policy of this association?*

It is and always has been strictly non-partisan, non-sectarian and non-militant.

9. *Has it ever taken part in election campaigns?*

A state branch has done so occasionally under special provocation in state elections. As a national body it never took any part until the congressional campaign of 1918, when efforts were

made to prevent the election of two U. S. Senators and the re-election of two, who were opposed to the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

A Democrat and a Republican were defeated for election and the majorities of the other two were greatly reduced.

10. *What is the object of the National American Woman Suffrage Association?*

Article II of its constitution says: "The object of this association shall be to secure protection in their right to vote to the women citizens of the United States by appropriate national and state legislation."

Although this is now its sole object, in the early years of its existence it devoted its energies also to amending the laws which denied married women the right to control their own property, collect their wages, have equal guardianship with the father over their children, etc. It has helped every effort toward the establishment of high schools for girls and colleges for women. Indeed, the fair status of women under the law in many states is due principally to the activities of this association.

11. *What did the National American Woman Suffrage Association do to support the war?*

At a specially called National Executive meeting held at Washington, February, 1917, the services and machinery of its organization were placed at the disposition of the government, if the country should enter the war, and this offer was officially accepted by the Secretary of War. Each member of the elected Board of eighteen officers engaged in some kind of war service. Three served on the Woman's Committee Council of National Defense, one on the National Board of the Woman's Land Army, one on the National Woman's Committee of the Liberty Loan and resigned in order to work in France, one served in France without resignation and one served on the State Food Administration of New York.

Many state suffrage presidents served on state committees and thousands of its members served in active capacity in every variety of civilian service, from ambulance drivers to writers and lecturers on war education, from munition workers to the secret service.

Not content with these services, the National American Woman Suffrage Association maintained three hospital units in France, a refugee hospital, a gas treatment hospital, and a military unit directly under the French Government.

12. *Where are the Headquarters of the National American Woman Suffrage Association?*

The National maintains Headquarters at 171 Madison Avenue, New York city, and at 1626 Rhode Island Avenue, Washington, D. C.

13. *What is the organ of the National?*

The Woman Citizen, a weekly magazine devoted to the advancement of suffrage and other phases of the woman movement, published at 171 Madison Avenue, New York City, New York.

14. *Finally: The National American Woman Suffrage Association stands pledged to a continuance of suffrage work, devoting all its resources and energies to the attainment of suffrage until all women of the United States are enfranchised.*

Democratic Party Bids

THE election of Homer S. Cummings of Connecticut as chairman of the National Democratic Committee which took place on February 26 at the meeting held in Washington, is said to indicate the intention of the Democratic party to make a strong bid for the support of the women voters in the coming elections.

Chairman Cummings demonstrated his friendship for the suffrage cause at the time the resolution endorsing the Federal Suffrage Amendment was adopted by the Executive Committee by a vote of 5 to 2. At that time Mr. Cummings was vice-chairman of the National Committee.

An unusual feature of the election was the participation of a woman in the selection of a party leader. This honor fell to the lot of Mrs. George Bass of Chicago, chairman of the Women's Bureau of the Democratic Party, who held the proxy of the Illinois member of the National Committee. Mrs. Bass invited the National Committee to meet in Chicago, in June, with the Women's National Committee, and the invitation was accepted.

The new National Chairman, according to press reports, expects to begin work immediately on plans for the presidential campaign next year, and it is predicted by party leaders that the women voters of the country will receive unusual attention at the hands of campaign leaders. Women members of the Democratic party took an unusually active part in the 1916 presidential campaign, and the second campaign in which the women have participated on an important scale is expected to bring about an unusual development of plans to reach and interest the women of the country.

A Two-Fold Fear

"FEAR of unemployment and fear of wage competition are back of the demand that women withdraw from industry," says Mary Van Kleeck, of the Women in Industry Service of the U. S. Department of Labor. "Couched in terms of giving back their jobs to returning soldiers the demand acquires an atmosphere of the war spirit and a patriotic appeal which obscure its real import. It is hardly necessary to point out that the reinstatement of the returning soldier in his former position if he wants it is an ethical obligation which holds whether his place has been taken by a woman or by a man, and even a complete and universal recognition of this ethical obligation would not settle the problem which it is assumed to illustrate.

"The antagonism to women workers in men's jobs has its roots in a two-fold fear common to men workers and women workers—the fear of unemployment and the fear of a cut in wage rates. That the way out is a united attack upon the causes of these fears rather than a conflict between the two groups who are their victims would seem too obvious to require proof. Success in attacking this problem depends, however, upon the extension to women of the right and responsibility for participation in action in dealing with labor problems. Without this recognition, their own economic rights may become a two-edged sword.

"The fear of unemployment must be lessened by the further growth and strengthening of the national system of labor exchanges. The fear of a cut in wages must be met by a wide extension of agencies of adjustment, and these can be successful only in so far as they derive their strength from real collective bargaining extending over a wide enough area of industry to be truly representative of the collective will of management and workers.

"Two aims for labor legislation for women workers may be emphasized as of immediate importance. They are the enactment into law of the eight-hour day, and the fuller representation of women in important positions in administration of labor laws. The first has the sanction of experience, but an examination of state labor laws shows how far the majority of states fall below such a standard. The second will create outposts of observation necessary in the new relations of women in industry."

The number of women who went from the home into war in-

dustries the Women's Service believes to be small; the majority of the women in men's work during the war had simply transferred from other industries. Thus in one plant doing war work 65 per cent came from other factories, 25 per cent from domestic service, 5 per cent from laundries—leaving only five homekeepers to whom their war work was of no financial importance.

According to the *Common Cause*, the question of equal work opportunity as between men and women is creating problems of demobilization in Great Britain. At every Labor Exchange unemployed women are reported and the choice offered is between domestic service and laundry work. Having gained experience of something less laborious and carrying with it more dignity, they do not seem inclined to welcome these jobs. "It is an important question," says the *Common Cause*, "whether the Unemployment Donation is to be withheld from a woman who has been doing skilled engineering work because she refuses to enter domestic service."

"Women should receive the same pay as men for equal work performed."—From the American Federal of Labor Reconstruction Program 1919.

At Golden Jubilee Convention

Trains will be met by a committee, who will be designated by means of yellow sashes or badges. These women are there to direct the delegates.

A Bureau of Information will be located in Union Station. This Bureau will be opened Sunday afternoon, March 23, and be continued until Tuesday noon, March 25.

Delegates are urged to inquire at the Bureau for any help they may need in locating hotels, etc.

A Bureau of Information will be located in the lobby of the Statler Hotel. Provisions will be made for taking care of mail and telegrams addressed to delegates, Convention Headquarters, Statler Hotel.

The Bureau for Registration and Credentials will be located in the lobby of Convention Headquarters, Statler Hotel.

Each state will have a special hostess, who will make it her pleasure to do all in her power to see that the delegates are comfortable and all needs taken care of.

An auto drive and tea are planned for Tuesday, March 25.

THE Woman Citizen

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171 Madison Avenue, New York

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Is There Room at the Top?

MEANWHILE enter Camilla Donworth, president of a motion picture company to develop industry—the "Films of Business Corporation."

Among the things she has done are these: She is the only woman advertisement screen expert; she is the first woman to address the New York Rotary Club, before which she explained her plan for selling trade-marked goods all over the world by means of pictures; she shows at the "movie" houses typical sales-scenarios produced for standard industrial firms. That is, she gets a business film on a popular theatre program for a week's run—which indicates the commercial success of her company.

Miss Donworth herself hasn't any doubt about there being room at the top for women. She says this as a pioneer in a business she was advised not to enter because it wasn't "a woman's game." Since it is a game of educating the public through the eye, of using imagination and resourcefulness and human interest and discrimination, Miss Donworth could not see why it shouldn't be peculiarly and particularly a woman's game.

Take a picture about ink-making for example. It is easy enough to see romance in a drop of ink, potent to make treaties and bind human hearts; to sign death warrants and cheques and dinner invitations. But the romance Miss Donworth sees is not in the use of ink; it is in the making of ink. Her drama begins with a gaul wasp on the banks of the River Jordan and 49 pictures show the Allepo gaul nut on its long journey to become a commercial product.

The story opens with test tubes and decanters in a laboratory; it ends with the complete product ready for market. But on the way all sorts of human skill take their places in the drama of ink-making. Says a writer in *Reel and Slide*: "I am not certain but what the average profit-seeking commercial exhibitor might consider this film a welcome addition to his evening's program on any basis."

It is fairly certain that the moving picture audience would welcome such an educational reel in place of much usual buffoonery.

To have Miss Donworth enter the scene as a witness for the defense of women in big business is to get a picture vivid and arresting. She is one of the few women who could wear a yellow wild-cat skin thrown over her shoulder as if it were a trophy—a beast she had just conquered. This rather sums up the outwardness of her and differentiates her from the sort of woman who is so overwhelmed by a squirrel skin stole as to seem to need a posse sent out for her protection.

Of course Miss Donworth is tall and vigorous. She wears a swirl of brownish hair about a rather small head and her hands are comfortably feminine, rather large with dimpled knuckles—motherly hands.

There is nothing masculine about this picture. If this woman has gone to the top, it has not been through aping men.

Advertising by the Reel



CAMILLA DONWORTH

HER personal story reads like a Ruggles-of-Red-Gap scenario.

She was born in Nevada and grew up motherless. Her father made a fearless boy of her, teaching her to sit her horse tight, shoot straight and be as simple as nature itself. When he died and she went to Maine she was scarcely sixteen. There she found the old-fashioned, sheltered, feminine shrinking from the mention of "legs and arms and stomach" when applied to girls.

And she felt as if she were in a cage.

Like any other young trapped thing, she got away and fled to Boston, where she put herself through a business college by running errands and cleaning blackboards. This far her story reads like that of any self-made man.

Her first position was in the office of Rufus Choate, whom she idealized because of his hatred of shams. She finally became private secretary to a bank president, and from there the feminine occupation of matrimony carried her out to India as the wife of an

American Vice-Consul General. Next she learned the Orient.

It was her knowledge of Oriental customs, gained in Calcutta, that opened one business door to her.

A group of American exporters made the mistake of thinking they could force the Orient to take what they wanted to sell, instead of first finding out what the Orient wanted to buy. Looking about for devices by which to familiarize the East with American products, the manufacturers hit upon the plan of interpreting them through motion pictures instead of by the cumbrous method of salesmen with their sample cases.

The contract for making these exporters' films was given Miss Donworth because she combined two kinds of knowledge, a practical working knowledge of the East and a business experience.

This is one way of using an industrial film, to bring home to the foreign purchaser the mechanism and the uses of American goods. "Remember," says Miss Donworth, "that pictures speak a universal language."

Another use of industrial films comes near to being Miss Donworth's pet hobby. It is their value in developing efficiency among salesmen and saleswomen.

Not long ago necessity compelled a hardware firm to send out a salesman who knew nothing about the specialty he was selling and who had never seen the process of manufacture. By long distance telephone it was arranged that he should go to Miss Donworth's office and study an industrial film of the product. He analyzed the selling demonstration included in the scenario and three weeks later was able to deliver orders for \$11,000 of goods at the company's office.

"Shopkeepers are losing their best bet," says Miss Donworth, waxing warm over a subject dear to her, "when they don't instal industrial films in their business houses. If the girl behind the counter knew how the products she sells were made, how could she help selling with greater intelligence?"

"Of course this training would reverse present standards of saleswomanship. It would inculcate the notion that it is better business to help a customer to find exactly what she wants than to persuade her that she wants whatever the merchant has in stock. It would lift the position of shop-girl out of the listless, unskilled rut it is now in and set it among the higher occupations of women. Salesgirls would probably welcome a point of intelligent contact between themselves and their customers. Wherever they have been privileged to see how goods are made, they can impart a considerable amount of this knowledge to the customer.

"I ought, for instance, to be able to enter a shop and say to a girl selling stockings: 'I am a business woman, on my feet most of the day, and I find my stockings give out in the heel. What kind ought I buy?' And the girl ought to know enough about how stockings are made to sell the right sort for the use required. But do you think she can? Not once in a thousand times. She has never had her interest aroused in the manufacturing end of what she sells. This is the reason she talks to the girl next to her or looks out of the door while I take my time to look over her stock. It wastes my time, it wastes her time; it wastes the company's money."

It is in line with her special interests that Miss Donworth has already installed a film service for use in schools—especially in vocational and trade schools. These films are rented out on a traveling library plan. At least two big business concerns—the Dupont factories and the National Cash Register Co. are now using films for the education of their employees.

This is testimony from a woman at the head of a purely commercial enterprise—a hard-headed enterprise, too; for the advertising business must depend for success upon tangible results. Business firms do not make contracts for advertisements that sell no goods. Yet her aims include practical American idealism.

FIRST and foremost, she wants to lift the contact between buyer and seller into a plane where intelligent and frankness, and not artifice and cajolery, are to rule. Then she hopes to make the processes of production familiar to every motion picture audience. The firm that can best stand the camera's prying eye will best commend itself to the public. Much chicanery would still be possible, but here are the rudiments of a plan to give the buying public a chance to know the conditions under which the products it buys are made.

This woman-at-the-top has also a post-war ideal for American goods. She is already outlining her plans by which American machinery delivered in remote ports, "knocked down," as they say, for shipping purposes, may be reassembled at the uttermost ends of the earth without the present expensive arrangement of sending out an expert engineer, as well as a salesman.

A motion picture film can be used from 250 to 350 times and may accompany the salesman half around the world. "Pictures need no translation." They tell their story to any foreign purchaser without words.

"The commerce of America must not be unprepared to care for foreign business after the war has been won." This is one of the things Miss Donworth told the New York Rotary Club last September. "After the war is won we are going to face commercial conditions that will call for the best that is in us."

It is not the least of Miss Donworth's gifts that she has the gift to humanize and dramatize such simple things as wood-boring tools or the making of spaghetti. "Human interest is as essential in the production of an industrial picture for general distribution as it is in dramatic work. Perhaps more so," says a motion picture authority.

Here, then, are ideals and a vigorous young woman, keen to see

them fulfilled. She is sure that there is an open door for women at both the producing and selling end of the business films. She finds it a humanizing agent in commerce, a new means of playing the business game straight, according to the training she gained in Nevada and in Rufus Choate's office.

So far, she says she has seen "no sex in brains" and she knows no reason why having reached the top she and hundreds of other women with her shouldn't stay there.

What makes the top? Just earning money, or contributing as well to a broader, sounder more intelligent future for the work one has undertaken?

Camilla Donworth seems to have done both.

Woman, Bolshevism and Home

(From the Philadelphia North American)

FOR the second time within five months, and finally for this session of Congress, the resolution to submit to the states a woman suffrage amendment has been defeated in the United States Senate. On October 1 the vote was 54 to 30 in favor of the measure, the majority being two less than the necessary two-thirds. On February 10 a new member voted in the affirmative, while his predecessor had voted in the negative, making the record 55 to 29, so that the proposition failed by one vote.

The action, due to a combination of Southern Democrats and Northern Republicans, is not only a denial of justice and of the fulfillment of democracy, but is an incident of peculiar political significance. It shows that the confirmed reactionary co-operates with his kind, regardless of national welfare or party affiliation.

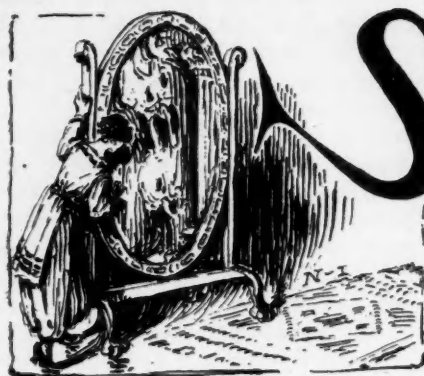
Nothing could emphasize more clearly the absurdity of our party system; the names Republican and Democrat are in no real sense descriptive, and the artificial division disappears whenever an issue touches the interests which appeal alike to the Republican Tory of one section and the Democratic Bourbon of the other. Students of politics have long recognized the need for party names which would clearly express the tendencies and convictions of those wearing them. The United States, like other civilized countries, should have a party standing frankly for liberal, progressive policies, and one candidly supporting policies of conservatism or reaction, and the titles should denote the principles upheld. This was one of the aims of the Progressive party; even though it might never have elected a President, it undoubtedly would have forced this logical and needed realignment in American political parties.

The enfranchisement of women is likely to hasten the change. Excepting perhaps in the South, where the racial issue will continue to govern, American women will not be guided by blind reverence for party names, but will express through the ballot their progressive or conservative beliefs.

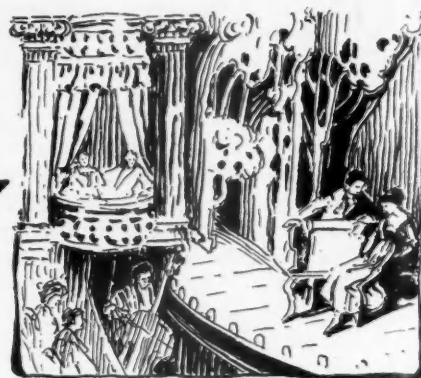
It is hardly necessary to recite the arguments for equal suffrage, since its early adoption is inevitable. Women are entitled to the ballot, not only as a matter of abstract justice, but because they long ago, and especially during the war, proved their fitness to participate in all the activities of life and public affairs. Until the right is accorded to them this will not be a true democracy, a government of, by and for the people. Beyond this, modern civilization needs the directing influence of women, because of their knowledge and intuition respecting social and industrial conditions, lying at the very heart of the issue which is promoting dangerous discontent and unrest throughout the world.

But at this time there is a new and vitally urgent reason for giving them the vote—women, enfranchised, will constitute the

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Stage Reflections



The Betrothal

By Mary Helen Fee

I PUT off going to "The Betrothal" till the next to the last performance. Let me confess that I went from a highly selfish personal motive. I had hoped that in the years which had elapsed since I saw "The Blue Bird" that I had grown—developed, evolved, become cultured, spiritualized, what you will—but able to grasp and appreciate Maeterlinck. I left that evening's entertainment as I had left "The Blue Bird," with a picture haunting me of author, producer, and actors; tongues in their cheeks, dancing a Maeterlinckian interlude and saying, "Did they swallow it? Did they? They took it down like lambs!"

This is not criticism. Let me disarm my slayers by admitting that it is humble confession from one who would not willingly rush in where angels fear to tread, but in whom the impulse for honesty is stronger than the love for peace. Mark Twain somewhere remarks—in Tom Sawyer, perhaps—that "the partiality of Providence for an undeserving reptile had reached a point where it was open to criticism." That precisely expresses my views concerning Maeterlinck provided I am allowed to substitute some harmless epithet for "undeserving reptile." Nothing could associate Maeterlinck in my mind with a reptile. As a soporific he is—in such gems as "Pelleas et Melisande" or in "Alladine and Palomides"—unrivalled. Even as to Mona Vanna, I am not enthusiastic. But perish "The Blue Bird" and "The Betrothal."

I THINK it is the specious quality of it all which so irritates me. Says the Fairy Berylune to Tytyl, standing unabashed in his nightshirt (did not Abraham Lincoln get up in the night and stride about the White House corridors in his nightshirt while he sought the sympathy of John Hay and Nicolay?), "Bless you, it's the things you don't see that make the world go round; not the things you do," or words to that effect. It sounds very wise. But when you come to fit to this truism the things which the Fairy Berylune is about to show Tytyl to make him understand, the bottom drops fathomlessly out of Fairy Berylune's omniscience. It isn't the forms of his ancestors, which she showed him, or all those children unborn, or the diminishing Destiny, or any of the other (to me) unreal and unconvincing population of the Maeterlinckian brain which make the world go round or determine the young man's choice of a sweetheart, but attributes, existing, it is true, by transmission from our ancestors, potentially strong in our descendants, which tug and throw themselves unperceived, but none the less, weights in the balance of the soul.

"Is Maeterlinck flirting lightly with Schopenhauer?" I had to ask myself, when these unborn children had to pick their

mother. And the only conclusion I could come to was that he was amusing himself with the gullibility of a public by yielding to its love of glitter and movement while, at the same time, he put over some stuff intended to convince it that, since there was nothing to be seen in it, it must be deep indeed.

Maeterlinck is strong with the critics, but how strong is he with the general public which is that which enricheth the novelist and the playwright? Souls must float in space, but human appetites also demand meat and drink three times a day. Something must supply the sinews of the forearm which plies the pen and the gray nerve cells of the brain which would create. Far be it from me to accuse "The Blue Bird" of being a "girl-and-music show." I can only say that it resembled such a form of entertainment in all features which I found tolerable, and that my greatest complaint with "The Betrothal" is that it stimulated false hopes along those lines and then side-tracked them for the popular rage of the day, exploited cherubs. The miser scene was exceedingly well done, only I do not happen to be interested in misers or in art for art's sake when it is just dramatic art. And while I like children on the stage, I prefer the Penrod and Sam variety to the overdone angel.

IT was a masterly production. The managers of the Hippodrome might well take a lesson in restraint when it comes to "effects," and young women of more comely shapes or graceful movements have not this many a theatrical night crossed my vision. But I remain a disaffected member. I lack spirit—imagination. Gilbert Chesterton says he is finally certain that if society should establish a eugenics board to promote a healthier race, the first thing the healthy race would do on arriving at maturity would be to smash the eugenics board. The Maeterlinckian eugenics system does not strike my fancy. It falls as flat upon my uncultured ear as that stark and stiff blue bird, petrified over the breakfast table, was disillusioning while the flutist in the orchestra, like Miss Nora Bayes, "did his darndest" to make us believe that a real blue bird was carolling.

As most notices of the play have been complimentary, and as it has enjoyed a run of several successful months, naturally this late comment may be pointless except to those who did not go. To such as are wondering if they really did miss a good thing, it may bring a sour-grapes content. And I do not know but that I should be willing to accept a popular vote as to whether I am the most truthful playgoer in New York or only the most obtuse one. Because there is no choice between being one or both of these,

Woman, Bolshevism and Home

(Continued from page 861)

most powerful and most dependable defense of democracy against the threatening tide of Bolshevism. To understand why this is so certain fundamental facts must be borne in mind.

FIRST, Bolshevism must, in the nature of things, spread until it dominates the world, or else disappears. Requiring a complete revolution of the present state of society, the establishment of absolute rule by a class, it cannot exist side by side with democracy. It must expand and conquer, or succumb. "Our revolution," Lenin has written, "must be international; it must pass over all political and racial frontiers and crush opposing economic and social ideas. The revolution cannot exist in isolation. In its own defense it must propagandize and convert, must incite and urge on the masses in all countries."

If it is to become world-wide, commerce, politics and society everywhere must be organized internationally; instincts of race and principles of nationhood must be subordinated to a class solidarity which shall know no frontiers; the sense of nationalism must be destroyed, or overcome to such an extent that the proletariat, as the Bolsheviks term the elements to which they appeal, shall have discarded all sentiments of loyalty to their country and shall follow the dictates of an internationalist class consciousness.

THIS means that the institutions which promote loyalty, democracy and nationalism must be destroyed. Hence Bolshevism is the implacable foe of the church, that great force of conservatism, order and social coherence. It is at war with all religion. Publicity has recently been given to the fact that many of the leaders of the cult are of Jewish blood. But none of them, it is sure, is of the Jewish faith.

But the church and religion are not the greatest obstacles against which Bolshevism contends. Because its aim is to revolutionize society, it strikes relentlessly at the family, the basic unit of civilization. It seeks to destroy the sacred relation which enlightened mankind has established between husband and wife, between parents and children.

Those who read the other day in this newspaper the decree of the Bolshevik rulers of a Russian community, with its monstrous provisions for obliteration of the family system, the subjugation of women to the uses of a proletarian government and delivery to the state of children resulting from officially regulated promiscuity, may have thought that this was a mere evidence of depravity. On the contrary, it reveals an essential part of the Bolshevik program—destruction of the home, of the institution of the family, which is the very foundation of the social order.

Every instinct and sentiment of normal mankind revolts against the suggestion, of course. Yet Bolshevism spreads, the promotion of this doctrine must logically follow its success everywhere, and its support by a controlling number of male converts is conceivable. But who can bring himself to imagine women consenting to the overthrow of that institution which is the most cherished treasure of their lives, the altar of their supreme devotion?

FROM the day of mankind's beginning, woman's instinct for the home and for family life has been the guiding force, the great motive power of human progress. But for this uplifting and civilizing influence, the races of men would still be a welter of marauding, nomadic tribes, surging to and fro upon the earth.

It was woman's desire for a sheltered place in which to rear her children that halted the aimless migrations and inspired the creation of temporary, and then of permanent, places of habitation. From the home grew the village, which increased the common protection, and provided places where the women and children might remain while the men hunted for food. So the household or family, the creation of woman's instinct, was the germ of society, which through the ages has expanded into the civilization we know today.

It was the maternal passion of woman, her desire to cherish her children and assure to them a better life and wider opportunities than hers, that has been the greatest driving force of human progress. To that, more than anything else, we owe our civilization, which ceaselessly strives to excel itself, to make life brighter and happier for generations to come. And to destroy society as it is constituted, you must first destroy the home.

TO the Bolshevik this idea is elementary. And let it be remarked here that, however strong may be the appeal of the cult to the illiterate and to primitive minds, its leaders are men of intellect, vision and audacity. They know that their system cannot prevail, their class despotism cannot be established, until the institutions of the home and family organization are obliterated. Therefore they propagate the hideous doctrine that a woman is the mere chattel of a bestial government, with no voice in her own fate or in her own mating, to be compelled to submit to the promiscuous embraces of the first men who file claim to her, the number being fixed by the arbitrary decree of the soviet. This carries with it the doctrine of state-owned children and the abolition of the fundamental relations of society.

Moreover, there is in their campaign another impelling reason besides those connected with control of the young. Just as the home was derived from man's possession of property and his relation to woman, so it inspired the laws that have developed through the ages for the protection of property. It is today the primary symbol of individual right and ownership, of exclusive and sacred possession, and must be swept away if the Bolshevik war on property is to prevail.

Bolshevism is, of course, merely a distorted reflection or a radical expansion of the idea underlying Socialism. But the manifestation is too new to be generally understood, as may be observed in its advocacy by half-baked enthusiasts for whom has been coined the derisive term of "parlor Bolsheviks." As its meaning is revealed by events, however, it will become clear that its threat to the institution of property is not to be compared to that which it carries to the very foundation of society, the home.

AGAINST that peril what defense is so logical, so invulnerable, as the idea that burns in the breast of every woman? She might go far to protect her material possessions, to vindicate her rights or privileges as a human being. But let it be understood that her family is to be invaded, her home violated, her children imperiled, and there will be awakened in her a passion which is the heritage of remote ages—she will perish before she will see that sacred threshold crossed by a profaning foot. Give her the ballot, and let Bolshevism rave, for it will be able to do no more!

In voting against the suffrage amendment resolution the Knoxes and the Penroses and their reactionary Democratic allies opposed a measure of justice and a requirement of real democracy. And they had not intelligence enough to see that they also were preventing the erection of the stanchest defense America can have against the destructive, degrading philosophy of Bolshevism.

Ohio's Emergency Convention

OHIO'S W. S. A. Convention, held in Columbus, February 26 and 27, was called the day after the defeat in the United States Senate to determine "what next." The following statement of policy was unanimously adopted at the first session and presented on the next day to Speaker Carl Kimball, of the House, and Lieut. Gov. Brown, presiding officer of the Senate, who assured the committee from the convention that they felt sure the General Assembly would be guided in the matter by the wishes of the state association:

"Whereas, There have been introduced into the General Assembly of Ohio two measures upon the subject of equal suffrage. First, the Reynolds act, providing for Presidential suffrage; second, the Fouts resolution, providing for the submission of a full Suffrage Amendment to the constitution of the state, and as these measures are now awaiting action in committees, an expression thereon by the Ohio Woman Suffrage Association, through its duly authorized delegates assembled in convention at Columbus, is pertinent.

"Whereas, National equal suffrage by amendment to the constitution of the United States has so nearly passed our National Congress and is so widely and vigorously supported as to render its early adoption inevitable, and, whereas, the National American Woman Suffrage Association, of which the Ohio association is a constituent part, desires that we concentrate our efforts upon this measure rather than upon state action, we hereby pledge ourselves to the policy of our national association.

"In this connection we wish to express our profound gratitude to the Legislature for its advisory expression to Ohio's United States Senators, and to bespeak their continued support when the ratification of the Federal Amendment shall become an issue.

"In view of the wider scope and benefits of national equal suffrage and the desirability of concentrating our efforts on this object we are under no apprehension that our attitude will be misconstrued.

"We respectfully suggest, as the most helpful course of action, by the Legislature of whose good will we are convinced, continued effort to secure the submission of the Federal Amendment and its final ratification, rather than a diversion of our efforts to the support of the measures now pending.

"We recommend that the Political Committee of this association be delegated to wait upon the presiding officers of the two Houses of the Legislature and present to them this statement as the official action of the convention."

Adopted by the convention of the Ohio Woman Suffrage Association at Columbus, February 26, 1919.

THE report of the Enrollment Committee, Mrs. C. H. Simonds of Conneaut, chairman, showed thousands of women enrolled and the work proceeding rapidly. The committee plans to complete the enrollment by September 1, and as half of the names are already in this ought to be entirely possible.

Officers were elected as follows: Honorary president, Mrs. Frances M. Casement, Painesville; president, Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, Warren; first vice-president, Miss Zara duPont, Cleveland; second vice-president, Mrs. Dora Sandoe Bachman, Columbus; third vice-president, Mrs. James C. Wallace, Cincinnati; recording secretary, Mrs. Margaret J. Brandenburg, Oxford; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Edith Morris Hughes, Lima; treasurer, Mrs. Zell Hart Deming, Warren. Mrs. Upton named the following chairmen of standing committees: Enrollment, Mrs. C. H. Simonds, Conneaut; Literature, Mrs. Roger G. Perkins, Cleveland; Organization, Miss Elizabeth J. Hauser, Girard. Committees on Finance, Press and Political work to be announced later.

Mrs. Paul G. Wooley of Cincinnati, Governor James M. Cox, and Representative Wenner of Ashtabula were the speakers at

Within the

the convention luncheon, and at the dinner the same evening six members of the Legislature, including the Speaker of the House, and Miss Florence E. Allen, of Cleveland, were the speakers.

The resolutions included one endorsing the League of Nations and one pledging the membership to forget the humiliation of the Senate vote but not the author of the adverse vote from Ohio.

Ohio expects to send its full quota of delegates to St. Louis.

In Michigan

MICHIGAN women participated in their first election as full-fledged citizens of the state on March 5, the occasion being the spring primary. Although citizenship had been conferred upon them less than four months before, reports from over the state indicate that in many cities the women were more interested in voting at the primary than the men, and the enrollment of new voters was large.

The suffrage organizations conducted aggressive campaigns to acquaint the women with their new responsibilities, holding frequent meetings which were addressed by various candidates for office. In Detroit and the larger cities the campaign of education conducted by the women was unusually active and was responsible for the enrollment of a large number of women voters. Both parties made overtures to the women, the men's organizations keeping open house for women at their meetings.

Pamphlets containing information for the women voters were prepared by the suffragists and other organizations. A lively campaign to bring out a large enrollment was responsible for good showings made by women in many cities, although there was but little interest in the primary.

IN Detroit 63,059 women registered, a much larger number than had been expected by the newspapers and politicians. In Traverse City 90 per cent of the women eligible to vote registered, while other cities reported large enrollments.

In Detroit women took a particular interest in the school election, two women, Mrs. Lucia Vorhees Grimes, a prominent suffragist, and Mrs. Cora A. Maybee, being candidates for the six-year term on the school board. Both women were listed as "well qualified" by the Detroit Citizens' League.

A forecast of the lively interest Michigan women will take in political matters was given recently in the case of the election of officers in the village of Ford. The first person to visit the polls was Mrs. Robert Allen, 92 years old, and for fifty years a suffragist. The women cast 300 votes and the men 500 in this election.

Suffrage Methods

FOR the passage of the Indiana Presidential Suffrage Bill the *Journal-Gazette* of Fort Wayne, Ind., gives credit in large measure to the Woman's Franchise League. Speaking editorially, the paper says: "The passage of the Presidential Suffrage Bill was due very largely to the quiet and effective work of the legislative representatives of the Indiana Woman's Franchise League. Those in charge of their lobby were Mrs. Richard Edwards of Peru and Miss Betsey Edwards of Shelbyville. They displayed good tact in handling the bill."

Organization

Three Cheers for Dayton

"DAYTON is over the top with its enrollment," shouts the Ohio Headquarters News Bulletin. "Dayton, where a few short years ago not a minister could be found in the city who would come and ask God's blessing on the state convention of our association—Dayton, where the first attempt at street meetings were complete failures; where only telegraph poles remained to support the speakers, and these only because they could not get away; Dayton, where no woman was elected on the school board until last year. Dayton, over the top! Hurrah for Dayton! It seems almost too good to be true. Hurrah again for the splendid workers who have made it possible for us to Hurrah for Dayton."

Nebraska Women Vote

THE women of Geneva, Nebraska, have the honor to be the first women in the state to exercise the partial voting right granted them by the legislature of 1917 and which was for so long involved in litigation. The municipal bond proposition which was before the voters of Geneva carried, the women casting more than one-half the votes.

The majority of the Nebraska women will have their first opportunity to vote in the city elections which will be held in April. The state attorney general's office is notifying the various city officials that women are eligible to vote in the April elections.

A bill providing for the registration of women voters in Omaha is among those recommended for passage by the standing committees of the lower house of the Nebraska Legislature.

Preparing to Vote

RHODE ISLAND suffragists, who were granted presidential suffrage by the state Legislature in 1917, already have well under way a campaign of education for women voters in anticipation of their first vote in the coming presidential election. Not only are the suffragists familiarizing themselves with the ballot and its uses, but they are conducting an aggressive Americanization campaign, intended to extend to the foreign-born women of the state "a square deal" as American citizens.

One step in this educational campaign has been the preparation of a handbook on the responsibilities and duties of citizenship by the Rhode Island Suffrage party, of which Mrs. Sara M. Algeo is president. This booklet presents a progressive course in citizenship and outlines plans for the campaign to Americanize the foreign-born women voters. It is divided into two parts. The first bears upon the subject of women who are not voters. For the foreign-born women information is provided on such subjects as the need of citizenship and how it is obtained, and includes information of value to would-be women citizens, including a list of questions and answers in a final examination for would-be citizens. Blank forms for declaration of intentions and a petition for naturalization are included in this section.

The second section of the booklet deals with the American-born woman and her responsibilities. It outlines a plan for an aggressive and far-reaching Americanization campaign, with suggestions for the work of the home teacher, women's club workers, and other methods of advancing the work of Americanizing the foreign-born element. Information is also provided on such subjects as registration and other matters of interest to the woman voter.

Texas Prepares

THE suffragists of Texas are in the midst of an active campaign on behalf of a full suffrage amendment to their state constitution, which will be submitted to the voters on May 24. Complete plans for the campaign were effected at one of the largest and most successful meetings of the Executive Committee of the Texas Equal Suffrage Association at Austin on February 12, Lincoln's birthday, which, the suffrage leaders point out, will become a memorable day in Texas history.

The meeting at which plans were made for the campaign was presided over by Mrs. Minnie Fisher Cunningham, president of the Texas Equal Suffrage Association. Suffrage leaders from every section of the state were in attendance, and plans for the three months' intensive campaign were completed amidst the greatest interest and enthusiasm.

The first formal address of the campaign was delivered by Mrs. Cunningham, on the subject of "He Laughs Best Who Laughs Last." Mrs. Cunningham made a stirring plea for the women of the state to cast aside all non-essentials during the next three months in order that they might devote all of their energies to the campaign. This address, delivered at a Suffrage luncheon given by the women of Austin, aroused the greatest enthusiasm and interest on the part of 200 guests. The luncheon was held in honor of the wife of the Governor, Mrs. W. P. Hobby, Mrs. Cunningham, and the wives of the Legislators and members of the Executive Committee.

Definite arrangements were made to hold a victory convention at San Antonio on June 12, 13 and 14, subject to the convenience of the hostess city, in response to an invitation delivered by Miss M. Eleanor Brackenridge, honorary president of the association.

Texas Suffragists will conduct an aggressive campaign in all sections of the state. The tremendous enrollment of women voters for the first primary election in which the women of the state voted, and the support given the Suffrage cause by Gov. W. P. Hobby and other Democratic leaders, are regarded as omens of victory in the referendum campaign formally launched last month.

At the close of the luncheon which marked the formal opening of the campaign the Executive Committee met in joint session with the Ratification Committee and the city and county chairmen. The interest in this session was so great that the committee room was not large enough to accommodate all those who desired to be present. Features of this program were talks by the following speakers:

"Our Need to Be Vigilant," Miss Kate Hunter of Palestine; "City Organization," Mrs. W. E. Spell of Waco; "How Money Talks," Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames of Georgetown; "Our Handicaps and Our Advantages," Mrs. Minnie Fisher Cunningham.

Nominating Committee Meets

THE Nominating Committee of the Woman's Franchise League of Indiana, met March 4th at the Claypool Hotel in Indianapolis, with Mrs. J. E. Barnhill, of Indianapolis, in the chair. The thirteen district chairmen of the League composed this committee.

It has been announced that Mrs. Richard Edwards, of Peru, who has served so ably as president for two years, will not consent to be a candidate for re-election. This will mean the election of a new president to carry the League through what promises to be a year of unusual importance.

In preparation for the state convention which is to be held April 1-3, county and district conventions of the branch organizations are being held throughout the state.

Two Messages

CATHERINE BRESHKOVSKY has just sent out a pamphlet entitled "A Message to the American People." She does not ask for military intervention in Russia but makes an earnest plea for economic, technical, financial and cultural help, and especially for aid in bringing up Russia's 4,000,000 orphans. She says to the Americans:

"You must not forget that in rendering such essential assistance to Russia as caring for her fatherless children, you perform a double act of service. You give your means and energy, and besides, in erecting shrines of education for the human soul and body, in establishing standard institutions for education on a basis of co-operative work and mutual aid, you will remind mankind of its duties, and show us how to employ most beneficially our energies and abilities. You will point out that educating the people is the first obligatory task, the neglect of which has caused misfortune not only in Russia, but also in Europe, and undoubtedly all over the world."

More attention and more money will be devoted to education when the mothers of the world over have a vote.

Many inquiries have been made as to how and where this work for the Russian orphans can be safely begun, under present conditions. Mme Breshkovsky says:

"I find the region of the Urals, especially the district of Cheliabinsk, particularly well suited for the founding of the first settlements for orphans. This vast region of Western Siberia is well protected against disturbances. The fact that the city of Cheliabinsk is the centre of the co-operative peasant organizations is also an advantage. Though we cannot figure much on the financial assistance of our co-operative societies, on account of the general poverty in Russia, their sympathy and interest in problem of educating the children will no doubt be of great help. Our Zemstvos of the provinces and districts of the Ural region will also help us as far as possible."

"At any rate, the first settlement, established on a firm and rational basis, will serve as an illustration as to how to deal with the 4,000,000 orphans and how to conduct the education of children in general in order to raise for the country, instead of weak and helpless creatures, people who will be able to further conditions under which the feelings of brotherhood will be part and parcel of our daily existence."

"Help us to realize this plan, my friends, Americans!"

Somehow, the very existence of so noble a woman as Catherine Breshkovsky seems to be an argument for equal suffrage. She has put in her whole life to make the world better. Her great personality makes a profound impression upon all who have the good fortune to know her. Yet, if she were to settle in America—outside of the enfranchised states—she would still be counted on election day as the equal of an infant or an idiot!

PRESIDENT W. H. P. FOUNCE of Brown University says:

"My deepest fear for America is that she may show herself so utterly sincere in her great fight for democracy as to be worthy of the international leadership to which she is so divinely summoned. Would the men who chant the praises of democracy know it if they met it in the street? Do our leaders want it in the church, in the college, in the shoe factory and the department store? Autocracy is smooth and efficient, though cruel; democracy is often unorganized and unkempt, but forward looking and eager for light. The nations are called today in thunder tones to choose whom they will serve. May America choose still to believe in the voice of the people!"

Those who forget that women are people would not "know democracy if they met it in the street."

A. S. B.

Diagnosed His Own Case

UNITED STATES Senator James W. Wadsworth is reported as saying:

"The danger of the whole situation is that we are endeavoring to write rules to govern our conduct for generations to come, and while writing we have no comprehension of what future conditions will bring about."

That is just what is the matter with Senator Wadsworth himself. He wants to write (or to keep written) a rule debarring women from the ballot-box for generations to come; and he has apparently no comprehension that the conditions of the future—the very near future—will make their continued exclusion impossible. Is there anything funnier than to see one blind man solemnly criticising the blindness of others?

Senator Wadsworth should wake up to the issue of the present hour. In the words of James Russell Lowell, who has lately been so warmly eulogized by some of our worst reactionaries:

"New occasions teach new duties; time makes ancient good uncouth;

They must upward still and onward who would keep abreast of truth.

Lo, before us gleam her watch fires! We ourselves must Pilgrims be,

Launch our Mayflower, and steer boldly through the desperate winter sea,

Nor attempt the future's portal with the past's blood-rusted key."

A. S. B.

Danger for Women

A BILL has been introduced in the Massachusetts Legislature to empower health officers, or their deputies, to compel persons suspected of having venereal disease to submit to a personal examination by a physician appointed or approved by the health officers; and to detain such suspected persons—i.e., to keep them shut up—until the results of the examination can be determined (by laboratory test). The avowed object of the bill is to give the authorities the power to deal in this way with women who are suspected of being prostitutes, but against whom nothing has been proved.

While it is undoubtedly well meant, the proposal is thoroughly objectionable, and should meet with the most determined resistance. It opens a wide door to possibilities of police blackmail, tyranny and persecution of innocent women. Such abuses have followed in every country that has allowed women to be treated in this way upon suspicion of immorality. A long list of such cases was given in the *Woman Citizen* of August 17, 1918, and the subject was further discussed in our issues of January 18 and March 8, 1919.

Working women and other poor women are the most apt to be victimized in this way, because they have no influential friends. But even well to do women are not safe. A striking instance of this was told at the Y. W. C. A. Conference held in New York last October, by a visitor from France, Madame Avril de Sainte Croix, well known and highly respected in her own country for her success in reclaiming girls who have gone wrong. The French government has lately placed her in full charge of this work among the young women from the devastated districts. She warned us earnestly against adopting the state regulation of vice, or any approach to it; and, among other incidents, she told the following:

The wife and daughters of the mayor of a certain small French town were lately accused of having a venereal disease, and on this suspicion, were forced to undergo examination and to be

shut up, and were subject to much inconvenience and humiliation. It turned out that the whole charge was due to a political grudge entertained by the present mayor against his predecessor in office. Out of spite, he had hired some low fellows to accuse these ladies of having given them disease.

Sheltered women should not look upon this tyrannical legislation with indifference from a feeling that it can never touch them or their daughters. Human nature is human nature, in America as well as elsewhere, and neither spite nor political corruption is unknown among us. But, even when honestly exercised, irresponsible power of this kind is often wrongfully applied, through mistake, or over zeal, or for various other reasons.

Such bills have been introduced not only in Massachusetts but in many other States. Women should do their best to kill them.

A. S. B.

How to Improve Electoral Machinery

IN connection with the coming suffrage convention and the outlining of a program for future work may I take the liberty of suggesting that in winning the vote the women of this country are winning only half, the first half, the hardest half, a glorious half, but still only half of the battle for effective self expression through the ballot. The other half is the democratizing of our electoral machinery by the adoption of Proportional Representation.

Under our present methods even with a direct primary law the voter is too often confronted at the final election with the classic "small choice in rotten apples." Even when the candidates are high grade, the Republican voter in a Democratic district and the Democratic voter in a Republican district are virtually disfranchised.

Proportional Representation means that each party secures the same proportion of the seats in the representative body, Congress, Parliament, Legislature or City Council, that the total popular vote of the party bears to the total vote cast. It means that the ballot of practically every individual voter is effective in the final result. It means that the leaders in any movement for civic betterment can be elected by even a small fraction of the voters in spite of the organized opposition of vested interests.

The Hare system of Proportional Representation has been tried with success in South Africa, Tasmania, New Zealand, Australia and within the last few years has begun to be adopted in the United States. The largest American city using it is Kalamazoo, Michigan. A less desirable form has been used by Denmark since 1855 and is in effect today also in Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, and the Republic of Germany. A bill for the election of the British House of Commons by Proportional Representation has passed the House of Lords and been endorsed by the British Labor Party. Could one have better evidence that Proportional Representation is safe and sane and also thoroughly democratic?

Proportional Representation must be won by cities and states. It is to be hoped that the workers for suffrage will decide to go after Proportional Representation while their organizations are intact. With it all other reforms will be easier of accomplishment.

CHARLES H. PORTER.

Boston, Mass.

Have you made your reservations for the Jubilee Convention in St. Louis? Write Mrs. Leslie Thompson, 755 Century Bldg., St. Louis, Mo.

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A Flash of Red

comes from the lining of a navy blue serge cape that is quite military and smart for such a diminutive wrap. The lining is most likely silk, but there are capes with flannel.

Checked coats are good this Spring, and soft silk coats have hats to match.

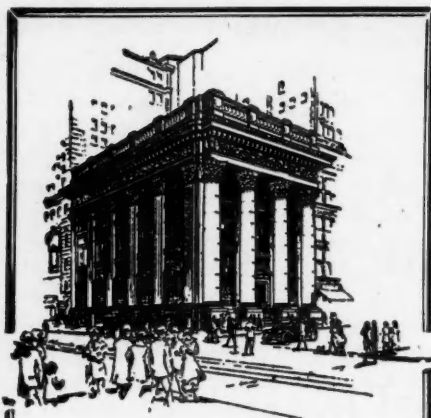
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Elect Women Officers

AN interesting insight into the progress made by the women of China is found in the election of six women as officers of the Chinese Students' Club of New York City. This is the first time that women have been given such recognition by the organization. The brilliant manner in which the women members debated the important world problems and their relation to China is said by the men members to have been the reason for the honor extended the women members. The women now hold all the official positions in the club.

Senator Pollock's Idea of State Rights

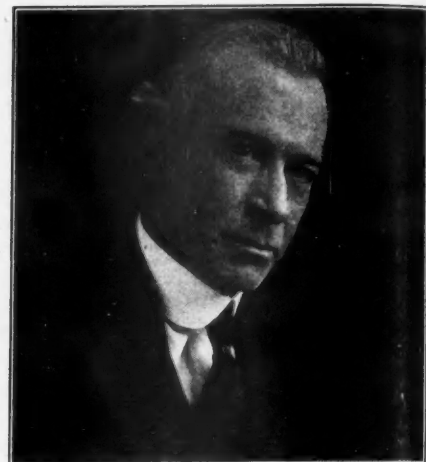
"WHENCE came the right of man to vote? Was it given under the Constitution of the United States? Search that wonderfully compact instrument from beginning to end, and nowhere will you find that the right to vote and hold office was ever granted to man to the exclusion of woman.

"Under the XIV Amendment to the Constitution it is provided:

"All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside. Article II, Section 5, of the Constitution, prescribed the qualifications for president, and nowhere does sex enter into it, but merely citizenship, age, and residence. The same is true as to representatives in Congress as laid down in Article I, Section 3. The word 'person' is used, and under the XIV Amendment all persons, whether male or female, are included in the term citizen. Therefore, since the adoption of the XIV Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, denying to the states the right to abridge the privileges or immunities of the citizen of the United States, and denying the states the right to deprive any person of liberty or the equal protection of the law, I respectfully submit that as a matter of constitutional law we have no right to say to woman 'Thou shall not vote.'

"WHO gave man the right to vote? It will be answered that the states conferred that privilege. And who controlled the states? The manhood of the states, and the men assumed a power, a privilege that every impulse of human nature, every dictate of conscience, every high and noble and worthy sentiment should have required that they should have shared with woman. They won the right to exercise full citizenship only with the aid, the comfort, the sympathy, and the patient endurance of hardship of the women; they won this by force of arms with the assistance of woman, and when they had won the victory of American independence and freedom and liberty they withheld from woman, without whom they could not have won, her fair share of that freedom and liberty. She is a citizen without its privileges, a taxpayer without a voice, a partner without a profit, and all this because she can not bear arms and fight wars for her own independence and freedom and liberty, just as man could not do without her comfort and assistance.

"The argument that this is a matter for action by the states and that to pass this resolution is a violation of state rights, is not a reason but an excuse on the part of many for



SENATOR WILLIAM P. POLLOCK
South Carolina

opposing this resolution, and a very poor excuse at that.

"WHEN a respectable portion of the American people ask that the question of amending the Constitution of the United States be submitted to the states for their approval or disapproval, it is a denial of state rights to refuse to let the states through their Legislatures act. There is but one right that each separate state has under the Constitution which can not be taken away from it without its consent, and that is to have equal representation in the Senate, but the Constitution may be amended in all other particulars when three-fourths of the states so decree.

"And surely no one will say that the right of any one state should be greater than the right expressly conferred upon three-fourths of the states acting jointly through their several Legislatures to amend the Constitution in other respects. The right of three-fourths of the states to amend the Constitution is one of the highest rights of all state rights, and when this resolution shall have passed this body by the necessary two-thirds vote, then the right—the states' right—to adopt or reject the proposed amendment will be conferred upon the states rather than withheld from them. To refuse to pass this resolution under the circumstances is to refuse to give three-fourths of the states a right which they have under the Constitution, and that under the pretext that we would be giving to three-fourths of the states the power to take away from a single state a power or right which it does not possess under the Constitution.

"No one state has the right to say what the qualifications for voting shall be when three-fourths of the states express themselves otherwise, and no state has the right to say to three-fourths of the states that they shall not amend the Constitution other than as to equal representation in this body."

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Correspondence

Why Not Taft?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

OF course, William H. Taft would not object to a second term in the White House; indeed he would like it, and there are lots of Republicans who would like it, too. Well, why not? He has made a manly fight for the League to Enforce Peace. He has been staunch and true in the great crisis through which the country has passed. He has had only one term. I mean, of course, if the Democrats don't put up a better man, but a better man is not easy to find.

Twelve million women may vote for President in twenty-four states, viz.: Wyoming, Colorado, Idaho, Utah, Washington, California, Arizona, Kansas, Oregon, Montana, Nevada, New York, Michigan, South Dakota, Oklahoma, Illinois, North Dakota, Nebraska, Rhode Island, Indiana, Wisconsin, Vermont, Arkansas and Texas. These states furnish 245 electoral votes out of 531. Thus, the women clearly have a cinch on the White House next time.

No man will get either the Republican or Democratic nomination who is not in favor of woman suffrage; the next president must stand for election on the votes-for-women

platform or be defeated. This would go without saying.

There are signs that Mr. Taft will be all right on this issue; heretofore he has been otherwise. All he has to do to obtain the Republican nomination is to declare for the cause. If he does this he may land once more in the White House.

I do not intend by this to commit myself or anybody else to the support of the Republican candidate; but I would like to see Mr. Taft nominated should he declare for woman suffrage, and some other good man equally sound on this issue, nominated by the Democrats.

Philadelphia. WILLIAM ATKINSON,
President of the Pennsylvania Men's League
for Woman Suffrage.

[Since the above letter was received Mr. Taft has publicly announced his conversion.—Ed.]

"TEN THOUSAND new members, by May 1st," is the slogan of the Equal Suffrage League of Wayne County, Michigan. The League plans to use the dues which will accrue through this increase in membership in establishing citizenship classes throughout the city of Detroit.

"Those Old People!"

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

I HAVE had no news from you, but I follow with great interest THE WOMAN CITIZEN. I send you one of my articles. I am very busy writing and speaking. The congress has not taken place in December for political reasons. But we will have it next month, and Mrs. Catt's message will be read then. We are developing a big suffrage movement in almost all the cities, trying to get the vote before they close this "section." In June we shall have a general political election, and women are getting ready to fight.

The Federal Amendment turned down again by the U. S. Senate has astonished us. It is terrible! Those old people!

We have a large "Comitato Romano Pro-Suffragio Feminile"—Via in Arcione 98-Rome. They have asked me to give lectures on social work. Greetings. MARIA A. LOSCHI.
Rome, Italy.

Coming to It by Degrees

THE annual conferences of the Methodist church in Louisiana and Alabama have adopted resolutions granting full laity rights to women. They will be allowed to hold any office in the church except that of minister. The majority in favor of the resolutions was large in both instances.

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One Day's Canvass

MARY ELIZABETH PIDGEON and Emma Howard Wright, two suffragists of Middletown, Va., a town of less than four hundred men, women and children, recently made a one day's canvass among the women of age to vote and got an enrollment of 40. This is a tenth of the population and probably a good 50 per cent of the women of voting age.

What Is Primary Suffrage?

A PRIMARY suffrage law gives women the right to vote at primaries or nominating elections. No primary suffrage has ever, like other partial suffrage laws, been tested in the courts. It is, however, clearly within the power of most Legislatures to grant primary suffrage because few state constitutions concern themselves at all with methods of nominating candidates for office. This was formerly a matter of party regulation, until by acts of state Legislatures, called primary laws, it was brought under the control of the state law-making and law-regulating bodies. The extension of primary suffrage is therefore in most states simply additional primary legislation.

The first primary suffrage bill was introduced at the instance of the Era Club, in Louisiana, in 1912. In 1917 a primary suffrage law was introduced in Texas; in the same year introduced and passed in Arkansas, and in 1918 passed in Texas. It is especially suited to states like Louisiana, South Carolina, Mississippi and Florida, whose Legislatures and executive positions are solidly Democratic, or to those other southern states which are preponderantly one-party states, for in these states nomination is equivalent to election.

The simplest form of primary law is that of Arkansas, which reads as follows:

"From and after the passage of this Act, and subject to all the provisions of the law of this state as to age, residence, citizenship, payment of poll taxes, and otherwise regulating the manner and form of holding same; but specially exempt from every disqualification, direct or indirect, on account of sex, every woman in this state shall have the right to vote at any primary elections held under the laws of this state.

"All laws and parts of laws in conflict with this Act are hereby repealed, and this Act being necessary for the immediate preservation of the public peace, health and safety, an emergency is hereby declared to exist and this Act shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage."

In Texas the law was passed in March, 1918, and a provision that the poll tax, which is required of all adults and the prepayment of which is required for voting, must be paid February 1st, would have prevented the women from voting in 1918. For that reason a special provision was made in the law to make voting in 1918 possible, and a law of this more complex form could be used in any other states, having a like dated poll tax provision. In Alabama, Louisiana, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Mississippi, whose requirements for collecting of poll tax are very complex, it should be remembered, however, that the constitution requires the poll tax only of *male inhabitants*, so women, whether voting or not, are exempted by the constitution. In Arkansas, it is true, the women waived a like constitutional exemption, but in this state the provisions for collecting the tax are not made difficult by the setting of arbitrary dates.

THE acquiring of primary suffrage, is, in the southern states, almost the same as full suffrage in the power it gives women. In Arkansas and Texas this new dignity and power was apparent even before they had voted, for the Arkansas Legislature, which passed the primary suffrage law, passed also an unusual body of social legislation of special interest to women. Among the matters covered were an industrial school for girls; registration of births; institution for the feeble-minded; vocational training; compulsory education; state committee of charities and corrections, on which shall sit a certain number of women; mothers' pensions; admission of women to practice law; commission to study illiteracy; an improved child labor law and certain detailed changes in the laws governing married women's property rights. In 1918, the first year women voted, there was no legislative session in Arkansas. In the spring primaries of 1918, 40,000 women voted. Of the spirit of these women voters, U. S. Senator J. T. Robinson (Ark.) says: "They gave honest thought to their votes, and the best women of the state went at the matter as a duty they owed and a privilege they had long desired." Already the political parties have invited the participation of women in their councils. Mrs. Stella Brizzolara, a leader in war and civic activities, sits on the Democratic State Central Committee; Mrs. J. D. Head has been appointed to the Women's National Democratic Committee; fifty women sat in the State Democratic Convention last July and there are many women members of Democratic County Committees.

In Texas also the influence of women was

felt on the Legislature which gave them citizenship. In response to the direct pressure of organizations of those women on whom their future in the Legislature depended, this Texas Legislature raised the age of consent, passed a volume of important legislation which effectually cleaned up the notoriously bad moral conditions around the camps and passed legislation improving sanitary conditions for working women.

MORE than 360,000 Texas women enrolled for the primaries in July, 1918; this was a number as great as the total presidential vote of the state in 1916. The women's campaign and the women's vote put up a woman candidate, Miss Annie Webb Blanton, for the office of state superintendent of public instruction, in place of a man supported by the German-American Alliance, and caused the renomination of Governor Hobby, instead of James E. Ferguson, a crooked politician identified with the liquor interests. Ferguson, who was a notorious opponent of woman suffrage, had been in 1917 impeached on several charges and removed from office as governor. The defeat of Ferguson and the reelection of Hobby are regarded as "breaking the ring" in Texas politics. M. S. B.

How It Started

SCHOOL suffrage has been the acorn from which full or partial suffrage has sprouted in practically every state where women now enjoy the extension of the franchise. Wisconsin is no exception to the rule. The recent passage of the presidential suffrage bill by the Legislature of that state has attracted attention to the early start of the movement. In this connection the following extract from a letter received from Alura Collins Hollister of Mukwanago, Wisconsin, is of special interest:

"School suffrage was passed by the Wisconsin Legislature in 1885 and ratified by vote of the voters of Wisconsin at the general election of November, 1886, and many of us voted at school meetings all over the state at the regular annual school meetings held in July, 1887. These school meetings are for our rural and small village schools. Our incorporated villages and cities have other times for their school meetings and elections, these other times generally coinciding with general elections. At first people thought only rural districts were meant, but the law for school suffrage said that women should be entitled to vote on all school matters, and soon it was seen that this law might be a far-reaching one. Women here and there offered their votes in city and village school elections and for county and state superintendents of public instruction. For these women voters at general elections no provision had been made, so their votes were refused.

"Unfinished questions have no pity for the repose of mankind," and this was surely for many years an unfinished question. Our indefatigable worker and president, Rev. Olympia Brown, brought suit to establish the constitutionality and scope of the law, and finally, in 1900, the law was declared to mean what it said, that women in Wisconsin could vote on all school matters, and provision was made for separate ballot boxes, so that they could vote on school bonds, for county and state superintendents of public instruction, for any changes in school laws, for anything pertaining to our schools. And because the women of the cities and incorporated villages had no vote on school questions till 1900, it came about that the granting of the school suffrage was given as having been in 1900, whereas many women voted every July from 1887. And all those years from November, 1886 to 1900 were years of education, of preparing the people of Wisconsin for a broad interpretation of our school suffrage law. And all the years from 1886 to 1919 have been years of education which gave us a vote of 121 against 12 in our Senate and Assembly for presidential suffrage.

"Henry Blackwell, years ago, told us that in spite of the provision in our state constitution for submission of any extension of the right of suffrage to a vote of the people, we could get presidential suffrage because the U. S. Constitution says that the qualifications of presidential electors shall be decided by the state Legislatures.

"When our Wisconsin Suffrage Association tried in 1887 to secure the attention of our Legislature to presidential suffrage, we were told to go home and prove by our use of school suffrage that we desired the elective franchise. Many of us feel that our persistent use of this much of suffrage has done much to educate our state for full woman suffrage, for I can assure anyone that it was no easy matter to stand for woman suffrage in Wisconsin in 1885."

AMONG the nursing profession the war has thrown a reflected light on the casualties of peace, and the Red Cross hopes to turn part of its great force of war nurses to the further development of public health nursing. The work plotted out is to include nursing by the extension of the Town and Country Nursing Service of the Red Cross, so that skilled professional care will be available in even the most remote parts of the country. Instruction in home hygiene and care of the sick and in home dietetics will also be included. It is planned to do this work by the co-operation, through the Red Cross, of national and local nursing, public health, medical, educational and relief organizations.

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**Behind the German Atrocities**

BEHIND the German atrocities was the atrocious attitude of the minds of the Berlin regal group of men towards women. That rape was as common as rations among German soldiers is easily explicable if the Countess Von Eppinghoven's recently published "Memoirs of the Court of Berlin" are true. German nobles had but two uses for women and one of them was to increase the German race. The other was a grosser one. It was in fact, the ruthless policy that to scrap any woman's honor to save a man from the worst of vices, was not only excusable, but laudable.

Hence the German system of women camp followers. Hence Belgium.

In three volumes *The Lives of William II and His Consort* (World Publishing Co.) is set forth a pornographic picture of the whole of middle Europe, facts for which are obtained from the private papers and diaries of Ursula, Countess Von Eppinghoven, *dame du palais* of Her Majesty the Empress-Queen. Of course, the *dame du palais* is a tattle-tale. She hated Kaiser William mainly for his treatment of his mother, Empress Frederick, and she had a muckraking mind.

But it is too much to think that the Countess invented the facts she relates, for although most of her diary was written a dozen years ago it fits in too well with subsequent events and offers a clearer explanation of the war than do most of the white, blue and yellow books of all nations.

As early as 1895 the Countess saw and portrayed the Kaiser as an egomaniac struggling for power, snatched from the people, whom

he cowed more and more every year by his piled up punishments for *lèse majesté*.

She shows a silly spendthrift court dawdler who filched the public purse for his insatiable vanity, an impotent hunter, who could satisfy his love of blood only by having hundreds of animals penned up for him to kill like a pig-sticker in an abattoir.

In 1897 the Kaiser was talking of what he would do to Europe and the Countess was predicting even then that Europe would call him a madman when he did it.

"THE living puissant Hohenzollern initiative," boasted William, "always setting the dogs of war loose before his enemies had time to get over their surprise," adding that "his mailed fist would clutch somebody's throat sooner or later. And so on *ad infinitum*," continued the Countess's diary. "Perhaps it will," she predicted, "but when it does a paranoiac verdict, such as that which dis-crowned your Majesty's grand-uncle, in October, 1857, and your cousin in June, 1886, will assuredly stalk in the wake of that act."

No one even dared resent the vulgar expressions by which these regal men made known their opinions of women. Once in a while some phases of their contempt got under the skin of the Kaiserin. "All royal women should stand together to repudiate the claims of their husbands for sons," said she in an unusual burst. "We will bear sons, God willing, but to try and intimidate us into fulfilling expectations of male issue is a barbarism that cannot be too strenuously opposed."

The Kaiserin was roused to this outburst by the eternal "rowing" her sister Calma, Duchess of Glücksburg, and her friend Victoria of Hesse-Darmstadt had to undergo from their husbands because they had borne daughters only. The duke of Glücksburg forgave his wife for her four daughters only after the birth of the fifth child, Prince Frederick. As to the cowed, and docile, Augusta Victoria, her "Willy" treated her to the kind of martial discourtesy one might expect from a beggar on horseback, but not from an Emperor to an Empress.

There they were, "William forever enforcing his own will, his notions, his idiosyncrasies and downright crazes by sheer force of sublime egomania," says Von Eppinghoven. "The Kaiserin perpetually in a flutter to carry out his demands and make everybody else dance to the imperial piper's tune."

The Kaiserin had good reason to know just what her part was to be in the royal stage setting.

There was no veil of politeness drawn over it, it was the "only use woman is fit for." This was Count Herbert Bismarck's phrase, and he never spoke of woman except in the coarsest terms.

IT was Count Herbert's father, the old Chancellor, who in 1879 "politely asked and brutally coerced" the Duke of Schleswig Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenberg to send his eldest daughter to Berlin, "his sovereign desiring to see whether or not the young woman seemed likely to make a healthy wife and mother." There was nothing to soften the insult to the womanhood of the young princess and no sub-

lety in carrying it out. She was examined carefully from head to foot by the Berlin doctors and accepted, six sons and a daughter proving her a "good Holstein," as the delicate wits of Berlin characterized her.

"I DON'T want to be looked upon as a means for propagating the royal race exclusively," she cried once, "but under Prince Bismarck's teaching the Prince (her husband) seems to have forgotten that I possess any womanly qualities besides that of child-bearing." William had not forgotten. He had never known; she filled the only womanly use he had for her.

Courtly wife-beating was not rare in the Kaiser's gilded set, but there is no evidence that the "good Holstein" had this to bear. William's way of controlling his wife demanded less physical exertion from his weak little body. He just ignored her, even let her manage without pocket money, so that her trifling needs could be gratified if, and when, the Court Marshal gave her leave. To get new paper on the shelves where she kept her body linen, or department store cribs for the royal princes, was achieved after a financial storm in the new palace such as would have disgraced any honest burgher's household.

The genial art of not paying any attention to his wife was one in which William excelled. "William seldom speaks to his wife directly, except to say that he likes or dislikes her costume," gossips the *dame du palais*, "and if she asks questions he answers in a tone that forbids further conversation; quite frequently he does not reply at all, turning his left ear (his bad ear) towards the Empress and affecting not to hear her. He cannot be induced to remain in his wife's presence a minute longer than courtesy demands."

As to his lights o' love, the Kaiser's intrigues were of a Falstaffian delicacy. His sense of humor was of the barrack room or the stable. "The love of *risqué* stories is a Hohenzollern failing," comments the Countess. "The present Kaiser's grossness of speech is notorious. It is a saying at Court: 'Tell the Kaiser something more indelicate than the Tattle of the Nuns of Poissy, and he will book you for an ambassadorship' and that is no exaggeration."

The bestiality of his idea of woman's place in the scheme of things was shown in the plan developed by the Kaiser and his Minister, Count Philip zu Eulenberg, to get the Crown Prince into a trial marriage.

For this they selected a young American opera singer and commanded her. "*Le Droit de Seigneur* may be dead with respect to peasant girls," says the loquacious Eppinghoven. "In the case of prima donnas and actresses, it is as much alive now as in the days when Philip d'Orleans was Regent of France, Grand

Turk at the Paris Opera Seraglio. Here was an American in the flower of youth, struggling to obtain a foothold in the most difficult of professions."

The girl was demanded by the royal brutes as if they had ordered "a cup of tea." When her child was born "the young father was heralded a hero." And the mother? "Pshaw, she was 'only an opera singer anyhow.'"

The fees for her *accouchement* were paid handsomely, and she was advanced in her profession. That was all.

"The baby died. 'So good of the little thing,' said both Williams, senior and junior." They paid the undertaker's bill jovially, and—the incident was closed.

Such incidents—many of them—presaged Belgium. For what the German men did covertly in Belgium—the German men of high rank had done covertly, at least, in thought to all women everywhere.

WOMEN of the world, led by the National American Woman Suffrage Association, have asked the Peace Conference that crimes against women in the Great War shall not go unpunished—and that international rules shall hereafter protect the women of all invaded nations.

Back of international mandates must come a change of soul for where women are held cheap in peace times they will be held cheaper in war times.

The old *dame du palais* gives incidents to prove that. For years this attitude towards women ruled Germany's gilded youth. The worst of it was that it was directed by a mind that arrogated all earthly power to itself. "Recruits," said William, "I may call upon you at any time to shoot down and strike to the ground your own relatives—father and mother, sisters and brothers. My orders in that respect must be executed cheerfully and without grumbling." Contempt for women and unlimited male power! While this combination lasts, it will take many Peace Conferences to make the world safe for women.

M. O. W.

Voting Women Won't Be Thrashed

ANYONE who knows such Slavic epigrams as "Let the dog bark, but let the woman keep silent," "My wife is my mule," and "He who does not beat his wife is no man," will know how to appreciate the change of heart in the Russian peasant husband since Russian women have become enfranchised.

"Russian peasant husbands used to thrash their wives—once a week when sober and more often when drunk. But things are different now."

This is what an intelligent Russian midwife told Ernest Poole.

"Now each one on Saturday night shouts at

her man when he comes with his stick, 'Just you try to beat me, and watch how I will spit in your face.' That's what voting has done for her," continued the midwife, who wanted to know if the war had postponed the suffrage movement in America.

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Women Chemists

AS an outcome of the war, women chemists have taken their places on a par with men as industrial chemists. With only such training as chemists as is offered in the regular course at women's colleges, women are competing successfully with men who have had extra years of post-graduate training.

In answer to a questionnaire sent out recently to industrial plants it was shown that in sixteen firms employing a total of 368 chemists 78 were women.

It is the consensus of opinion among men that women are more painstaking in analytical work than men.

Miss Grace MacLeod, a member of the American Chemical Society, in an address before the under-graduates of Vassar College, stated that woman has made a definite place in industrial chemistry and proved that the old prejudice against women in laboratories are

mere convention and not reasons. Woman has proved that she will accept the same ethical code in employment as do men; that the work is not too severe for her; that she does not lack professional standards, nor is she wanting in originality and initiative.

Will Admit Women

BELLEVUE HOSPITAL MEDICAL COLLEGE of New York University will open its doors to women students for the first time in its history in September. They will be admitted on the same basis as men, with full privileges of the college, and when qualified will be granted the degree of Doctor of Medicine. Thus is justified the admission of women as internes in Bellevue Hospital a few short years ago. The woman interne has evidently convinced the Bellevue faculty that the woman doctor is a desirable citizen.

Refutes Antis Argument

"IT used to be said that when women got the vote, the injustice of paying smaller wages to them than to men for the same work would be corrected, but the answer of anti-suffragists was that politics could not affect a purely industrial situation which is regulated by the law of supply and demand. In the case of teachers, for instance, it was argued that so long as the supply of women teachers was large, the pay would be comparatively small. This theory threatens to be exploded in our neighboring state across the Hudson, where suffrage having been secured, the teachers are bringing pressure to bear at Albany for salaries better proportioned to the present high cost of living. A minimum wage of \$1,200 applicable to rural districts, as well as cities, is a feature of the proposed legislation. In addition, the Teachers' Union, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, asks for equal pay for women and men.

"With the strength of the ballot in the hands of thousands of new voters, neither political party is desirous of antagonizing so formidable an element on election day. And when this element is thoroughly organized, as the teachers are, it is still more difficult to resist any demand that can be defended by a fair argument."—Trenton, N. J., Advertiser.

Personal

AFTER a delay of several weeks the New York State Senate has confirmed the appointment of Miss Frances Perkins of New York city as a member of the State Industrial Commission. The confirmation of Miss Perkins was held up by Republican members of the Senate but after a three hours' debate thirteen Republicans finally sided with the Democrats in voting to accept the nomination made by Governor Smith. Miss Perkins, who is Mrs. Paul Wilson in private life, will serve for five years at a salary of \$8,000 per annum.

Governor Smith has announced that a woman will be given a place on the Niagara Reservation Commission, which will soon be vacant. He has given no indication of his selection for the post, but it is expected to be sent to the Senate shortly.

MRS. SOPHIA REDMOND journeyed from the Arctic circle to Seattle that she might turn over to the Red Cross Association \$206, the proceeds from the auctioning of a sweater that she had knit for the Red Cross. Mrs. Redmond's home is in the little village of Nolan, which is well within the Arctic circle and she is the only white woman in the village. On August 10, Mrs. Redmond started on her journey to Seattle, musing to Bettles, 75 miles away. From there she went to Nulato by riverboat, a journey of only 500 miles. There she boarded a Yukon River steamer to connect with the ocean steamship for Seattle, her destination.

THE death of May Allinson, Industrial Expert of the Women in Industry Service, U. S. Department of Labor, removes one of the army of women who have given valuable service in industrial research. As executive secretary of the Committee on Women in Industry of the Council of National Defense, she prepared reports on women workers in aircraft production and helped in the preparation on home work in the manufacture of army shirts and uniforms. Before the war she had carried on investigations for the Women's Educational and Industrial Union of Boston and for the National Society for Vocational Education.

At the time of her death she was making the survey of the homes and working conditions of Indiana at the request of Governor Goodrich, which has just been brought out by the Women in Industry Service.



GOLDEN JUBILEE
SOUVENIR CONVENTION NUMBER

of the

WOMAN CITIZEN

ISSUE OF MARCH 22

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Vol. III, March 22, 1919. No. 43.

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The Woman Citizen

The Woman's National Political Weekly

NEW STYLE VOL. III

MARCH 22, 1919

NUMBER 43

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

"Finish the Fight!"

TO you, Delegates of the National American Woman Suffrage Association assembled in convention at St. Louis, March 24-29, we pass on this, the "Golden Jubilee Number" of the *Woman Citizen*, your official organ, hoping and believing that you will find much to interest and much to encourage you in the historic evidences of growth which have been assembled for you between these covers.

THESE evidences establish among other things that even when the suffrage movement was youngest and the road steepest and the night blackest, the "suffrage spirit" could be relied on to go forward and upward, and to laugh at the roughest going. We have never been a down-hearted group. We have never taken ourselves as martyrs. Always we have had in our minds and in our hearts the joy as well as the strain of the struggle.

TO attend a National Suffrage Convention is always an inspiration. There the best suffrage workers of the country meet, take counsel together, tell their experiences, exchange ideas, develop emulation, fix their eyes on the ideal.

The owner of a country estate encouraged his little son to keep chickens. The boy took a great interest in them, but they were bantams, and he was pained by the

1869-1919

Golden Jubilee Number of the *Woman Citizen*

smallness of their eggs. One day his father, on visiting the chicken house, found that the youngster had procured a big ostrich egg and hung it up in front of the bantams' nests, with a placard, on which was printed in childish characters—"Keep your eyes on this, and do the best you can."

WE shall not have many more national suffrage conventions at which to develop emulation. Meanwhile, as we come together once more, to rejoice over the unprecedented advance of the past, let us lay careful plans for the final triumph.

THAT triumph must be worthy of the women who have gone before and insured the triumphs along the way. It must be not only a fulfillment, but a memorial. The fulfillment must be not the niggardly enfranchisement of women in a state here and a state there, but the enfranchisement of every woman in the land; the memorial must be, not cut in marble, not moulded in bronze, but a living thing, of flesh and blood and continuing effort. How better can we secure it than by the compact union of the political power in enfranchised womanhood? Power to be used to finish the fight, power to be conserved for the good of the nation and the world. We were ever fighters, "so—one fight more, the last and best."

Congress and the Woman

IF you went down, or up, to Washington and took a seat in the Senate gallery or in the House gallery, with the fell purpose of watching your federal government in process of making laws under which you and yours are to live, you would promptly begin to yawn with boredom over the "order of the day," and the "unfinished business," and the way a man here and there rises solemnly and makes a speech that seems to have more relevancy to some unnamed but frightfully indigestible substance in his last night's dinner than to the "order of the day" or the "unfinished business."

The harder you listen to him, the sooner you discover that you are the only one who is listening. In the galleries there is stir and chatter, but a stir and chatter that are nothing compared to the confusion down on the floor, where men gather around desks in groups and knots, laughing and gesticulating, or saunter off to the coat room, their arms about one another's shoulders.

The din having become at last unbearable somebody asks if there can't be order, a gavel falls, and the presiding officer declares that unless order is restored the galleries will be cleared. Whereupon some man with the fear of God in his soul interpolates that the disorderliness is mainly on the floor, not in the galleries.

Again the drowsy hum of the man who is bound and determined to make a speech, again the talk, the laughter, but the sound of it grows thinner now, as man after man slips away, until at last a peevish voice drowns out the speech-maker with—"Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum." Follow a roll-call and a scurrying back to answer to names, a little hiatus of dull inattention—and again the men begin slipping out, to be resummoned presently by another peevish demand for another roll-call.

That's what you get on the everyday surface of things as the two legislative bodies of Congress, the Senate and the House of Representatives, meet in august assemblage year after year to make laws, impose restrictions, and appoint investigation committees to see how last year's laws are working out in this fair land of ours. To be sure there is an occasional day when personal or party animosities of a violently malevolent character get to the surface, but the distinction of the ordinary day is the distinction of utter prosiness, and the ordinary woman visitor may well be forgiven if she leaves the august assemblage half asleep. It's no more than many of the Senators and Representatives are.

YET behind this prosiness, informing it, lie procedures of the most vital, intimate moment to every woman in the land. That Congress is her Congress. Its deliberations operate on her, now like a possessful hand reaching into her pocket-book; now like an over-lord of personal relations dictating when and where and how soon her husband, her son, her brother are to be torn from her side; now like a High Commissioner of Markets, setting the price she shall pay for the food on her table.

In proof, let us review a little, just a little, of the more salient record of 1918, the laws passed, the investigations ordered, the revelations heard during the sessions that have marked the régime of the 65th Congress, which has now drawn to an end.

For four years housewives have been against a stone wall of meat prices, prices which have driven roasts off their tables and made the morning breakfast bacon as rare as sweet-breads and *filet-mignon*. Even the proletarian soup bone has strutted of late in the class with the modish capon.

AT the Government's solicitation and in order to relieve the hard pushed industries which purvey meat to the household women dropped their matutinal dust cloths in 1918 and left the children's clothes unmended to get a place in the waiting crowds of buyers and capture a reluctant hamburger steak for their market baskets.

And behold it appears from the testimony given by Francis J. Heney before the Senate Agricultural Committee that the prices the housekeeper thought she was paying because a world was starving were really paid to help a monopoly make \$47,000,000 profits—seven times what the same monopoly had earned yearly during the three previous war years!

Again, just before Christmas some soldiers bound for Oregon were brought from overseas on a United States transport and set down in New York city. They were landed in time to eat their Christmas dinners in their own homes, but their pay was in arrears, there were no government arrangements made for transporting them and unless they waited for home funds to be sent on, there wasn't money enough among them all to pay their way across the continent.

Of course Eastern people gave them the time of their young lives, but their young lives had been rather fed up on "times" and they wanted to get home. They wanted to hang up their stockings and trim the Christmas trees with their own people. Out in Oregon women were waiting who had waited a long time, and who had to eat a second lonely Christmas dinner because the Army red tape had snarled up the back pay of their boys.

YET again, when the draft bill raised the fighting age to 45, fathers of families had to call upon all their financial reserves of years to see their families through until the war was over. All this legislation, dealing with men's lives, dealt also with women's lives and children's lives. It not only reached out and took the man and his earning power, but it controlled the living conditions of the boys in government work—the hardest thing of all for many mothers.

In presenting to the House the Kellogg resolution for the creation, at the President's discretion, of dry zones around ammunition plants and shipyards, Mr. Miller of Minnesota pointed out that "A condition had arisen at the head of Lake Superior in which government works were seriously menaced. Ten thousand men engaged in ship-building and in the production of munitions were being debauched by artificially created conditions beyond the power of either Minnesota or Wisconsin to control. The entire head of the lakes region is 'dry,' but a group of about 30 men organized a village in the state of Wisconsin for booze purposes only. They had one saloon and eight wholesale houses that constituted the entire village. This had become," said Mr. Miller, "a hell-hole of iniquity."

And into this hell-hole women had to send their sons under the Selective Draft Act.

Anti-Congressmen like to wave away the good old reason for giving women the ballot, that taxation without representation is tyranny, yet these same Congressmen did not hesitate to advocate the Revenue bill of \$8,000,000,000. This bill ensured that a "luxury" tax equal to 20 per cent of the amount paid in excess of the amounts specified should be paid on such household necessities as the following: Women's and misses' suits, cloaks and coats at \$40, dresses \$40. Men's and boys' hats \$5, caps \$2, and

neckwear \$2. Men's, women's, misses' and boys' shoes, pumps and slippers at \$10, men's shirts \$3, fibre carpets and rugs in excess of \$5 a square yard. This tax meant also one cent on every 10, or fraction of 10, cents on tooth and mouth washes, dentifrices, pastes, toilet soaps and powders.

CONGRESS talked and talked about a hungry world. It debated whether to appropriate \$100,000,000 to keep that world from starving. It took its time about the appropriation. It fell into a state of blue funk over the discovery that there was an increase of 389,221,075 pounds of meat in storage in the United States this January over and above that of last January.

To women it seemed as if in America's over-production might be a pleasing solution of the world's starvation.

The United States, it seemed, had more food than it needed. Some parts of Europe had less than they could keep alive on.

"Simple," thinks the housewife, who would slip on her rubbers, throw her shawl over her head and run around the corner to her hungry neighbor with the surplus if she had her way about it.

"Difficult," says Congress. "Who is going to stand the loss, if the food is put on the market?"

And while Congress talked, beefsteak soared. Congress agitated against a Price Fixing Commission, asking for a grant of one billion and a quarter dollars to pay for the cost of wheat over and above world market prices in order to reduce the price of bread.

"But bread is a necessity," said the agonized housewife. "Consider the law and the profits," said Congress.

Among the things that Congress and the woman were both troubled over was that there was too much meat on ice and too little on the table.

"There is so much meat in the packing houses that no more can be stored away," mourned the legislators.

"If there is so much meat in the storage, why can't we have some?" asked the bewildered woman. "Canada has gone back to her beef prices of a year ago, what's the matter with the United States?"

"MR. HOOVER is in Europe," was the answer. It was as if mother had gone off with the pantry key and left the children supperless.

In 1918 hogs multiplied themselves at least 30 per cent over 1917, said Congress reports, yet bacon was from 42 to 55 cents a pound in 1919 as against 35 cents in January, 1918.

Butter increased in price nearly 50 per cent. Cheese went twelve cents higher after the war ended, than when America was in the thick of it; fish went up a third and coffee, which did very well all through the war in spite of a lack of transportation facilities, learned the trick of aviation. Eggs, even storage age, went beyond "the dreams of avarice."

All this is politics in Washington. It is life or death, illness or health, and at least always comfort or discomfort, to the 25,000,000 or more homes of America.

Women may not know a hawk from a hand-saw concerning the great question as to which political party is going to "get" the other in this food muddle of 1919. But every mother in the world knows that she and her children are being squeezed between the millstones of partisan politics, and that, generally speaking, mothers are without a voice in the matter.

How long, oh Lord, how long are they to stand it?

Why We Celebrate!

THE 1919 suffrage victories bring the number of states where women have full suffrage, presidential and municipal or presidential alone, to 24. These states are:

FIFTEEN FULL SUFFRAGE STATES

State	Won	No. of Women 21 years and over	Elec- toral vote	No. of Con- gress- men	Area in square miles
1. Arizona	1912	48,419	3	1	113,956
2. California	1911	872,802	13	11	158,297
3. Colorado	1893	264,647	6	4	103,948
4. Idaho	1896	105,146	4	2	83,888
5. Kansas	1912	471,854	10	8	82,158
6. Michigan	1918	848,916	15	13	57,980
7. Montana	1914	103,975	4	2	146,997
8. Nevada	1914	26,611	3	1	110,690
9. New York	1917	3,125,999	45	43	49,204
10. Oklahoma	1918	470,176	10	8	70,057
11. Oregon	1912	221,008	5	3	96,699
12. South Dakota . .	1918	161,024	5	3	77,615
13. Utah	1896	100,646	4	2	84,990
14. Washington . .	1910	444,919	7	5	69,127
15. Wyoming	1869	37,146	3	1	97,914
		7,303,288	137	107	1,403,520

SEVEN PRESIDENTIAL, OR PRESIDENTIAL PLUS MUNICIPAL SUFFRAGE STATES

(Those starred have both. Women do not vote for Congressmen in these states)

State	Year	Women 21 years and over	Elec- toral vote	Area in square miles
16. *Illinois	1913	1,699,160	29	56,665
17. Indiana	1919	800,484	15	35,354
18. *Nebraska	1917	318,903	8	77,520
19. *North Dakota	1917	157,903	5	70,837
20. Rhode Island.	1917	183,030	5	1,248
21. Wisconsin	1919	653,936	13	54,450
22. *Vermont†	1919	128,328	4	9,564
		3,941,744	79	306,638

TWO PRIMARY SUFFRAGE STATES

(Women vote for Congressmen in the Primaries in these one-party states. The chance to help choose the Democratic candidates at the Primary is the only choice any voter can effectively exercise in a one-party state. Republican candidates have no chance at the elections.)

23. Arkansas	1917	355,514	9	7	53,335
24. Texas	1917	999,166	20	18	265,896
		1,354,680	29	25	319,231

MAKING A GRAND TOTAL FOR THE 24 STATES

Women 21 years and over	Elec- toral vote	No. of Congress- men	Area in square miles
12,599,712	245	132	2,029,389

† Presidential suffrage granted by 1919 Legislature, vetoed by Governor. Governor's veto under challenge as unconstitutional.



Officials Who Are Directing the Destinies of the National

1. Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, Honorary President.
2. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, President.
3. Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Second Vice-President.
4. Mrs. Helen Gardener, Fifth Vice-President.
5. Mrs. Stanley McCormick, First Vice-President.
6. Mrs. Raymond Brown, Fourth Vice-President.
7. Mrs. Guilford Dudley, Third Vice-President.
8. Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers, Treasurer.
9. Mrs. Halsey W. Wilson, Recording Secretary.
10. Miss Esther Ogden, Director.
11. Mrs. Frank J. Shuler, Corresponding Secretary.
12. Mrs. T. T. Cotham, Director.
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14. Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, Director.
15. Mrs. Nonie B. Mahoney, Director.
16. Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore, Director.
17. Dr. Mary Safford, Director.
18. Mrs. Charles H. Brooks, Director.



Women of the St. Louis Equal Suffrage League

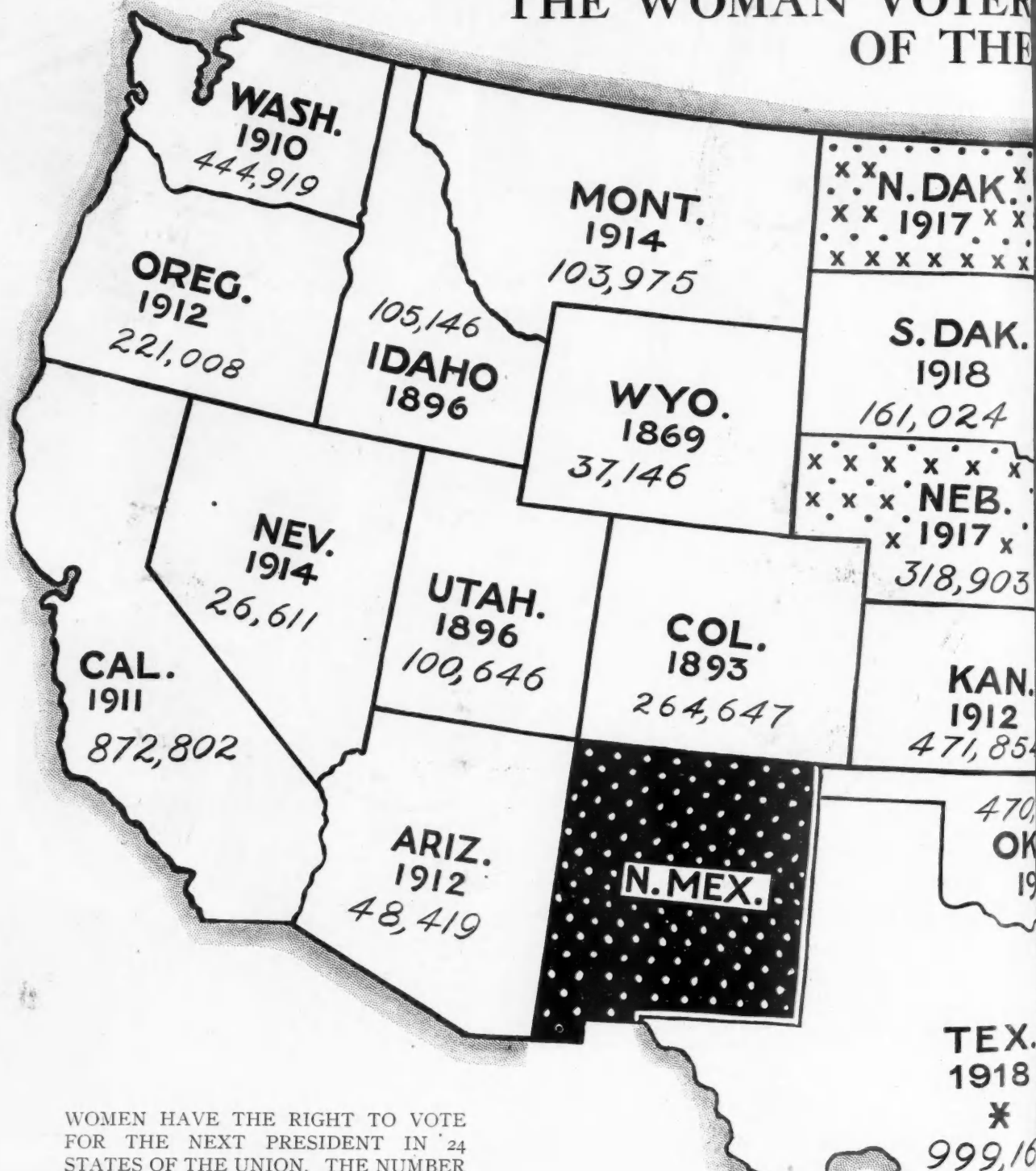
One of the Most Famous Local Leagues of the Middle West and
Hostess League for the Jubilee Convention

1. Mrs. George A. Gellhorn, President and General Chairman of the St. Louis Committee for the Jubilee Convention. During the war Mrs. Gellhorn was Chairman of the Woman's Central Committee on Food Conservation and Director of State and City Relations of the Federal Food Administration for St. Louis.
2. Mrs. Frank P. Crunden, Former President of the League.
3. Mrs. J. Dwight Dana, Chairman of the Hospitality Committee for the Jubilee Convention.
4. Mrs. Ernst W. Stix, Chairman of Finance Committee for the Jubilee Convention.
5. Mrs. David O'Neil, Chairman of the Hospitality Committee for the National Board during the Convention, First Vice-President State Suffrage Association, Chairman of the Legislative Committee and Member from Missouri Women's Committee of the National Democratic Committee.
6. Mrs. Hugh Allen Moore, President of the Business Women's League and active in preparations for the Convention.
7. Mrs. Wm. Haight, Corresponding Secretary Missouri Equal Suffrage Association and Chairman of the Bureau of Information at the Union Station for the Jubilee Convention.
8. Mrs. William C. Fordyce, Former President of the League and a third generation suffragist.
9. Mrs. Fred L. English, Treasurer of the St. Louis League.
10. Mrs. Frederick Taussig, Treasurer Missouri Equal Suffrage Association and member of the Executive Committee of the St. Louis League.
11. Mrs. Florence Wyman Richardson, First President of the St. Louis League.
12. Mrs. A. E. Reton, Chairman of the Committee on Halls and Arrangements for the Jubilee Convention and President of the Eighth District Federated Clubs.
13. Mrs. Eugene T. Senseney, Director of Community Kitchens for the National Food Administration and Former Director of Educational and Community Service for the Food Administration.

(Photographs, 1, 2, 7 by T. Kajiwara; 6, 8, 12 by Gerhard Sisters; 5 by Kandler.)



THE WOMAN VOTER OF THE U



WOMEN HAVE THE RIGHT TO VOTE FOR THE NEXT PRESIDENT IN 24 STATES OF THE UNION. THE NUMBER OF WOMEN OVER VOTING AGE IN THESE STATES IS 12,500,000. COUNT 'EM!

SCHOOL BOND or TAX
Eleven States

FULL SUFFRAGE

Fifteen States

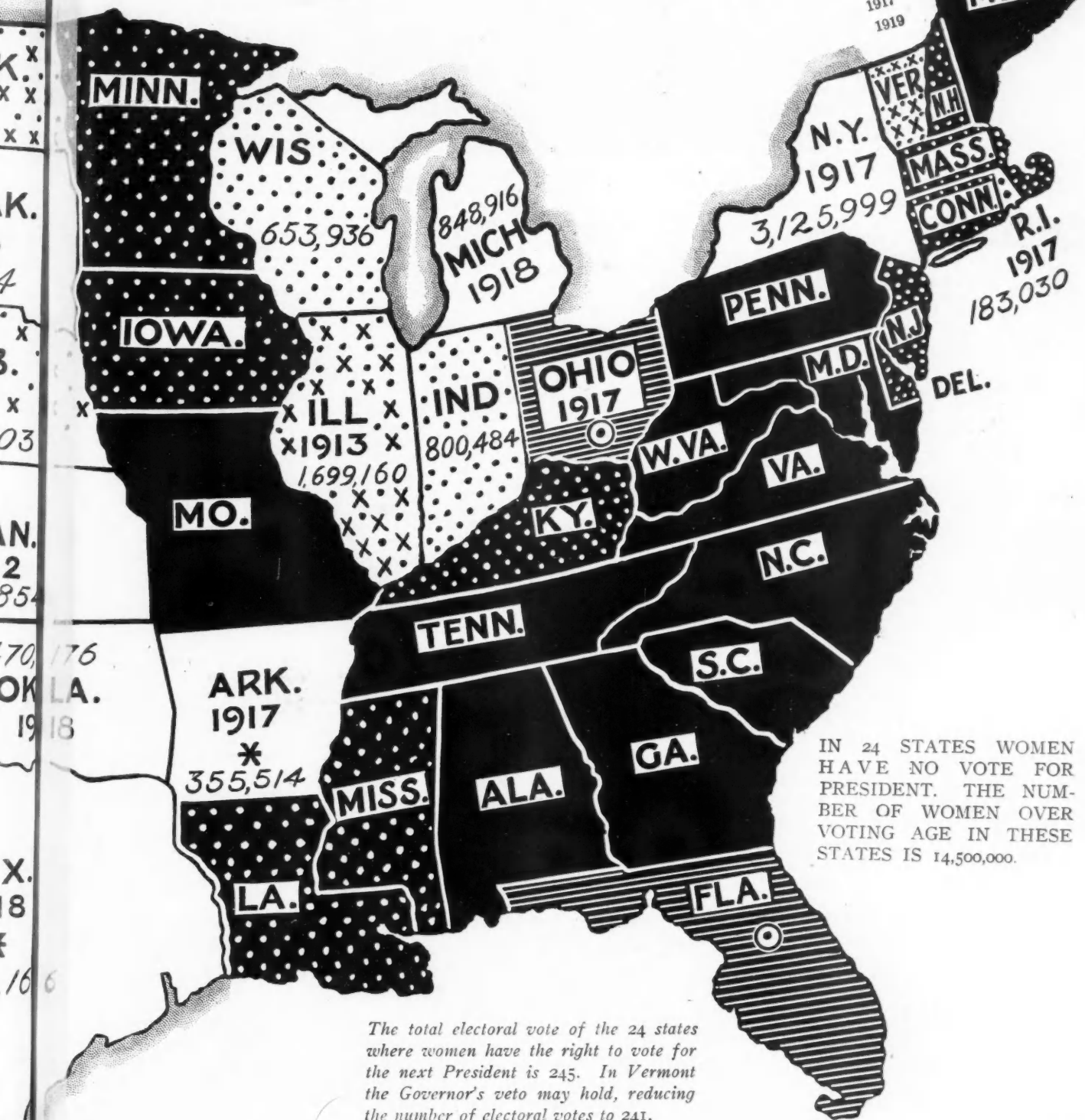
PRIMARY SUFFRAGE

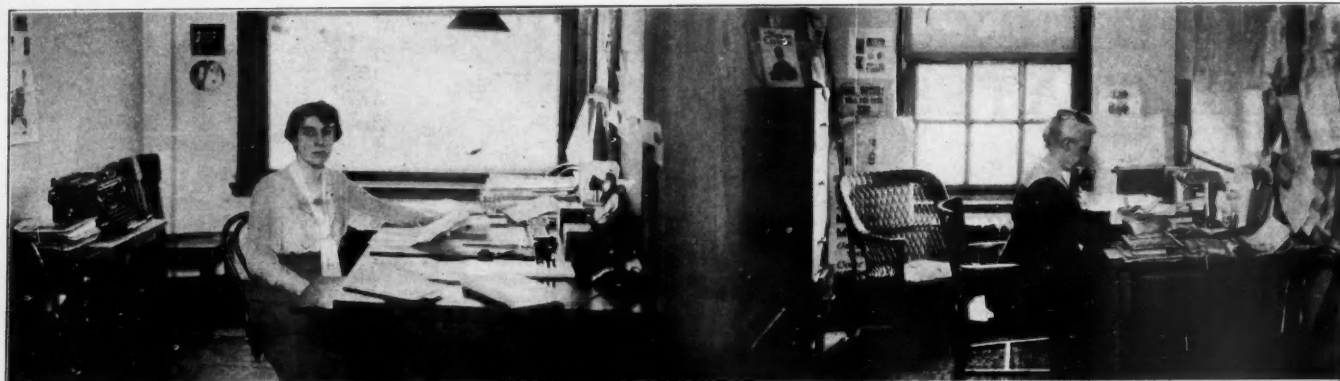
Two States

PRESIDENTIAL SUFFRAGE

Three States

AND THE NEXT PRESIDENT THE UNITED STATES





ROSE LAWLESS GEYER, CHAIRMAN OF THE DEPARTMENT OF FIELD PRESS AND ASSOCIATE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN

MARY OGDEN WHITE, CHAIRMAN OF THE FEATURE DEPARTMENT, ASSOCIATE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN



"C. C. C."

A Rather Popular Contributor to the *Woman Citizen*

THE LESLIE
BUREAU
of
SUFFRAGE
EDUCATION

THE BIGGEST
BUREAU
of
SUFFRAGE
PROPAGANDA
in the
WORLD

WHEN Mrs. Frank Leslie died a few years ago she left the bulk of her fortune to Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt to be used for the advancement of the suffrage cause.

Mrs. Catt, who has an abiding faith that the only reason anybody opposes woman suffrage is because of ignorance of its fundamental significance, decided that the most effective way to advance the suffrage cause was through the further education of the American public on the subject of suffrage.

Her next step was to form the Leslie Woman Suffrage Com-

mission, the members of which were to serve with her in the supervision of the expenditure of the Leslie fund. On the commission are such well-known women as Mrs. Raymond Robins, president of the National Women's Trade Union League; Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker, former president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs; Miss Mary Garrett Hay, chairman of the Woman Suffrage Party of New York City; Mrs. Arthur Livermore, and Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells.

Next, Mrs. Catt turned over the organization of her idea of educating the public in suffrage to Rose Young, who put it into practical form by organizing the Leslie Bureau of Suffrage Education.

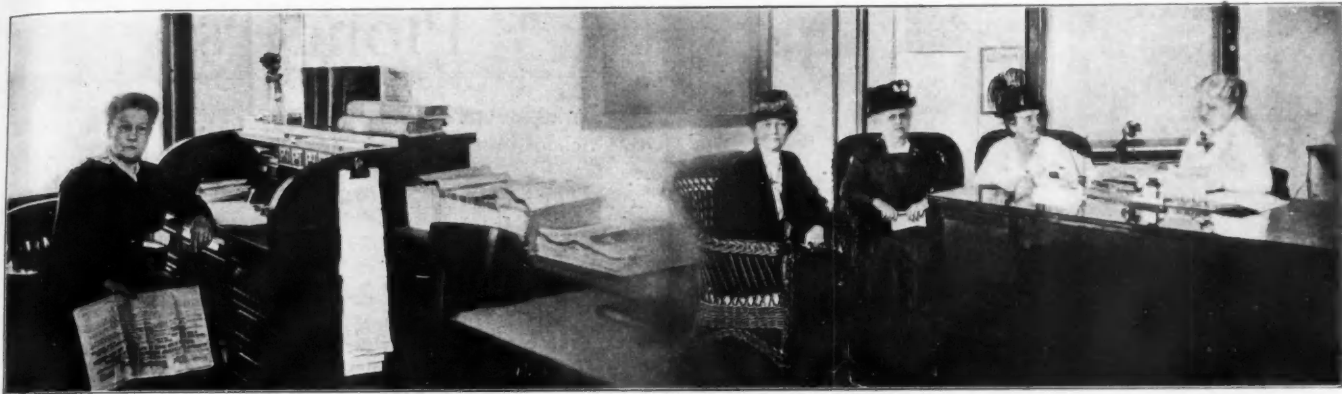
Through its various news, feature, and educational services, this Bureau feeds to the press of the country the great volume of suffrage material that appears in the newspapers and magazines. It has a daily news service that serves



ROSE YOUNG
Director of the Bureau, Editor-in-Chief of the *Woman Citizen*



BUSINESS OFFICES OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN



MRS. IDA HUSTED HARPER, CHAIRMAN OF THE DEPARTMENT OF EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

SOME MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION—RIGHT TO LEFT: MRS. CATT, MRS. ROBINS, MISS HAY, MRS. LIVERMORE

big dailies with current suffrage news. It has a suffrage feature service to which newspapers and magazines can revert when in need of special articles, pictures, cartoons, etc., on suffrage. It supplies a plate service that furnishes several thousand weekly

newspapers over the country with suffrage matter. It has a research department for the benefit of those seeking suffrage statistics, bibliography, history and argument. It provides a gigantic press table around which sit press chairmen from every state in the Union drilling in the work of strengthening and intensifying press interest in suffrage, each in her separate state. It holds in one group a picked list of women distinguished by fertility of resource whose concern it is to devise legitimate publicity plans for the good of the cause. It maintains a highly specialized and departmentalized staff of editors. It acts as press and publicity agent for the Na-



MARY SUMNER BOYD
Head of Research Department, Associate Editor of the *Woman Citizen*

ALICE STONE
BLACKWELL
LONG-TIME
EDITOR
of the
WOMAN'S
JOURNAL
and
CONTRIBUTING
EDITOR
to the
WOMAN
CITIZEN



"A. S. B."

tional American Woman Suffrage Association, conducting for it its varied press activities. Its stories are fed out to news and feature agencies whose aggregate circulations total 10,000,000, and even 20,000,000, combining, as they do, the great syndicate circulations and such far-reaching news agencies as the Associated Press and the United Press.

And, finally, the Bureau edits and publishes the *Woman Citizen*, the national political weekly for women, which serves as the official organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and is by far the most comprehensive effort in journalism

(Continued on page 898)



CLERICAL OFFICES OF LESLIE SUFFRAGE BUREAU

OFFICE OF MISS NEWELL, SECRETARY TO THE COMMISSION



LUCY STONE

LUCRETIA MOTT

ANTOINETTE BROWN
BLACKWELL

JULIA WARD HOWE

WHAT thirty-three Senators of the 65th Congress forgot—if they ever knew it—was that the progress of woman's freedom has been a part of the American struggle for human freedom for one hundred and fifty years—and that every person, man or woman, who has ever entered the fight to gain votes for women has entered it as a necessary part of the greater fight for human freedom and the right of self-government.

Listen, you who do not know your American history! It was Mercy Otis Warren who, counseling American independence to John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, was the first person to base the struggle of the Colonies on "inherent rights," a phrase men have since used to keep women out of politics. She fought for human rights, believing that "human" meant men and women.

Fifty years later a woman, Ernestine L. Rose, banished from Poland by one of those Austrian Hapsburgs who almost split the world in two in 1914 because they had even then learned nothing about human rights, came to America to seek liberty and lectured on the science of government. She wanted freedom—the same kind Paderewski is working for today. She found that American women had no liberty. They could not dispose of their own property, could not own their earnings, could not make a will.

Ernestine Rose and Paulina Wright, and, more than all others, Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the first president of the National Woman Suffrage Association, worked for years to get decent property rights for American women. They were responsible for the passage of the New York state bill of 1848, which, as a legal authority has just pointed out, is the most comprehensive law for the civil freedom of women which has ever come before any state and that upon which rests the advance of women's economic liberty in all other states.

Every woman in the United States, anti-suffragist or suffragist, who has now obtained some degree of control over her own property and earnings, has therefore something to thank Mrs. Stanton for.

It was Abigail Smith Adams, wife of John, who protested against forming a new government in which women should be unrecognized. She wanted progress for mothers. "If," said she, "we mean to have heroes, statesmen and philosophers, we should have learned women." "Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of husbands," she wrote to her husband, then in the Continental Congress. She was fighting for an educated motherhood and an intelligent race. She knew there could be no such thing with a one-sex political power.

She was one of the first who sought knowledge for women, but she had a long line of successors. All of them found that because they had no political or civil existence men were all for denying them a mental existence.

The world found it so funny that women should study higher

mathematics in Emma Willard's School in 1829 that they thought it was like "trying to make a dog walk on its hind legs."

Elizabeth Blackwell gave the first medical botany to the world in 1836, but the males of the medical species persecuted her into jail for debt.

Susan B. Anthony, the second president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, started out to be a school teacher. She was paid one-quarter as much as a male and for a better grade of

work than most males. She was derided as a disgrace to her sex because she dared to speak on the floor of a Rochester Teachers' Convention in 1853.

"Do you not see," said she to the men of that convention, "that so long as society says woman has not brains enough to be a doctor, lawyer or minister, but has plenty to be a teacher, every man of you who condescends to teach tacitly admits before all Israel and the sun that he has no more brains than a woman?"

Susan B. Anthony was almost the first New York state woman to work for the industrial rights of her sex, and to gain these rights she saw they must have the ballot.

Antoinette Brown Blackwell wanted an open door for women in the ministry.

Florence Nightingale and Clara Barton had to struggle against public opinion to gain a woman's right to serve the world.

Hanna Lee Corbin and Lucy Stone were suffragists because of the great principle of no taxation without representation, a doctrine of human freedom upon which America is founded.

Pioneers,

Kindly note the difference between the faces of suffragists—



—From the *Republican Register*,
Galesburg, Ill.



MEDALLION
OF
SUSAN B.
ANTHONY
IN
BRYN MAWR
COLLEGE
—
BUST
OF
MISS ANTHONY
IN
METROPOLITAN
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1848

O Pioneers!

And the minds of the artists who caricature them—



—From the Saturday Evening Post

WHO called the first National Suffrage Convention?

It called itself. The spirit of democracy moved above the waters and an urge for human justice brought it forth. Behind it there was no national woman suffrage organization; there were only impassioned women. The convention took place on the 19th and 20th of January, 1869, in Washington, D. C., and it was the result of a trumpet call from a few women to all those who loved liberty. It urged them to rally to the aid of the womanhood of the nation.

The call was stern and simple, and it read:

"A National Woman's Suffrage Convention will be held in Carroll Hall, Washington, D. C., on the 19th and 20th of January, 1869. All associations friendly to Woman's Rights are invited to send delegates from every state. Friends of the cause are invited to attend and take part in the discussions."

The first convention came to pass when women, who had twenty years earlier read the declaration of rights in Seneca Falls, N. Y., saw the word "male" written into the Constitution of the United States with the Fourteenth Amendment. This was the first time that man's opposition to woman's franchise was written into the basic law and was crystallized into official sex discrimination. Up to that time men like Richard Henry Lee of Virginia and Charles Sumner of Massachusetts had contended that the Constitution itself provided for the enfranchisement of women.

The Fourteenth Amendment opened the eyes of Susan B. Anthony and her followers. "They learned by its enact-

THIS TABLET MARKS the SITE where the FIRST WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION WAS HELD in SENECA FALLS, N. Y.,



JULY 19-20, 1848



FRANCES WRIGHT

M. C. WRIGHT

MRS. STANTON

ment that the Federal Constitution could be so amended as to enfranchise a million men who but yesterday were plantation slaves. Here then was the power which must be invoked for the enfranchisement of women."

At this convention there were representatives from twenty states.

"Mrs. Lucretia Mott (then 76 years old) was chosen president, resolutions were reported, and everything was in fine working order (except the furnace)," reported Susan B. Anthony's paper, *The Revolution*. "As to numbers in attendance, from Maine, California and all the way between, it is sufficient to say that although the first session was most encouragingly large, there was a constant increase till the last evening, when the spacious hall was crowded in every part, until entrance was absolutely impossible long before people ceased coming."

Among the delegates were Mrs. Frances Minor, president of the Woman Suffrage Association of Missouri, the hostess association for the Jubilee Convention of March 24-29, 1919.

Among the women who sat on the platform were Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Clara Barton, and Mrs. Wright of Auburn.

"Indeed it seems to me," wrote Grace Greenwood in the *Philadelphia Press*, "that while Lucretia Mott may be said to be the soul of this movement, and Mrs. Stanton the mind, the 'swift, keen intelligence,' Miss Anthony, alert, aggressive and indefatigable, is its nervous energy—its propulsive force. To see the chief figures of this great movement of Woman's Rights sitting upon a stage in joint council—like the Paræ of a new dispensation—dignity and the ever acceptable grace of scholarly earnestness, intelligence and beneficence making them prominent, is assurance that the women of our country have advocates equal to the great demands of their cause."

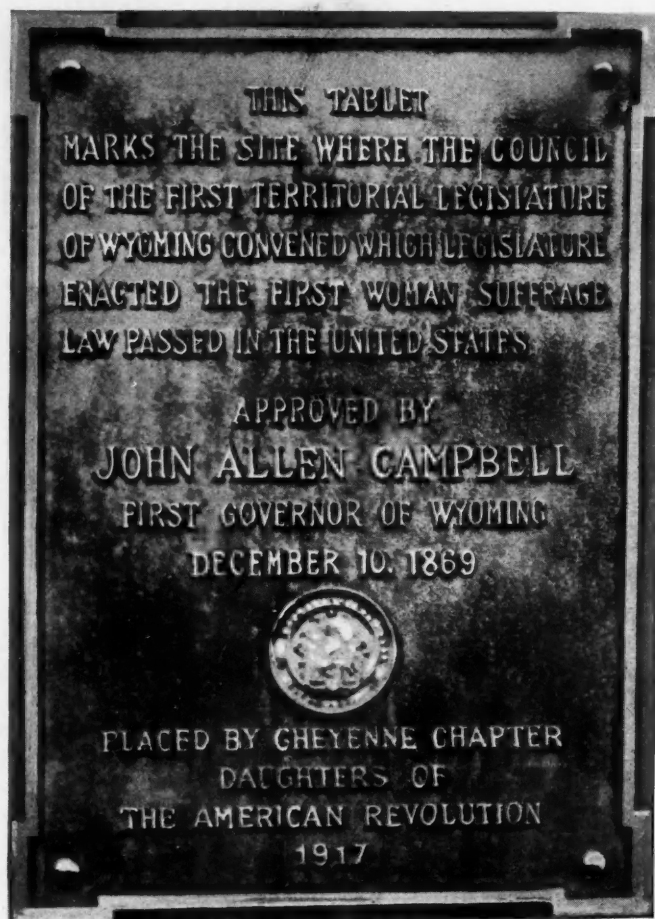
[It is a regret to us and a loss to our readers that we are not able to present here pictures of the other equally notable women who were pioneers in the dramatic early days of the suffrage movement. Their wit, their grace, their beauty irradiate the pages of early suffrage history as those presented here irradiate these pages. Before them one and all we bow in admiration and reverence.—Ed.]



LILLIE D. BLAKE



—From the Toledo Blade.



ONE of the points about the winning of Wyoming that strikes the reader of old suffrage history fair in the face is the fact that the political program by which the enfranchisement of Wyoming women was affected was projected by men, not women. It might almost be said to have been projected by one man, William H. Bright, though to be sure, the "indirect influence" of woman was behind it.

Mr. Bright was at the time a member of the Council in the Wyoming Legislature. Wyoming at the time was only a territory. By way of parenthesis, Mrs. Bright was very much of a woman. Mr. Bright, a man of natural capacity, had not had the



MRS.
ESTHER
MORRIS
FIRST
WOMAN J. P.
A LEADER
in the
WOMAN
SUFFRAGE
STRUGGLE

The Winning

benefits of education which his wife had had, and he seems to have paused in the day's work to remark to her, now and then, "Betsy, it's a great shame that I should be sitting in the Legislature of Wyoming instead of you."

SO strongly did he become impressed with the fundamental injustice of an arrangement which gave him not only the privilege of voting, but eligibility to the offices of the state, to the exclusion of his wife, that he finally worked out a plan whereby he hoped to overcome the inequalities that were troubling him. He was, apparently, shrewd enough to know that he was not shrewd enough to draft a bill that would withstand the opposition it was sure to encounter, so he went to a lawyer friend and got him to draw up the bill. Immediately he became the bill's sponsor. In his way of nursing it, he seems to have been not unlike politicians of a later day. For instance, he went to the Democrats and called their attention to the fact that as the Governor of Wyoming, a Republican, would certainly veto the bill, it would be just as well for the Democrats to have the credit of sponsoring what would be considered a liberal measure. Then he went to the Republicans and stressed the Democratic opposition that he had met and threw the high light upon the advantage it would be to the Republican party to have the credit for furthering this liberal measure which the Democrats would inevitably defeat.

So convinced were the politicians on each side that their confrères on the other side were going to vote in the negative that Republicans and Democrats lined up in a strong affirmation of the measure—much to the astonishment and consternation of most of those concerned. However, those who had given only a lip service to the suffrage bill contented themselves with the thought that the Republican Governor, Campbell, who had not favored the bill, would certainly veto it.

Now, it so happened that Governor Campbell was a man with a sense of justice that was definitely affected by the consideration that he gave to the bill. The more he studied the situation, the more he became convinced of the justice of the measure. Presently his signature was affixed and woman suffrage became law in Wyoming.

IT should be said here that the thoughtful men of the territory had been appalled by the evidence of political corruption at the polls in the election preceding the grant of woman suffrage. The election was held in September and redounded to the great hurt of the territory. Particularly did it hurt the minds and consciences of the men who had the territory's best interests at heart, and such bona fide support as the measure obtained seems to have been due



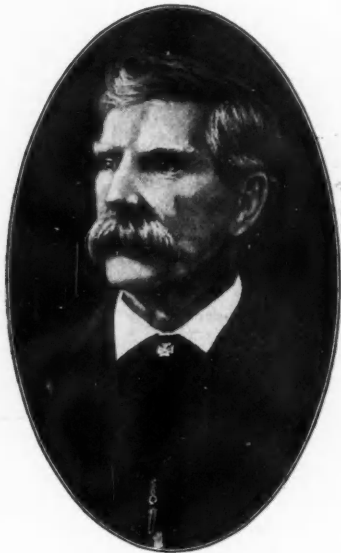
GOV. JNO. A. CAMPBELL

of Wyoming

to the hope and belief of Wyoming men that Wyoming women could help rescue the territory from the lawlessness—no worse in Wyoming, mind you, than in any other young border country—that attended all honest efforts to place the territory on a sound social and political basis.

"Come over into the polls of Macedonia and help us," was the men's cry. And the women came.

The same cry went up again by and by when the men wanted the women to serve on juries. Led by Chief Justice Howe and Associate-Justice Kinsman, the men who had the territory's larger interests at heart begged the women to lend their counsel in jury service and promised that every courtesy and protection should be extended to all women who would rally to the need of the hour. And the women served on the juries and have continued to serve on Wyoming juries from that day to this.



COL. WM. H. BRIGHT

"DR. GRACE RAYMOND HEBARD, of Laramie, supplies the following interesting story of the beginning of Wyoming women's jury service:

"The better element of the community, alarmed at the character of the mass of depraved humanity and desperate characters that had flocked to Laramie in actual hordes, determined to put down the anarchy that ran riot, to punish the murderers and robbers and protect the lives and property of innocent, law-abiding citizens.

"This condition of affairs rather forced the issue of having women serve on the jury. At that time names of the jurors were not drawn,

but the Sheriff of the county summoned in person the members for both juries. When the Grand Jury was empanelled, in March, 1870, for the regular term of court of the First Judicial District of Wyoming, it brought in indictments to be tried in the first court to be held under the jurisdiction of Wyoming Territory to be presided over by Hon. John H. Howe, with N. K. Boswell as Sheriff and L. D. Pease as Deputy Clerk.

"Among other names for this Grand Jury appeared those of several women, Miss Eliza Stewart (a school teacher), Mrs. Amelia Hatcher (a widow), Mrs. G. F. Hilton (wife of a physician), Mrs. Mary Mackel (wife of one of the clerks at Fort Sanders), Mrs. Agnes Baker (wife of a merchant), and Mrs. Sarah W. Pease (wife of the Deputy Clerk of the Court), the first women to be summoned to serve on a common law jury anywhere recorded in any part of the world. When this jury had been empanelled, sworn and charged, the excitement in Laramie was intense and the material facts, together with the judge's charge, were telegraphed all over the world by the Associated Press reporters, who watched every step of the novel scene with intense interest.



"GRANDMA" LOUISA GARDNER SWAIN, FIRST WOMAN IN THE WORLD TO REACH THE POLLS

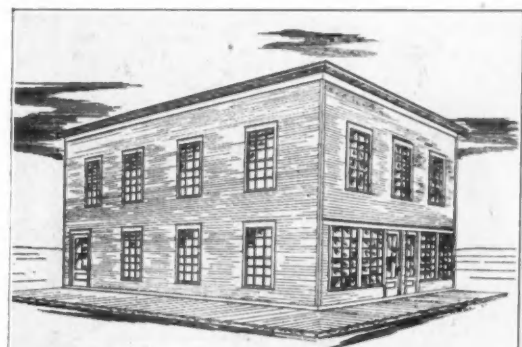
"Sheriff Boswell served the notice for Grand Jury service upon Miss Eliza Stewart, who was the first school teacher in Laramie, saying to her at that time, 'Miss Stewart, you have the honor of being the first woman ever called upon to serve on a court jury.'

"When court convened for the first time in criminal court history the following words were spoken, ringing in the ears of the assembly which packed the temporary court house; 'Ladies and Gentlemen of the Grand Jury.'

"Among other things that Justice Howe told the women of the jury was that the eyes of the world were upon them as pioneers serving in a movement that was to test the power of being able to protect and defend themselves from the evils of which women

(Continued on page 899)

LITTLE
and
BLEAK
and
BARE
but
HONORED
among
BUILD-
INGS.



BUILDING AT CHEYENNE, WYOMING, WHERE THE FIRST TERRITORIAL COUNCIL OF THE LEGISLATURE MET, AND WHERE WAS INTRODUCED THE BILL WHICH GAVE WOMEN THE RIGHT OF SUFFRAGE

From a sketch made by Governor Carey

THE WOMEN WHO HEAD THE 47 STATE-WIDE ASSOCIATIONS WHICH TO THE

1. Oregon	Mrs. Kelley Rees
2. Utah	Mrs. Emily C. Richards
3. Colorado	Mrs. Harriet G. R. Wright
4. Colorado	Mrs. Katherine T. Hosmer
5. Indiana	Mrs. Richard E. Edwards
6. Ohio	Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton
7. Michigan	Mrs. Percy J. Farrell
8. Pennsylvania	Mrs. John O. Miller
9. New York	Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw
10. West Virginia	Mrs. John L. Rubl
11. New Jersey	Mrs. E. F. Felckert
12. Delaware	Mrs. Albert Robin
13. Vermont	Mrs. A. L. Bailey
14. New Hamp.	Miss Martha S. Kimball
15. Connecticut	Miss Katherine Ludington
16. Massachusetts	Miss Alice Stone Blackwell
17. Maine	Miss Mabel Connor
18. Rhode Island	Miss Mary B. Anthony
19. Rhode Island	Mrs. Sara M. Algeo
20. Missouri	Mrs. Walter McNab Miller
21. North Dakota	Mrs. Robert Clendenning
22. Minnesota	Mrs. Andreas Ueland
23. Wisconsin	Mrs. Henry Youmans
24. Illinois	Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout

THE NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION was born of that universal upheaval for human liberty which rocked Europe and America in the middle of the last century.

Its present organization is just fifty years old, having been begun in 1869 for the purpose of furthering the Federal Suffrage Amendment by orderly political methods.

It is and always has been strictly non-partisan—perhaps pan-partisan is the better term, since its adherents have belonged to all the large political bodies of the country.

It is American in spirit and in fact, as its name implies. It has been for a half century a contributory stream to the swelling tide of American democracy. While as an organization its platform has had but one plank—votes for women—it has, through its important membership, been allied with every advance in human freedom.



- | | |
|------------------|--------------------------------|
| 25. Illinois | Mrs. R. D. Cunningham |
| 26. Illinois | Mrs. Catharine Vaugh McCulloch |
| 27. Nebraska | Mrs. W. E. Barkley |
| 28. South Dakota | Mrs. John Pyle |
| 29. Kansas | Mrs. Charles H. Brooks |
| 30. Iowa | Miss Anna B. Lawther |
| 31. Illinois | Mrs. Jacob Baur |
| 32. Texas | Mrs. B. J. Cunningham |
| 33. Mississippi | Mrs. B. H. Trotter |
| 34. Georgia | Mrs. Emily McDougald |
| 35. Alabama | Mrs. Solon Jacobs |
| 36. Louisiana | Mrs. Lydia Wickliffe Holmes |
| 37. Oklahoma | Miss Katherine Pierce |
| 38. Georgia | Mrs. Mary L. McLendon |
| 39. Arkansas | Mrs. T. T. Cotnam |
| 40. Tennessee | Mrs. Leslie Warner |
| 41. Kentucky | Mrs. John G. South |
| 42. Virginia | Mrs. B. B. Valentine |
| 43. North Caro. | Miss Gertrude Well |
| 44. Maryland | Mrs. J. Ross-Thomson |
| 45. Wash., D. C. | Miss Mary O'Toole |
| 46. South Caro. | Mrs. Julian B. Salley |
| 47. Florida | Rev. Mary A. Safford |

ONLY four women have served in its presidential chair.

Its first president was Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who served from 1869 to 1892, and its second, Susan B. Anthony, who served from 1892 to 1900. Miss Anthony was succeeded by Mrs. Catt, who served from 1900 to 1904. She was succeeded by Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, who served from 1904 to 1915, when Mrs. Catt was again made president.

The National American Woman Suffrage Association has a closely knit organization. Its structure is that of the federation of states. It is made up of various state branches with freedom of action but with representatives in a national governing body. Its membership is easily computable, being about 2,500,000 throughout the country. It is also an Auxiliary to the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, organized in 1904.

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ROSHANARA CREPE—A heavy, crinkly crepe for every tailored purpose.

RUFF-A-NUFF—A distinctive out-dooring silk.
(All Trade Mark Names). Look for the name on the selvage.

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NEW YORK

Fashionable Moments

WHEN
FLORA
McFLIMSEY
LOOKED
in the
FACE of
SUSAN B.
ANTHONY
and did
NOT TURN
TO STONE

"THE ennui and utter vacuity of a life of mere pleasure is fast urging fashionable women to something better, and, when they do awake to the magnitude and far-reaching consequences of woman's enfranchisement, they will be the most enthusiastic workers for its accomplishment."

This was not said in 1919 just after the world war. It was said fifty years ago just after the Civil War, and by Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

It seems that the suffrage cause always has been recruiting itself from among the gay world, and that gray-clad Quaker ladies with hearts aflame for justice, or stern-faced women fighting their way into professional and legal and human rights were not its only champions by any means.

National suffrage lived, moved and had its being in conventions during the mid-Victorian days of its career. Conventions were the only chance of publicity in those days. They were to 1869 and 1870 what parades were to 1912 and 1913. And no one got ahead of Aunt Susan on long-headed projects for the advancement of woman's rights. She nightly pitched her moving tent a day's march nearer wherever she wanted to be. If she wanted to gain the ear of a political convention, she moved the suffrage cause to its doors.

On July 16, 1869, the brand new National Woman Suffrage Assn. moved on Saratoga with "back-bows and loops a-flying."

"THAT a woman suffrage convention should have been allowed to organize in the parlors of Congress Hall, that those parlors should have been filled to their utmost capacity by the habitual guests of the place, that such men as Millard Fillmore and Thurlow Weed should have been interested lookers-on, are significant facts," wrote Celia Burleigh gaily. "Flora McFlimsey," she added, "has looked in the face of Miss Anthony and has not turned to stone. More than that, finding the convention pouring into the parlors of Congress Hall, and escape actually cut off, Flora, after deliberating whether to faint and be carried out, or gratify her curiosity by looking on, finally submitted gracefully and did the latter.

"From her crimson cushioned arm-chair by the window she saw the meeting called to order, saw one after another of 'those horrid women, whose names are in the newspapers' quietly taking their places, doing the thing proper to be done. Really they were not so dreadful after all. They neither wore beards nor pantaloons. On the contrary they seemed to be decidedly appreciative of 'good clothes' and if less familiar with the goddess of fashion than Miss Flora, if they did not walk arm-in-arm with her, they at least followed at no great distance and were, to a woman, finished off with the regulation back-bow of loops and ends. Spite of herself Miss McFlimsey became interested."

Having conquered Miss McFlimsey in Saratoga Springs, Miss Anthony reached out her lace-mitted hand for Newport. Putting

WHEN
SUFFRAGE
HEAD-
QUARTERS
WERE
in
SHERRY'S
RESTAU-
RANT

in Suffrage Work

her suffrage paraphernalia in her reticule, she quietly marshalled her hosts to storm the very glass of fashion.

"Susan B. Anthony, having decided that neither age, color, sex nor previous condition should shield anyone from this agitation—that neither the frosts of winter nor the heats of summer could afford its champions any excuse for halting on the way, our forces were commanded to be in marching order on the 25th of August to besiege the butterflies of fashion at Newport," read Elizabeth Cady Stanton's merry letter to the *Revolution*. This was one month later, August 25, 26, 1869. "Having gleefully chased butterflies in our young days on our way to school, we thought it might be well to chase them in our old age on the way to heaven. So, obeying orders, we sailed across the Sound one bright moonlight night with a gay party of the disfranchised, and found ourselves quartered on the enemy next morning as the sun rose in all its resplendent glory.

"Although trunk after trunk—not of gossamers, laces and flowers, but of suffrage ammunition, speeches, resolutions, petitions, tracts, John Stuart Mill's last work and folios of the *Revolution*—had been slowly carried up the winding stairs of the Atlantic, the brave men and fair women, who had tripped the light fantastic toe until the midnight hours, slept heedlessly on, wholly unaware that twelve apartments were already filled with invaders of the strong-minded editors, reporters, and the Hutchinson family to the third and fourth generation.

"THE speakers were Paulina Wright Davis, Isabella Beecher Hooker, Theodore Tilton, Francis B. Moulton, Rev. Phebe Hanaford, Lillie Devereaux Blake, Elizabeth R. Churchill, Hon. Mr. Stillman and the editor and proprietor of the *Revolution* (Susan B. Anthony).

"The audience throughout the sittings of the convention was large, fashionable and as enthusiastic as the state of the weather would permit.

"From the numbers of the *Revolution* and John Stuart Mill's new work sold at the door, it is evident that much interest was roused on the question. We can truly say that we never received a more quiet and respectful hearing, and from many private conversations with ladies and gentlemen of influence, we feel assured that we have done much by our gatherings in Saratoga and Newport to awaken thought among a new class.

Thus the National Woman Suffrage Association came to being in a world of fashion.

Promptly it was housed in the Woman's Bureau which occupied quite an elegant set of apartments at 49 East 23rd Street. This bureau's existence was due to Mrs. Elizabeth B. Phelps, whose intention it was to make of the bureau a permanent home for freedom-loving interests; but not enough persons of wealth were like-minded. So it served its day and passed on.

There were times in those early days when the "first lady of the land" was present at suffrage gatherings, although some

(Continued on page 900)

WHEN
ELIZABETH
CADY
STANTON
CHASED
BUTTERFLIES
of
FASHION
with JOHN
STUART MILL'S
"SUBJECTION
of WOMEN."

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You Never Pay More at Best's

Suffrage Victory—1919

*AND when men ask who won—say, God.
The Spirit of the Summit leaps to meet
the dawn,
And earth-ghosts crawl to caves.*

*Behind—the shadowy line of women who have
gone,
Before—the shadow-children hold their baby
arms to us;
And we, whose pulses beat with patience that
the past has taught,
Whose love goes out to all the warring world—
Seeing fierce fires of passion flare, and fling
their shadows across heaven,
Have fixed our eyes upon the phantom hills.
We know that love, belief, persistence and un-
flagging toil
Here find this last full measure of eternal
right—
And when men ask who won—say, God.
Alice B. Curtis.*

Bureau of Propaganda

(Continued from page 889)

ever essayed by suffragists. In launching the *Woman Citizen* in 1917, the Bureau merged the *Woman's Journal*, the *Woman Voter*, and the *National Suffrage News*, so that the *Woman Citizen* stands today as the authoritative voice in suffrage journalism. It carries on the propaganda program begun so valiantly in the early days of suffrage journalism by the Revolution, Miss Anthony's weekly, and the *Woman's Journal*, Lucy Stone's weekly. It has, moreover extended its sphere to cover every phase of feminism.

IN organizing and departmentalizing the Bureau, Miss Young assigned to each department a special chairman into whose charge was committed a special detail of the Bureau work. As organized, the six departments included the Department of Editorial Correspondence, with Mrs. Ida Husted Harper,* the incomparable historian of suffrage, as chairman; the Feature Department, with Miss Mary Ogden White, as chairman; the Department of Field Press, Mrs. Rose Lawless Geyer, chairman; the Research Department, Mrs. Mary Sumner Boyd, chairman; and the News Department, of which Miss Marjorie Shuler, is chairman.

In addition there is the Magazine, or *Woman Citizen* Department, with Mrs. Catt and Alice Stone Blackwell as contributing editors, Miss Young as editor-in-chief, and Mrs. Boyd, Miss White, Mrs. Geyer and Miss Shuler as associate editors.

It takes an entire floor of the big building at 171 Madison Avenue, New York, to house the activities of the Bureau.

* In 1919 Mrs. Harper was relieved of department work in order to write the fifth volume of the *History of Woman Suffrage*.

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Charming New Negligées

INDISPENSABLE to the Spring and Summer wardrobe of dainty Negligées are the charming new McCutcheon Robes and Gowns.

Filmy Chiffon and softly draped Crepe de Chine have lent to these Robes their usual charm and undeniable distinction.

They are up-to-the-minute in style and outstandingly moderate in price.

Breakfast Coat (illustrated) new model made of Radium Silk; colors: Rose, Orchid, Turquoise, \$11.95.

New and smart styles in Crepe de Chine, Chiffon, Satin, Tailored and Lace-trimmed, \$11.50 to 45.00. *Pullman Robes* made of heavy Silk and Satin, \$18.50 to 28.50.

Dainty Dressing Sacques of Albatross, Silk-lined, Crepe de Chine, Chiffon, \$5.75 to 22.50.



Breakfast Coat
\$11.95
(See text)

Silk Petticoats

Silk Skirts of Messaline, Taffeta and Silk Jersey in all the leading colors for Spring, \$3.95 to 18.50.

White Tub Silk Skirts, paneled front and back, \$3.95 to 6.75.

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Arm Chair . . . regularly 79.50, 54.50 Table regularly 50.00, 39.50

Bookcase regularly 57.50, 49.50

James McCreery & Co.

5th Avenue

34th Street

The Winning of Wyoming

(Continued from page 893)

were victims. He further assured them that there was no impropriety in women serving as jurors and that he would see that they received the fullest protection of his court; 'you shall not be driven by the sneers, jeers and insults of a laughing crowd from the temple of justice, as your sisters have from some of the medical colleges of the land. The strong hand of the law shall protect you.' 'It will be a sorry day for any man who shall so far forget the courtesies due and paid by American gentlemen to every American lady as to even by word or act endeavor to deter you from the exercise of those rights with which the law has invested you.'

Wyoming has given unqualified endorsement to woman suffrage throughout the fifty years of its experience with it. There was an effort to repeal it by the incoming Legislature of 1871, but Governor Campbell, in one of the finest and most famous veto messages ever penned, put a quietus on the effort. When statehood swung in the balance on the issue, in 1890, Wyoming men sent word to Washington that they would stay out a hundred years rather than come in without their women. They figured that it ought not to take more than a hundred years for the rest of the country to catch up. It was a good liberal margin. It's fifty years since Wyoming was won and in exactly half of the states of the Union the women over 21 stand today empowered to vote for the next president.

Wyoming had her legislative stage all set this winter to ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment within one hour of the receipt of news of its passage; but, dead-weighted with its Borahs and Wadsworths and Solid Southerners, the United States Senate had not at the moment caught up with Wyoming.

At the London Review

"WOMEN-taught" — the poet made comment

*As down the line his earnest gaze was bent
 Upon the boyish faces, all intent
 Upon the task for which they had been sent,
 Amid our cheers and tears, across the sea,
 To make the world a safer place to be.*

*"Women-taught" the virile poet said,
 And at his words the monarch bared his head,
 As passed the Yankee lads with measured tread*

*For in their faces, too, the king had read
 Their clean, young hearts, their boyish purity,
 And honored thus their teachers o'er the sea.*

"Women-taught" to know Democracy,

"Women-taught" to cherish Liberty,

To honor woman-kind and purity,

To give their lives to free humanity.

"Women-taught"—the virile poet said.

"Women-taught"—the monarch bared his head.

Jessie Pryse Arthur.

Fashionable Moments

(Continued from

American women of prominence were, for a time, more wary of woman's rights than were women in Europe. In 1881, when the 13th National Woman Suffrage Convention met in Washington, Mrs. Rutherford Hayes and her guests from the White House, members of the Supreme Court and of Congress and "other noted personages" were in the audience. On Susan B. Anthony's eightieth birthday, Mrs. Ulysses Grant gave a helping hand.

For a generation before this foreign ladies of title and social prominence had been sympathetic to the cause of woman suffrage and had their eyes turned towards American woman leaders, who were, as John Stuart Mill believed, less timid than their British sisters. Among European suffragists were George Sand, Madame Hubert Auclerc, editor of *La Citoyenne*; Madame Marie Deraismes, of France; the Baroness Gripenberg, of Finland; Lady Henry Somerset, of Great Britain; Lady Wilde, Lady Battersea, daughter of Lord Rothchild; Mrs. Creighton, wife of the Lord Bishop of London, Lady Aberdeen, Mrs. Priscilla Bright MacLaren, sister, wife and mother of distinguished members of Parliament, and



N. Y. Evening Post
THE ASTUTE NEW YORK MILLINER

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And all at prices which solve your special problem automatically.

OVINGTON'S

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New York



Judge

in Suffrage Work

page 897)

Mentia Taylor, the wife of Peter Taylor, M. P., "a magnificent woman," wrote Susan B. Anthony from London, "who acted the part of hostess most gracefully."

On this foreign trip Miss Anthony's traveling companion, Rachel Foster, was presented at Court in a wonderful white satin dress with a four-yard train and "no sleeves at all!", wrote Miss Anthony in italics. She herself had a garnet velvet gown with point lace collar in which to appear in the social whirl of Europe.

While garnet velvet was going strong for a Quaker it did not keep Miss Anthony from Friends' Meeting, where she saw John Bright. The Jacob Bright and Richard Cobden families were among the warm friends made by her in Europe.

Miss Anthony was not presented at Court. "I thought more of seeing the Bright family than the Queen," said she quite simply on her return.

Later came a moment when the *beau monde*, even New York's four hundred, stampeded into the suffrage cause. This was in 1894, the year of the New York Constitutional Convention. A committee of ladies, headed by Mrs. Josephine Shaw Lowell and Mrs. Joseph H. Choate, called a meeting at Sherry's to sign a petition to strike from the New York state constitution the word "male."

The celebrated restaurateur placed one of the handsomest rooms at the disposal of the ladies for many weeks.

"It will be noticed," said the *New York World* of 1894, "that these women are in Mr. McAllister's four hundred."

"Here were nearly two score names as widely known and honorable as any in this state—names of people of the highest social standing. In a certain sense it is an insurrection. The upper class of women are enlisted. Woman suffrage is the one interesting subject of discussion in the whole fashionable world."

Significant moments these in a cause which had for so long been persecuted and whose leaders had been thought of as "hoofed and horned creatures."

The results of the "insurrection" were 600,000 names of people in New York state petitioning the New York Constitutional Convention to cease the degrading sex discriminations in the political status of women.

Among the 600,000 petitioners to the 1894 Constitutional Convention were such men as Chauncey M. Depew, Russell Sage, Frederick Coudert, Dr. Rainsford, Bishop Potter, William Dean Howells.

"ONE VOTE SHY"
SENATOR POMERENE OF
OHIO



Wives of influential men who were making speeches on the Convention floor to the tune of "the majority of women didn't want to vote," were bending every effort to get petitioners to say that women did want to vote.



Cincinnati Post
NOW, GENTLEMEN, IT'S
TO YOU



Joseph Choate, once a believer in woman suffrage, joined Elihu Root to fight against the women's petition, to procure which his wife, Mrs. Joseph Choate, led the forces at Sherry's.

And yet men are said to represent their wives!

Right here is a good place to recall, too, that in the Convention of 1867, at the psychological moment when Horace Greeley was affirming that while women have a perfect right to the ballot, most of them don't want it, some one handed him a petition signed by 300 Westchester women, collected by Mrs. Horace Greeley and her daughter, and headed by their names.

All of which goes to show that there is nothing in pomp or circumstance to make a woman want to be either a doll or a slave. Dolls got down from their pedestals and slaves straightened their backs to walk shoulder-to-shoulder with the pioneer advocates of women's freedom.

Today when women from every state in the Union have gathered in St. Louis to celebrate the Golden Jubilee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, beauty and wit, fashion, wealth and social prestige will be found in evidence along with industrial and professional attainment. For the common cause of working together for the vote has made all women one.

Susan at Seventy

AND now, by way of contrast to fun and fashion: In 1890 South Dakota was going through a suffrage campaign which was characterized by one worker as a "cold, lonesome little movement which will make our hearts ache in November"—and it did. There was trouble on the horizon that hot summer—the hottest ever known. Susan B. Anthony was seventy years old, but she put her seventy years in her kit-bag and went to South Dakota to campaign. "Better lose me than lose a state," was her only answer when her friends protested that her health could never stand the hardships.

That was a terrible campaign. Even the Knights of Labor and the farmers dumped the women's cause in the ditch for a last-minute political expediency, after swearing by all their gods to support it.

"I shall not be cast down even if voted down," said Susan.

At three score and ten she journeyed through the Black Hills with Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, "rushing into Sioux City" to give pay lectures, the proceeds of which were turned into the campaign fund.

As to creature comforts on this hard trip—there were none. "But I can put up with it better than any of the young folks," wrote valiant Aunt Susan.

More than once the speakers slept in sod houses, where the only fuel for preparing the meals consisted of "buffalo chips."

Sometimes they drove twenty miles between afternoon and evening meetings, at one time forty miles, on a wagon seat without a back.

On the Fourth of July, a roasting day, Miss Anthony spoke in the morning, drove fifteen miles to speak in the afternoon, and then left at night in a pouring rain for a long ride in a freight car.

A story Dr. Anna Shaw relates with gusto is this:

"Many of the halls were merely rough boards and most of them had no seats. I never saw so many intemperate men as at —, in front of the stores, on the street corners, and in the saloons. We could not get any hall to speak in. They were all in use for

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Dash, Style and
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Inc.

the variety shows, and there was no church finished, but the Presbyterian was the furthest along and they let us have that, putting boards across nail kegs for seats. It was filled to overflowing—to the platform. One man came in so drunk he could not stand, so he sat down, and the people crowded up close on the edge and leaned against the table.

"Miss Anthony gave her argument to prove what the ballot had done for laboring men in England and was working up to show what it would do for women in the United States, when suddenly the man roused and said: "Now, look 'ere, old gal, we've heard 'nuf about Victoria; can't you tell's somethin' 'bout George Washington?" The people tried to hush him, but he soon broke out again with, "We've had 'nuf of England; can't you tell us somethin' 'bout our grand republic?" The men cried, "Put him out, put him out!" But Miss Anthony said: "No, gentlemen, he is a product of man's government, and I want you to see what sort you make."

Miss Anthony gave all her services to the campaign and during that time refused \$500 from the state of Washington for ten lectures and a contract from one of the largest lecture bureaus in the country. At the close of the campaign, when \$300 was lacking to settle all its bills, she contributed that amount to the campaign.

THE SPIRIT OF '76



Evening Sun

Our Children's Page

A St. Louis Experiment

By Mary Sumner Boyd

OF Child Labor Legislation we have plenty, bad and good, of Compulsory School Laws, of Mothers' Pensions and a multitude of other laws designed for the child's welfare, but in only four states has an effort been made to bring together in a Children's Code all the legislation bearing on children, and thus to bring the various laws into proper relation to each other. Ohio and New Hampshire began experimentally in 1913. One year later was founded the National Commission for standardizing children's laws, which has committees now in many states. In 1917 Minnesota laid the foundations of a Children's Code and in the same year the Missouri Children's Code Commission brought out a report and recommended certain legislation, part of which was passed that year. In 1918 the Missouri Commission, reappointed to push the laws not passed in 1917, brought out its second report which, with the first, constitutes a complete revision of the laws for the welfare of Missouri children, and is the most ambitious attempt that has yet been made at a standardized code. For this reason a survey of the legislation proposed by the Missouri Code is of interest to those working for children's welfare in all States.

THE Commission conceived its work to be to bring existing laws together, to revise or repeal those found unsatisfactory and to formulate new legislation. The laws, old and new, that make up the Missouri Code, cover first, the relation of parent or guardian, illegitimacy, marriage and divorce, rights and duties of parents, and adoption. Second, offenses against the child—bigamy, abortion, concealment with a view to killing the newborn, abandonment or neglect, kidnapping, cruelty, contributory delinquency, exposing to injurious moral influences, the rape of a girl and the like.

Third, labor and school laws; then health, sanitation and recreation, delinquency and the juvenile court, care of defective, dependent and neglected children and a miscellaneous general group covering in the main the legal status of the child.

THE Commission's recommendations for new legislation are not strikingly advanced, for it is pioneering in a broad, new field and feeling its way cautiously. An example of this is the age of consent law, which distinguishes between chaste and unchaste girls, setting a lower limit (sixteen) for the latter.

The new legislation recommended by the Commission, some of which was passed by the Missouri Legislature of 1917, begins with birth or before and ends with actual legal majority. A general tendency to set a higher upper limit for the age of childhood is apparent in many of the laws recommended.

To protect the child before birth the Commission would have a law forbidding the labor of women three weeks before and three weeks after childbirth. It would also provide for state supervision of midwives and maternity hospitals, the latter partly for the reason that in Missouri, as in some other states, there are in existence a number of so-called maternity hospitals which run a business in concealing births and doing away with the children, in some cases even disposing of the child by sale. For this reason the Commission recommended and got through the 1917 Legislature a new and stringent adoption law.

At birth the Commission would protect the

eyesight of the newborn, by requiring treatment of his eyes, and it would see that he has two responsible parents by holding the father of an illegitimate child as accountable for its support as the mother. The difficulty of proving paternity is got around in the law proposed by the Commission by the provision that "where the actual paternity of the child can not be established, the court is permitted to place the liability of support upon the several men who are shown to have had intercourse with the mother during the period when the child must have been conceived."

Abandonment laws are framed to hold both parents responsible. Where the father is dead, the Commission would have the mother cared for to look after her young children and to this end in 1917 procured the passage of a statewide widow's pension law.

Health during early childhood should, the Commission believes, be cared for by the state through a Bureau of Child Hygiene, like those already established in Kansas, Ohio, New Jersey and New York. The school system is charged with the supervision of the health of the growing child and with sanitary inspection and care of rural as well as city schools.

LABOR and compulsory education laws the Commission believes should be raised, with the exception of certain vacation exemptions, to the standard of the National Child Labor Committee. The fairly high age limits of 18 years is set for girls in street trades and day messenger service, and for boys in the night messenger service, twenty-one years. Continuation schools, time to be taken out of working hours, are recommended for working children between fourteen and sixteen years. For recreation, laws are recommended providing for parks and playgrounds and the use of the schoolhouse for social purposes.



THE WASTE OF IT! 300,000 BABIES DIED LAST YEAR. MOST OF THEM COULD HAVE BEEN SAVED



TO SAVE THE BABIES MOTHERHOOD MUST BE SOCIAL AS WELL AS PERSONAL

FOR the moral protection of the young the Commission would have the common law marriage abolished and the legal age of marriage raised from twelve to fifteen. It points out that to-day two little children can live together in Missouri and call themselves married, a thing that could happen in no other state.

The age of legal majority for girls, the Commission believes, should be the same as for boys, twenty-one years.

For the juvenile delinquent the Commission procured the passage in 1917 of a law establishing county Juvenile Courts for children up to eighteen years. It recommends special protection for delinquent youths in the years from eighteen to twenty-one, which are beyond Juvenile Court age. It would provide a probation system, would have laws covering contributory delinquency of adults, would have delinquent girls up to twenty-one years sent to the Girls' Industrial Home and would do away with the herding of dependent with delinquent children.

A separate set of laws would provide for the care in institutions or otherwise of mentally defective, blind, deaf and crippled children and those classes of dependent children cared for in institutions. Special provisions are recommended for the care of negro children, who have been much neglected in Missouri.

Children's Year

CHILDREN'S Year and that part of the Children's Year program known as Public Protection of Infancy and Maternity are the two most striking sections of the report of the Chief of the Children's Bureau for the year July 1917-July 1918.

Children's Year began, it will be remembered, in January, 1918, with the following program:

I. Public protection of maternity and infancy.

Essentials: (a) The Public-health nurses and suitable medical attention; (b) the care of babies by their own mothers under decent home conditions.

II. Mothers' care for older children.

Essentials: (a) Adequate living incomes; (b) family allowances for soldiers' families; mother's pensions for civilians; (c) special provision for extraordinary needs, so far as required to enable mothers of older children to afford the home comfort and protection which are the best safeguard against delinquency.

III. Enforcement of all child-labor laws and full schooling for all children of school age. Standards should be maintained in spite of war pressure.

IV. Recreation for children and youth, abundant, decent, protected from any form of exploitation.

A campaign to save the lives of one-third of the 300,000 babies and children under five years who die annually, opened the year. It was carried on by the Child Welfare Department of the Women's Committee, which through its 17,000 local units has a membership of 11,000,000 women. Its task was statistical, a weighing and measuring test of children of pre-school age. Physicians responded generously, and with

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their aid 6,500,000 record cards of young children all over the country were filled out. These records have already borne fruit in particular cases for the Bureau reports that "clippings, correspondence and interviews show the result of the emphasis placed by the test on the importance of care for the slight defects which are often neglected in childhood to the detriment of health in later years."

The first essential for the public protection of infancy and maternity the Bureau believes to be adequate family income. It shows that the death rate for babies whose fathers earned less than \$450.00 was one in every six; as the income increased the death rate diminished to one in 17, in families whose fathers earned

\$1,250 and over,—a tell-tale demonstration!

The second essential is a mother, and a healthy mother at that. Year by year, the Bureau tells us, 15,000 mothers perish in childbirth from causes largely preventable. Since 1900 there has been no decrease in maternal deaths. Nor does this measure the price mothers and children pay for bad care in childbirth and before, for "the women who die in childbirth are few beside those who suffer preventable illness or a lifelong impairment of health." The death rate for motherless babies is much higher than for others.

Pre-natal public health nursing during pregnancy and skilled medical care at confinement, with a national benefit are recommended.

Mary Just Ahead



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COIN THRIFT INTO SAVINGS STAMPS

"WE must stop being afraid of her!"

Barington's voice dropped to a whisper, as if the implication in his words were too compromising for louder projection. He had been talking for half an hour, with the intensity that he could notably throw into his talk. And Carr had listened intently. Sometimes Barington had paced the floor, hardly able to contain his own enthusiasms. Sometimes Carr had paced beside him, himself moved, putting in, helping out. The outer offices had been long since closed. The associates and the subs had shaken their heads over the fast shut door of the sanctum and gone home. Outside it had grown dark.

"Carr," began Barington again, "we can't afford to be afraid of her."

"I confess," said Carr, "to a little lingering fear." He adjusted his cigar at a new angle. "The great difficulty as I get it, Barry, is going to be to allow her enough tether to go her halcyon ways, stimulating, beckoning, tantalizing, without terrifying. She is a little terrifying, you know. I am not sure—unless she can be made to love—"

"Ah, just you leave her to me," cried Barington. "All she needs is self-revelation. I'll make her love." His chin lifted and his chest stuck out. "And on my side, I am more in love with her than I've ever been with any of my girls." He emitted one of the boyish snickers that endeared him to Carr, as to others, but he did not stay on the plane of the snicker but a second. He was up and away again, all the lover in him racing out after the woman who seemed to tremble on the edges of his fancy like a dryad on the edge of a wood. "The new heroine," he murmured, "Oh—and she is as wonderful, Carr, as she is new. You'll love her! All the world will—shall."

AS Carr watched, he envied. How real it was to the writer fellows, this unreal, ethereal pursuit of women—out of which they made their livings! In particular how real it was to Barington! He himself, with his fine literary discriminations and his remarkable critical and correlative faculties, could enter into the spirit of literary creation with esthetic joy. He could do it more resourcefully than many of the authors could. It was due to his careful editorial ministrations that some of the most likable heroines of the last two decades had seen the light of day. But he couldn't sustain illusions as Barington could. He had to admit that. He was now, in spite of Barington, dubious about this wonderful new one. He couldn't keep from asking editor's questions. Would the public accept her? Past master of type delineation though Barry had proved in the three fleet years of his overwhelming literary

success, could he trim her down so she would fit between the covers of a book? Wouldn't her feet stick out, maybe, the big strong feet of the too self-reliant woman?

Carr interrupted his own dubieties to regard Barington. There he stood, living what he was going to write in the glad way of the newest writer, tingling to his finger tips because of his writer's affair with this new woman of his. "Are her eyes blue or brown?" gibed Carr.

"Brown," answered Barington without a moment's pause for choice. "Brown, sir. And her brows are very heavy. They are the one thing that spoil the classic beauty of her face, but they spoil it, Carr, only to lend it a look of strength." He held thumb and forefinger together with a nice, measuring fastidiousness. "It is that straight heaviness of the brows that gives the face its expression of delicate sternness—not too stern, Carr—the sort of sternness that will break down and melt away as soon as I—as soon as I work out the character. She is tall, Carr, Mary is—"

"Mary?" interrupted Carr. "Is Mary to be her name?"

UNACCOUNTABLY Barington flushed to the roots of his yellow hair. "I declare," he began, and stopped. "Mary is her name," he resumed at last with a fine effect of frankness. "And I seem to be doing something this time that I have never done before. The way I have always done with my heroines before has been to—oh, well, you know how a writer can take some ideal of his own, some conviction, some notion, some persuasion, of his own, and put a dress on it and call it his heroine? It's fun, it lets you air your own personality in different clothes, and they can't put you in jail for it. But this time—it's Mary More—Dr. More. You know her, Carr, or if you don't know her you know of her."

Before Carr could voice the vague hostility he felt at having that woman trembling on the fringes of fancy invested with Mary More's personality, Barington burst forth again—"There's your modern woman, Carr. There's your new heroine. There's the woman we must get. Successful doctor, successful speaker, enthusiastic suffragist, civic worker—and a beauty, Carr."

Carr stayed vaguely resentful. "But isn't she, isn't she perhaps a little old for your heroine, Barry?" he asked.

Again Barington flushed. "When a woman is as good-looking as Dr. More what the dickens does it matter how old she is?"

"I have always understood," insisted Carr, his keen eyes following Barry, "that Dr. More was cold, hard, unsentimental—not at all the sort of woman adaptable to the purposes of romance."

Mary Just Ahead

"DON'T get the idea—just because I've named a real woman—don't get the idea that I mean to pick Dr. More up bodily and set her down on the printed page, Carr. I realize that the story Mary will have to be adaptable, whether Dr. More is or not. But Dr. More, Carr,"—his sentences began to crowd one another—"what do we know about a woman like that, Carr? A woman on ahead—we are so afraid of her—there's no telling—" He was quiet for a moment and then added brusquely, "Dr. More is forming thought and influencing imagination about the woman of the future as much as any woman I know." When Carr took that, too, without comment, merely with a slight deepening of the furrow between his brows, Barington said, "the case for the new woman is working out under our noses while we go right on presenting the early and mid-Victorian women as the latest thing in heroines. What we have to do in the books is catch up. We must get modern women into fiction. We must overtake her." He realized that Carr's silence was making him babblesome, but couldn't help babbling on: "She has strong family feeling, Dr. More has. She has been a devoted daughter, sister, aunt. She supported her parents until they died. She took her brother's daughter, young Mary, and gave her an education in art. Sent her to Paris."

"Known Dr. More long, Barry?"

"She came from my home town, but she went away when I was a youngster. The town used to say she was 'advanced'—you know the tone—same you use when you say a woman has had the small-pox, marked for life. It's only since I came to Manhattan myself that I have really known her, free from the town feeling about her. Can't even say I have known her as long as that. That was a whole year ago and I didn't really begin to know her until these last few weeks. She has been good to me all along, had me to dinner, takes an interest in my stories, but I sort of fought her for a while without knowing it. It dawned on me quite recently what she was—the new woman—the heroine—my heroine—the one to book. You see, I have come around to suffrage myself, Carr. Oh, I suppose I always believed in it, if the women really wanted it. But I never knew the kind that wanted it. Mary More has shown me that want of theirs as a pure white flame of spirit that will never be snuffed out." He laughed then reassuringly, as if he had at last noticed and was willing to meet the searchingness of Carr's eyes. "Pure white flames of spirit make grand story material, Carr."

But when Barington had gone, Carr stood for a moment staring out of window with teased eyes. "Coldest, hardest, most-profession-absorbed woman in New York. Poor Barry!"

AS for Barington, he left Carr in a glow. He gave Carr all the credit. "That's the thing that makes Carr the greatest editor in the world," he told himself, the jubilation of his spirit riding down all recollection of Carr's flat fashion of taking Dr. More. "He knows how to send you away thanking God for letting you be an author." He ate a hasty restaurant dinner, hardly able to wait to get to work, and as soon as he reached his rooms in Stuyvesant Square he sat down at his desk and fell to pencil sharpening. He kept telling himself that he was wild to get to work. He felt more whole, more closely related to his own past and his own future than he ever had before. His associations of the last few months, his resumption of old family friendship, had roused him somehow to a fuller sense of identity and destiny. Life and literature presented stimulating points of contact. His mind raced through episodes by means of which he was going to prove things with this new heroine of his. But on a sudden impulse he dashed to the telephone. After all he must talk the matter over with Dr. More first. He couldn't, of course, put her in a book, unless she were willing. But Dr. More was out on a laparotomy case, said the voice at the other end of the telephone to his insistence for definite information. Well, could he leave a message for her to call him up as soon as she came in? Yes, he could, was he the urgent appendicitis case? No, he was only urgent French Barington—Dr. More had his number. "Yes, I have it, too," said the voice and rang off. For the flicker of an eye-lash the voice puzzled him. Then he forgot about it in his impatience to hear the telephone bell.

WHEN finally it rang, what he said into the transmitter sounded embarrassed and tame. "I'd like to come up this evening and put my latest book project before you. You have always been so good about listening, Dr. Mary, and this time I think it may be easy to listen. I am hunting a new heroine and I want to nab her out of the woman movement, if you don't mind."

She was at once fine about it, in that affectionately sympathetic, older-than-he way she had. She said she would be doubly interested, once for him and once for the theme, but she was speaking at Carnegie Hall that evening and if he were really going to nab a heroine out of the woman movement, he couldn't do better than come up to the hall and consider the collective evidence. "You don't seem to know much about it except from me, Barry. I haven't any lien on it. Come and get it as the other women reflect it. There will be representative women there tonight, the nation's women. It's to be a great meeting. I'll expect

(Continued on page 907)

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Winners In

IOWA carried off first honors in the WOMAN CITIZEN Circulation Contest. With 448 new subscriptions to its credit, Iowa claims the first award. Georgia follows with 415 subscriptions to its credit, Indiana with 363, and South Dakota with 274. Competitors in the race at an earlier stage were Michigan, Minnesota, and New Jersey.

Announcement of the winners in the contest has been held up for several weeks because of the inability to award the second, third and fourth prizes along the lines originally announced. The contest was a within-the-organization affair, and it was the intention of the WOMAN CITIZEN to award the second and third prizes to the county or local league sending in the highest number of subscriptions over 100 and the co-operating subscriber sending in the largest number over 50.

It was found impossible to carry out this plan, because, in the great majority of instances, the name of the county or local association to which credit belonged was omitted. Awards made on the incomplete returns would not have been fair, so it was thought best to give the second and third prizes to the states finishing in that order. As no one qualified as a cooperating subscriber under the terms of the contest it was decided to give this award to the state finishing fourth in the contest. In order to make these changes it was necessary to comply with postal regulations and publish the proposed changes for several weeks. Hence, the delay.

Thirty-eight states were represented in the contest. They finished in the following order:

- | | |
|-------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Iowa | 17. Texas |
| 2. Georgia | 18. Pennsylvania |
| 3. Indiana | 19. Maine |
| 4. South Dakota | 20. Kentucky |
| 5. Michigan | 21. Tennessee |
| 6. Minnesota | 22. Louisiana |
| | Connecticut |
| 7. New Jersey | 23. South Carolina |
| 8. Massachusetts | 24. Arkansas |
| 9. Virginia | 25. North Dakota |
| 10. Wisconsin | 26. Washington, |
| | D. C. |
| 11. New Hampshire | Kansas |
| 12. New York | 27. Florida |
| 13. Ohio | 28. Illinois |
| | 29. Nebraska |
| 14. Maryland | Oklahoma |
| | 30. Washington |
| 15. Alabama | Mississippi |
| 16. Missouri | 31. North Carolina |
| West Virginia | 32. Vermont |

The contest, which grew out of pledges ranging from 100 to 200 subscriptions for the WOMAN CITIZEN made by 18 states at the last



DR. EFFIE MCCOLLUM JONES OF IOWA

Annual Convention of the National American Woman Association held at Washington, D. C., developed a good-natured and spirited rivalry for leadership during the contest.

For some time Georgia held the lead, then South Dakota crowded her out of first place. Then Iowa stepped ahead of both, with Indiana always hovering near the top.

Of the states pledging at Washington several have still to complete their quotas. We trust that they will soon clear the slate of this indebtedness to the WOMAN CITIZEN.

New Jersey, Louisiana, New Hampshire, Maryland, the New York City Party, Texas, Tennessee, Kentucky, Florida, and Nebraska, are all on the list of unfulfilled pledges.

THAT Iowa came out first is due to the untiring efforts of Dr. Effie McCollum Jones, who in addition to filling the duties of the office of corresponding secretary of the state suffrage association took on the added responsibility of state circulation chairman. Early in the campaign Iowa assumed a leading place among the contestants and was always a close contender for first honors, due to the enthusiasm and energy with which Dr. Jones conducted her systematic campaign. Among those aiding Dr. Jones by sending in considerable numbers of subscriptions were Mrs. Henry J. Howe, Mrs. F. H. Koch, Mrs. Laura Hurd Baily and Miss Sarah C. Scott. Georgia made a determined effort to hold a high place. Whenever it showed signs of slipping back Mrs. Emma T. Martin was sure to think of Georgia voters and politicians whose education in suffrage would be materially helped by the use of the WOMAN CITIZEN as a text book. It is doubtful if anyone could give more generously of herself, her time and means than did Mrs. Jessie Fremont Croan, of Indiana. Through letter, personal appeal and even poetry she tried to put Indiana over the top.

The Contest

SOUTH DAKOTA, as suffragists will remember, staged a successful referendum campaign last fall and Mrs. John L. Pyle and Mrs. Maria S. McMahon decided that the WOMAN CITIZEN would be an excellent aid to victory. The result is a very creditable showing for South Dakota.

Mrs. John Waite as circulation chairman for Michigan also found a referendum campaign a good time to add to the state circulation. Minnesota, with Mrs. I. E. Rose as circulation chairman, made a creditable showing throughout the contest. Massachusetts, which was coming in quite strong at the last of the contest, had Mrs. R. L. DeNormandie to start them in the contest. Later Mrs. George Shaw took the state circulation chairmanship.

Virginia, a southern state with much new ground to break, did excellent work and purposes to continue carrying on the subscription work even though the incentive of the contest is gone. Miss Helen Stockdell, as state chairman, had good lieutenants in Mrs. Faith Morgan and Mrs. W. P. Adkins.

Wisconsin, under the chairmanship of Mrs. Charles Mott, met its pledge made at Washington with a slight margin to spare. In New Hampshire the contest work was started under the chairmanship of Mrs. Mary Post and later was under the chairmanship of Mrs. Annie E. Sawtelle. Both New Hampshire and Maryland, the latter under the chairmanship of Mrs. Edwin W. Rouse, will soon complete their pledges.

Mrs. P. C. McBee as chairman for West Virginia found a very active assistant in Mrs. E. S. Romine, who is responsible for a good measure of the subscriptions from that state. Alabama was first under the leadership of Miss Mary Parke London, who no sooner had the work well started than she went to Oklahoma to help in the campaign. Miss Minnie Woodall succeeded Miss London. Rhode Island had two chairmen during the contest period, as did several states. Mrs. Le Baron C. Colt was first, followed by Miss Hope Gorton. Connecticut combined the circulation work with the work of the press chairman, Mrs. B. T. Voorhorst serving first, followed by Miss Julia Hinaman. Mrs. Shepard Brisbane served Louisiana as chairman for a time and then came Mrs. Ruben Chauvin. Mrs. Charles Firth, first Kentucky chairman, was followed by Mrs. J. Howard Murray and Mrs. D. J. Kimbrough was followed as chairman for Tennessee by Mrs. J. M. Grainger. Completing the list of chairmen who have had a part in the contest are Mrs. J. T. Gittman for South Carolina, Mrs. Dora York for Maine. Mrs. Katherine L. Brainerd for North Dakota, Miss Imogene Pierce for Illinois and Miss Billie Pitney for Arkansas.

Mary Just Ahead

(Continued from page 905)

you, Barry. And look in at the house later, say about eleven. There's a—" the connection was none too good and he couldn't hear whether she said surprise or something about a drive as she hung up.

TO a man as sensitive as Barington to the play of character upon itself, Dr. Mary's voice was finely satisfying, even with a poor connection. He stood on the hearth-rug, his thumbs in his vest-pockets, and rocked back on his heels and reminded himself that Dr. Mary's character play was inspiringly true to its own keynote. Everything that she said and did was of a bell-like clearness, if you took it in with your ear—crystal clearness if you took it in with your eye. There was her consecration to purpose, and there was her straight-minded, direct, earnest, honest line of action, and there were the other things that fitted in so aptly, her full-toned voice, her commanding figure, her beauty, those heavy, nearly stern brows—

It was eight-thirty of the clock when he swung off a Seventh Avenue car at Fifty-seventh street and turned toward Carnegie Hall. There was a swirl of femininity outside and inside the Hall. Bareheaded women in colorful evening gowns were alighting from motors and climbing the steps, side by side with women in shabby street suits. At the top of the steps other women with khaki knapsacks slung in front of them were calling cheerfully:

"Buy a Woman Citizen! Help the cause! Buy a Citizen! Help the cause!"

The auditorium was jammed. From every box a banner suspended—yellow and blue banners of the "New York State Woman Suffrage Party," yellow and black banners of the "Manhattan Borough Woman Suffrage Party," "Brooklyn Woman Suffrage Party," "Woman Suffrage Party of the Bronx," "Woman Suffrage Party of Queens Borough," "Woman Suffrage Party of Richmond Borough"; banners

on which he read "National American Woman Suffrage Association," "International Woman Suffrage Alliance"—banners that streamed around the walls with an interlocked and globe-encircling insistence that left little room for argument.

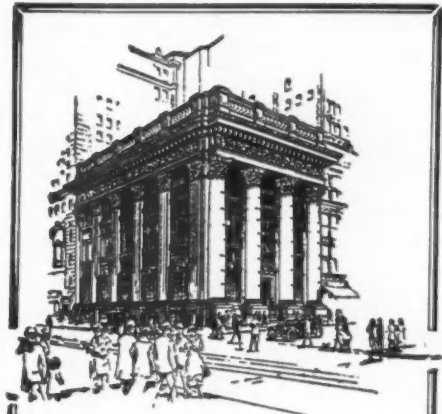
It was impossible to get nearer to a seat than the last chairs and no nearer to them than their backs. Barry took his stand behind them just as a great hand-clapping broke out. Everybody rose. A file of women crossed the platform and seated themselves in the chairs reserved for the speakers. Down on the floor there was immediately manifest a genial sense of proprietorship in the women. People ahead of him leaned across one another to whisper, "that's Dr. Shaw—yes, most famous woman orator in America—the next one is Carrie Chapman Catt, at the head of the National Association, that's Katherine Bement Davis, yes, first woman commissioner New York ever had—next to her is Mary Johnston, the writer—yes, the Southerner, the Southern women are in this fight, too, you know."

"Fifth from the end?"—The man just under Barington repeated his companion's query. "You mean the beauty? That's Mary More, Dr. More, the surgeon. There's Mary Shaw, too, that advanced actress, you know."

IT was not that Barington hadn't seen and heard before what he saw and heard during the next hour. In the years that he had been a metropolitan there had been thousands of these demonstrations on the part of women. He understood that they were going on all over the country, all over the world. He had seen suffrage parades and he had heard soap-box speeches and he had, through the papers, taken note of women's gigantic mass meetings to commemorate the suffrage victories that piled up year by year. But always he had gotten the significance from the outside, sometimes amused, sometimes stirred with a fugitive sense of the drama involved, but never vitally concerned. Always, too, he had had a sort of left-out feeling about the whole thing that he didn't exactly like. Now he found himself amazingly possessed of a feeling of direct relation to the matter, a feeling that it was his particular business to get into it and get the straight of it.

There was a speech about women's political obligations as wives and mothers and another about their political obligations as wage earners and another about their political obligations as everyday agents of society. There were statistical speeches on laws, on hungry school children, and on the professionalizing of home industries. There were speeches about women's civic responsibility toward prostitution and women's international duty toward war. And all the speeches climaxed on a demand for the passage and ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

(Continued on page 909)



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Republican Activities

THE Republican leaders of New York state will undertake an intensive campaign to organize the Republican women of the state as the result of plans discussed at a meeting of the Republican State Committee on March 19. According to party leaders this work is to be one of the chief features of the coming presidential campaign, and the organization of women voters will be undertaken at once. Women members of the Republican State Committee include Miss Mary Garrett Hay, New York City; Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore, Westchester County; Mrs. Luther W. Mott, Oswego; Mrs. John Francis Yawger, New York City; Mrs. William C. Beecher, Brooklyn.

Women in Practical Politics

THE Republican party of New York city has begun an aggressive campaign to Americanize the foreign-born women who will be entitled to vote when their husbands have become citizens of this country, according to plans announced by Helen Varick Boswell, second vice-chairman of the New York County Republican Committee. The women captains in the election districts of the city will be asked to take up this work in their respective districts. The Republican club houses are being used as social centre houses in many districts, and the use of these clubs by the foreign-born women will be encouraged during the coming months. The campaign is designed to give foreign-born women definite preparation for their new duties as citizens of this country.

Democrats and Suffrage

AT the recent session of the Democratic National Committee a resolution favoring the Federal Suffrage Amendment was adopted. The resolution also favored the creation of a national woman's auxiliary to the National Committee.

The action of the Democratic committee assures the support of both party machines for the suffrage amendment when it is called up in the next Congress. With both the Republican and Democratic organizations committed to strenuous campaigns to win over the women voters in the coming presidential campaign, suffragists do not expect to encounter any serious difficulty in pushing the amendment through the Sixty-sixth Congress.

Newspaper dispatches from Washington indicate that political leaders there expect the amendment to go through both houses without difficulty. The party organizations are expected to exert unusual pressure upon recalcitrant Senators and Representatives to bring about an overwhelming vote in favor of the submission of the amendment. Several Senators who opposed the Federal Amendment will be missing when the new Congress convenes. In their places will be strong supporters of the suffrage amendment.

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His Last Word

"EX-SENATOR WEEKS gave his valedictory to the Sixty-fifth Congress in true to reactionary type form," says the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association Bulletin. "In the dying hours of the Senate, Senator Jones of New Mexico asked for consent to present the report on the compromise suffrage resolution amendment to the Constitution, for consideration by the Senate. The parliamentary situation permitted one objection to prevent. Senator Weeks shouted, 'I object,' and thus ended the career of a Massachusetts Senator. But the Suffrage Amendment can come back and will do so to the 66th Congress. Alas, Senator Weeks cannot! So in historic fashion suffragists say with evident good will, 'The King is dead; long live the King!'

"Our heartiest greetings go out to Senator David I. Walsh."

Women Cast Good Vote

REPORTS show that 40 per cent of the vote cast in the recent primary elections in the City of Detroit was cast by women. The vote of the women totaled about 28,000 as against 40,000 votes cast by the men. Michigan women by their vote and their general interest in civic affairs have demonstrated that they intend to use their new franchise privilege in a way that effectively answers the anti argument—"Women will not use the ballot when they get it."

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Mary Just Ahead

(Continued from page 907)

frage Amendment, and every speech found in the vote an open door through which woman could fare farther forth into the fuller discharge of duties, obligations, responsibilities. How easily women had come, in their collective thought, to the old consecrated attitude of the individual woman. Duty! Duty! Duty! The word rang like a clarion call through it all. There was to him something frosty about it. "Yes, but what about joy of life—what about just beauty?" he wanted to ask.

PRESENTLY he was taking pains to recall that out over the country there must still be women not interested in the ideal of political liberty. Fugitive pictures of women of past times and places haunted him—huddled harem women, veiled cloister women, tight-lipped women of the Dorcas societies, scared women reading ribbon-tied essays at seminary commencements. And now this! Miles and miles from the harem and the cloister!

At another tremendous outbreak of applause his heart leaped. Mary More was coming forward. Standing there, waiting for the demonstration of the friendly people to cease, she was so oblivious of the effect of her beauty,

so obviously absorbed in something else, that Barington was discomfited. It removed her. It made her seem too little woman and too much cause. She was a good speaker, with the gift of direct appeal that so many of the women speakers of the day have developed. But some of the things that she said struck Barington like the flick of little whips. "Let other things go—live up to this issue of the franchise—fill your hearts and your minds with it—remember that we have taken the outposts, we face the main fortress—You are tired? Oh, we are all tired. Forget to be tired until the fight is won. The war for the democracy of Europe is over, help finish this war for the democracy of America. Most of all, concentrate—don't let other things come in and deflect."

HE wanted to cry out to her—"Ah, but after all, a vote's just a vote. It is not, for instance, love. Leave a little room for other things. Men don't women to be"—he yearned to show what men wanted women to be.

The air had by now become so palpably electrified that the effect on Barington was just that of the atmosphere when it is crackling and flashing under the lash of a storm. He was surprised at the way his soul was taking it. It seemed to be pulling back his soul, as if to get out of the way of some too urgent stimulation.

But he slipped away presently, his soul still plagued, and he walked the city for a restless hour before he turned in at the door of a house far down-town on one of the side streets that edged up into the "Knickerbocker Section" of Manhattan. It was a small red brick house, one of a row of six, left intact between two high apartment buildings. The woodwork on all was white and for each there was a Colonial door with a brass knocker. Some green stuff grew in long white window boxes. The effect was old-timey and homey.

Of the two women whom he found waiting for him in the library it was the larger and older who came dominantly forward. She was a royally beautiful woman, Junoesque, but ac-

(Continued on page 910)

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Suffrage in the Philippines

THAT the women of the Philippine Islands may be voters before long is indicated by the statement made by Francis Burton Harrison, Governor General of the Islands, on the occasion of his return to America for a short stay. In an interview in New York city, Governor-General Harrison declared: "We may yet have woman suffrage in the islands. I have recommended the franchise, but no steps have been taken to introduce a bill to put it into force."

Elected to County Council

THE Duchess of Marlborough, formerly Miss Consuelo Vanderbilt of New York, who was elected to the County Council from the north division of Southwark, has been seated. She was elected as a Progressive by a large majority over her opponent, a Labor candidate.

"As Was"

MRS. SOMERVILLE (1780) tells that one day her father found her studying mathematics. Said he: "We shall have to put a stop to this or by and by we shall have Mary in a straightjacket. She is studying mathematics."

Mrs. Barbauld: "Young ladies ought only to have such a general tincture of knowledge as to make them agreeable companions to a man of sense."

Milton:

 "For Contemplation he and valour
 formed;

 For Softness she and sweet attractive
 grace.

 He for God only, she for God in
 him."

IN a "Report of Select Committee of Board of Education in relation to Propriety and Expediency of Establishing a Free Academy for Females" 1849 (N. Y.) the following objections are quoted as having been brought forward: "They are not to benefit mankind by discoveries or by the wonder-working results of combined intelligence and industry. Their sphere is not in the business of the world, but in the quiet of the family. If they desire to shine in that sphere, they must do it at their own expense; . . . the public has no interest in them." "Such an education as would be imparted by a Free Academy for females would not only be no advantage to society, but would be positively mischievous in its social aspects . . . To cultivate the minds of women up to the full standard of education for men would be in a measure to unsex them and to unfit them for the private and social duties it is their province to fulfill. The family would no longer be organized as by divine appointment, with man as its head. Women would be too learned to be good, humble and gentle wives and mothers. Household cares would be neglected for the stirring scenes of life, where mind copes with mind and asserts its supremacy. They would obtrude themselves in men's places and arrogate to themselves the performance of men's duties . . . The danger of disturbing the equilibrium of the marriage relation may be dwelt upon especially in this connection."

Mary Just Ahead

(Continued from page 909)

tive in her movements. Yes, certainly she dominated. She started the talking. And there was her impressive beauty.

And yet almost at once he got the impression that she was only a sort of enveloping atmosphere, out of which the individuality of the other woman issued in little lickings of lively flame. "Here's your surprise," began Dr. Mary, and from her loafing place among the couch pillows, the other woman held out a careless hand to him.

"Oh, Lord!" he cried in nearly real exasperation. "Why do you come home just now?"

"You flatter yourself, Barry. I am not going to be in your way."

"You always were more or less in my way—goodness, gadness! How it all comes piling back—you, me, our eternal fussing! But I am not going to have any time at all to fuss with you this winter, even about the relative merits of painting and literature as means of soul expression."

"Keep your time, French. I can fuss with the doctor about the relative merits of the healing art and the creative—"

"Worse prospect that. I want every minute of the doctor's spare time."

"What have you got, Barry?" He remarked that she had easily resumed her ancient school-girl habit of calling him by his nickname when their spirits moved together amicably, which was seldom, and by his formal front name when she bristled at him, which was often. There had been still another name—he wondered if she remembered. "Littrachoor," she had called him. And he had called her "Pictures," names sacred to the callings that had loomed beautifully before them in those lean and scraggly but gay days of their first youth. In answer to her question he put up his hand and said in a loud voice behind it, "I've an idea for a new heroine, Pictures. I want Dr. Mary to help me book her." He noted the amiability of Dr. Mary's sniff of amusement.

Young Mary rose, frankly yawning. Remembering the long-legged coltish appearance of her first girlhood, he marvelled at the pure straight lines of her tall figure. "Chasing another of your make-believe women, Littrachoor? I have kept up with them over in Paris. Walks with grandmother's ghost! I'm to bed. That meeting tired me. Women feel suffrage so!"

So she did remember!

(To be concluded)

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The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie
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Vol. III, March 29, 1919. No. 44.

See the April 5th Issue of

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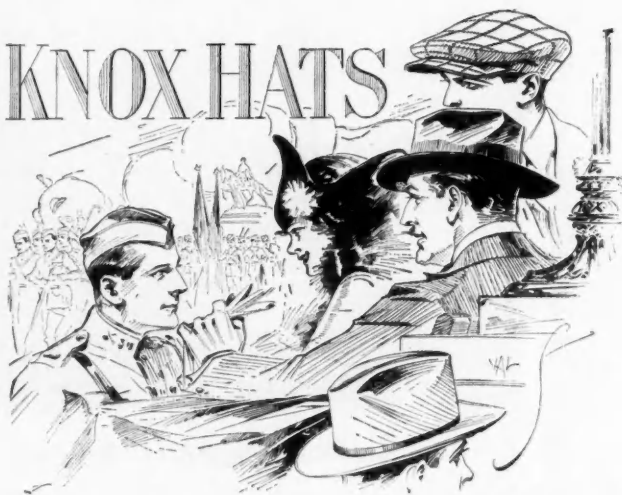
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The Woman's National Political Weekly

NEW STYLE VOL. III

MARCH 29, 1919

NUMBER 44

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

The Nation Calls!

NOT cut in marble or moulded in bronze, would Mrs. Catt have a memorial to the pioneer women of the suffrage movement take form. She wants a living memorial, a flesh and blood and continuing memorial.

Speaking as the president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association before delegates representing a 2,500,000 membership last Monday night in St. Louis, she said:

"Every suffragist will hope for a fitting commemoration of this fiftieth anniversary of our national organization and the Golden Jubilee of the first grant of full suffrage to women. She will hope for a memorial dedicated to the memory of our brave departed leaders, to the sacrifices they made for our cause, to the scores of victories won.

"She will not be content with resolutions of self-congratulation; with speeches of tribute; nor will any suffragist propose a monument built of marble, which only a few would see and fewer comprehend.

"What then shall it be? I venture to propose a memorial whose benefits will bless our entire nation and bring happiness to the humblest of our citizens.

"What vainglorious proposal is this,' do you ask? I propose no marvel; merely the most natural, the most appropriate and the most patriotic memorial that could be suggested—a League of Women Voters to 'Finish the Fight,' and to aid in the reconstruction of the nation.

"What could be more natural than that women who have attained their political independence should desire to give service in token of their gratitude? What could be more appropriate than that such women should do for the coming generation what those of a preceding period did for them? What could be more patriotic than that these women should use their new freedom to make their nation safer for their children and their children's children? I put the question to you, fellow suffragists; would not such a league express the spirit of our movement, and our common feelings of gratitude upon this occasion more clearly than any other form of memorial?"

As outlined by Mrs. Catt, the essential purposes of the plan for a league of women voters were: To secure the final enfran-

*Notes from the Speech of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, made Monday evening, March 24, at the opening of the Convention in St. Louis.**

MRS. CATT PROPOSED AS A MEMORIAL TO THE PIONEERS OF THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT, A UNION OF THE WOMEN VOTERS OF THE COUNTRY.

SHE CALLED ON THE WOMEN OF THE LAND TO ENLIST FOR FIVE YEARS' SERVICE.

chisement of women in United States of America; to aid in the freedom of women of other lands; to remove legal discriminations against women, and to stabilize the democracy of this nation.

In order to achieve this, Mrs. Catt called upon the women of the land to "enlist for a five-years' service." Five years ought to see these things accomplished or well under way, Mrs. Catt believes. At the end of that period an accounting might be made to see if continuance of the league is necessary.

"Let us then," said Mrs. Catt, "raise up a league of women voters—the name and form of organization to be determined by the voters themselves; a league that shall be non-partisan and non-sectarian in character, and that shall be consecrated to three chief aims:

"1. To use its utmost influence to secure the final enfranchisement of the women of every state in our own Republic and to reach out across the seas in aid of the woman's struggle for her own in every land.

"2. To remove the remaining legal discriminations against women in the codes and constitutions of the several states in order that the feet of coming women may find these stumbling blocks removed.

"3. To make our democracy so safe for the nation and so safe for the world that every citizen may feel secure and great men will acknowledge the worthiness of the American Republic to lead.

"As Matthew Arnold said, long ago: 'Having in mind' things true, things elevated, things just, things pure, things amiable, things of good report—having these in mind, studying and loving these, is what saves states.' To these 'things true' the league should concentrate itself and thus help to save the great Republic from many a disaster which now threatens.

"For years women have labored to secure the vote as a tool with which to build a better nation. The world expects the millions of women voters and near-voters to take their appropriate place in the political work, to have opinions on the great questions of the day, and to conduct themselves like 'free men.' Will the unenfranchised woman deny the enfranchised one her right to use her new-found freedom to its utmost good?"

"Among the questions which we must ask ourselves in this convention are these:

"Has the time come when voters and non-voters should separate, the voters to go forward doing their work as free women in the great world, while the unfree woman is left to struggle on alone toward liberty unattained? Or shall voters and non-voters draw closer together, making the demand for the completion of the suffrage struggle stronger and at the same time putting the high ideals of our movement, its conception of justice, its enthusiasms, behind the many 'things true?' Shall we merely unite for the one purpose of hastening the final day of the century-long struggle for the enfranchisement of women, or shall we frankly change our policy, recognizing that in this period more great issues are pressing for attention than at any other period of the world, and therefore unitedly use our votes and our utmost influence to 'keep God's truth marching on?'"

"IT must be remembered that no league of women voters can be possible on the lines suggested unless the National American Woman Suffrage Association is willing to amend its time-honored policy in response to what seems a new time and new conditions. It must be further remembered that to make these amendments involves the most fundamental changes in our internal policy ever proposed. It will doubtless arouse sharp differences of opinion, and action should be taken only after careful and sincere reflection.

"AIM 1. *Suffrage for Women*.—That this object is necessarily included in the aims of a league of women voters is due to the compact of thirty-three men to continue our disfranchisement. Although they were a minority, their position in the United States Senate made their position decisive. Any one of them passing from the minority to the majority could have brought the woman's struggle to an end. The Legislatures of this year were ready and anxious to ratify. By this date the necessary number of states would have made the amendment an integral part of the constitution. Tonight we would be lowering the curtain upon the last act in the century-long campaign. We would be saying our good-byes to the old battlefields of the past and would be reporting for duty on the next, the battle of the future. But thirty-three called 'Halt!'

"We are like a housewife who had packed all her household goods preparatory to moving into a larger and finer house. Then, when the day set for the removal arrived, it was discovered that the only key to the only door had been lost, and one of the thirty-three men had hidden it away. So, very wearily, she was forced to unpack her belongings and to set up housekeeping once more in the old quarters, which had suddenly grown more cramped and depressing, while the atmosphere had taken on a heavy, musty odor of decaying argument.

"Meantime, thousands of dollars must be raised, and suffrage shoulders must bend to the burden again. Every dollar that you are forced to give, every hour that you are compelled to work, every dreary duty that you are obliged to perform to keep the suffrage campaign going, may be laid at the door of any one of the thirty-three. If you are a Republican, you may select any one of twenty-one Democrats, or if you are a Democrat, you may select any one of twelve Republicans, as your particular oppressor. Or, if you are just a suffragist, you may divide the responsibility equally among thirty-three oppressors.

"If your gratitude for all the wonderful gains made exceeds your resentment because those gains were not more numerous, let your plaudits of praise go forth to two-thirds of the House of Representatives, to the sixty-three in the United States Senate, to the chairmen of the majorities of the National Democratic and

Republican committees, to the President of the United States, to the late ex-President and great leader of his party, Theodore Roosevelt, and to the latest to our cause, the only living ex-President, William Howard Taft.

"Be of good cheer; the Sixty-sixth Congress has found the key. We shall move out of the House of Prejudice and into the House of Freedom not later than 1921. Two years more should finish the fight, but the journey will be sweeter, the task easier, and the early victory more certain if voters and non-voters stand together by their common cause.

"AIM 2. *Corrections in the Law*.—Although the civil code in its application to women bears little resemblance to the Common Law in operation at the time our organized movement began, and which denied to the married woman the right to collect her wages or control her property, the right to sue or be sued, the right to make a will or give testimony in the courts, the denial to the married mother of any legal rights in her children, yet there are curious relics of that period, little forgotten oversights, which appear at unexpected times and places to do injury to individual women. No woman can possibly know the intricacies and peculiarities of the codes of law in forty-eight states. She cannot be expected to know that the age of consent for her daughter is eighteen years in Wyoming and ten in Florida; that she will herself become possessed of half the estate of her husband in California and one-third in New Jersey; that she is an equal guardian with her husband over her children in Illinois, but that she has no claim upon them at all in Louisiana. She cannot be expected to know that if her husband beats her, is disloyal to her, guilty of non-support, plus all other causes which in different countries and states of our own Republic are held as sufficient for divorce, she could not possibly secure one in South Carolina. She is not likely to know that in Colorado she may legally demand an eight-hour working day, but that she could be compelled to work sixteen hours in Alabama for her daily wage; that her minor children could not legally be employed under the laws of Oregon, but that no law will protect them in the event their father desires to hire them out in North Carolina.

"These laws can be more generally unified. The best and clearest laws should be used as a standard to which other states should be urged to lift their legislation, and those failing to do so should be made to feel their unprogressive isolation."

THE convention's third aim, which Mrs. Catt defined as "making democracy safe for the world," was one of post-war reconstruction. "Many flaws in our civilization" were revealed by the war, said the speaker.

"It would seem to be almost axiomatic, that an illiterate cannot make a good soldier in modern warfare. Until last April the Regular Army would not enlist illiterates, yet in the first draft between 30,000 and 40,000 illiterates were brought into the army and practically as many near illiterates.

"They could not sign their names.

"They could not read their orders posted daily on bulletin boards in camp.

"They could not read their manual of arms.

"They could not read their letters or write home.

"They could not understand the signals or follow the Signal Corps in time of battle.

"There are 700,000 men who cannot read or write who may be drafted within our army within the next year or two, since there were 4,600,000 illiterates over twenty years of age in 1910.

"While the Census report has informed the world that 8 per cent of illiteracy was the record of the country, the army figure for draft men now puts the per cent of illiteracy as 24.9 per cent,

or practically one-fourth of the entire population. In one Southern camp it was found that the test for white men showed nearly 25 per cent of illiteracy and the test for negroes 75 per cent. There is no disclaiming the statement made by the army authorities that of the 1,552,256 men examined, 386,196, or one-fourth, were unable to read American newspapers or to write letters home to their families. They were unable to read or understand signs about the camp or a written or printed order. In factories they would have been unable to understand the signs and instructions intended to prevent them from accident.

"These facts announce to the smug and self-satisfied American the presence of an unmistakable national danger. It is idle to deny it and foolhardy to neglect it. The extent of its possibilities cannot be overestimated. Other nations have fallen when the causes were less obviously certain to bring disaster."

THAT the illiteracy of soldiers spelled loss of efficiency in the fighting forces at the front and a tremendous economic loss to the nation, Mrs. Catt thought self-evident. But she also thought illiteracy a continuing danger. For instance, the effort to educate the farmers by Agricultural Department bulletins is negated by the fact that 2,500,000 farmers cannot read the bulletins.

"The Food Administration met the same obstruction, and in many cities the rumor that the Government would confiscate all the canned products put up by the housewife found such ready belief among the illiterate and non-English-speaking people that robbers claiming to represent the Government found little difficulty in making way with such household stores.

"Most federal officials responsible for the conduct of the war and most war workers were inspired by high ideals. Every speech made, every document written to hold our nation to her task, made an appeal to stand by the cause of freedom, of democracy, of liberation for all the oppressed of earth. Yet, how could such aims be comprehended by the millions of native-born illiterates and near-illiterates and by the millions of non-English-speaking immigrants? How could they be realized by the thousands of boys whose lives were conscripted from these classes to serve these lofty purposes? As a matter of fact they never did comprehend.

"Some of those lads died over there; died for the cause of human liberty they did not understand. A vacant chair is left in the old home down in the Kentucky mountains, or up in the Maine north woods—what does it mean to the family? The Government commanded the son to go, they knew not where, for they could not read a map. He never came back. Will that family love or hate the Government?"

Mrs. Catt could speak of illiteracy with the knowledge of practical experience, having been, during the war, the chairman of the Educational Propaganda Committee of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense, and a member of the Committee for National Unity.

She reminded her hearers that one of the foremost war aims of the National American Woman Suffrage Association had been along the lines of Americanization.

"It will be remembered that when, at a great meeting in Washington, we offered the services of our association to the Government in the event of war, we named this line of work as one which would be necessary and adopted it as one of our war departments. I well remember one high governmental official who expressed a sneering contempt of the idea that Americanization could become a war task. But our prediction was correct. The Federal authorities soon appealed to Governors and to the Councils of Defense to push the movement, and a National Americanization Conference was called by the Government.

"All over the land men and women turned enthusiastically to teaching English to their neighbors. States appropriated money for extension classes of the public schools; classes were formed in factories, churches and clubs.

"The results were encouraging. All the efforts were well spent; but to balance the story it must also be recorded that there were factory owners, making big profits on Government contracts, who refused to allow classes among their employees. The masses of non-English-speaking adults did not want to learn English, and the work, excellent as it was in many states, only reached a very small minority.

"Happily, the war ended; but the problem, big and threatening, is still here. That it was a serious hindrance to the successful mobilization of the fighting and civilian forces of the nation, as well as a decided economic loss, has been demonstrated. Yet the handicaps to these phases of national efficiency are infinitesimal as compared to the impediments which illiteracy offers to *successfully applied democracy*.

"NO one knows this more thoroughly than suffragists. In many a tragic campaign they have pleaded with these voters for their liberty, and in thousands of precincts they have seen them come, and under direction, vote woman suffrage down. They have borne the insult and the taunts of poll-workers who had such voters in charge.

"Many an American woman with Revolutionary blood in her veins, born on American soil, educated in American schools, familiar with American history and ideals, has seen the process by which her state has denied to her a voice in her own Government through the votes of men born in other lands, unable to speak our language, unable to read their ballots, but automatically enfranchised when the nation extends its certificate of naturalization.

"How many times, at the end of a campaign, have I seen women with faces drawn, white and tearless, who spoke no bitter words of condemnation and betrayed little emotion. Some thought they didn't care, some thought them to be suffering mildly from disappointment, but well I know what was in their hearts. It was not the denial of the vote, but the manner in which that denial had been accomplished, which filled them with a speechless despair. There is a woman in this convention whose tragic face and bearing upon such a night was so riveted into my memory, that I never see her or hear her name that the scene does not rise before me. She had made tremendous personal sacrifice, and no person in her State had wielded a more powerful influence for good than she. It was one of the states wherein a deal was made with the directors of a foreign vote and suffrage was voted down and counted out in exchange for political favors. We knew it. This woman pressed my hand in silence. We have never spoken nor written about that election, but some thoughts of others we can read. She was not thinking, 'my state has wronged me, my friends and neighbors have treated me unfairly.' Ah, no. The unspoken prayer on her lips was 'My country, my country; the rocks of destruction are ahead. God save her, God save her.'

"Not only would woman suffrage have been established many years ago—political corruption, lifting its hydra head at unexpected times and places and elevating men without conscience to power, could and would have been stamped out in all its worst manifestations long ago, had these millions of illiterate foreigners and natives not offered dangerous temptations to unscrupulous men. It is my sincerest and most earnest conviction that had our nation met this problem frankly fifty years ago; had so-called Americanization begun then, had political leaders faced the obvious menace to our institutions, instead of evading, avoiding

and placating it, had political parties stood for American ideals in their practice as well as in the brave words of their platforms and made war on corruption instead of using it secretly each to beat the other, we would never have had a world war. A democracy, functioning honestly in this country, would have spread to other lands with great rapidity.

"A very slight acquaintance with man suffrage movements in Europe before the war revealed the fact that there was no more important contributory influence to the delay of the enfranchisement of men than the exaggerated reports that self government had been a failure in this country. Thousands of intelligent, observant, foreign-born citizens quite unintentionally reinforced those reports with illustrations of the manner in which money and intrigue frequently replaced public opinion in the determination of elections. Among the factors intricately entangled, which made conditions possible for a Kaiser to dream of world command, no honest-minded American will forget American sins of omission.

"I was a passenger on a great ship which sailed from England in 1914 when all the world was at peace. It arrived in New York to find all the world at war. It was one of the last ships to bring a big steerage of immigrants, nearly all males. As we approached the port, the immigrants were brought on deck and ordered in single file to march before the health inspectors. Hats were ordered off, in order that eyes might be examined. None understood the instructions and many kept their hats on. The ship's officers knocked the hats off with most ungentle blows. They jostled and pushed them, they struck at the men and kicked at them. The scene reminded me of a criminal chain gang. The immigrants knew they were being abused, as flashes of anger in their faces showed, but they did not know why. The only offense of these newcomers was their inability to understand any language but their own! It was their first introduction to 'the land of the brave and the free.'

"Time passes and such men find their way to a Naturalization Court. Meanwhile, most of them have lived among their own nationality, amid uncomfortable surroundings; they have performed unskilled work at proportional pay. They are as ignorant as when they arrived. They have been too tired and too unambitious to attend night schools, but they have managed to memorize the answers to the questions necessary to citizenship.

"Time passes and an election approaches. Men of the immigrant's nationality come to him to engage his promise to vote as they direct. The new citizen is taken to the polls and his ticket, which he can neither read nor understand, finds its way into the ballot box. He does not know for what the party stands that he has supported. He does not know what the men do whom he has helped elect. He does not know the meaning of the measures he has voted up or down.

"From the moment when he first beheld the figure of 'Liberty enlightening the World' in the harbor of New York to his exit from the election booth, he has seen nothing, heard nothing, experienced nothing, which has given him a glimmer of American ideals. And this has been the experience of millions of men. When the war came, men and women who never took any interest in them before, suddenly wondered whether these men would be loyal.

"Why should they be loyal?

"Loyalty is not like a change of coats, one to be left behind in Italy or Greece and another put on in the port of New York. Loyalty is born of love of one's country. Before a foreigner will love this land, he must understand it, know that it is kind and hospitable to him and that in some fashion it is a better land to him and his children than any other in the world.

"LET us go to the other end of the problem and ask who is responsible for foreign votes in blocks, for the use of money, jobs and favors to win and hold those blocks of men? To answer that question completely the spaces of a book would be required. Political Committees, driven madly by the push and whirl of a campaign, have little time for ethics. Politics has become war to be won by strategy and manoeuvre. 'The end justifies the means' and the system as it exists is utilized to the full with as little actual knowledge of the facts allowed to leak out as possible. The leaders of great commercial interests, who want to give good account of their stewardship to the thousands of citizens who have invested their honest savings in the enterprise and other interests, made mad by utterly selfish strife for big dividends, grow fearful of popular government. Some conscientiously, others banefully, make contributions to parties' or candidates' expenses, in a spirit of self preservation. In exchange for contributions, they receive assurance that no legislation shall disturb the even tenor of their way. So it happens that some men are tagged by the invisible government, and vote, talk and act as other minds direct. The system is complicated and its ways are devious. A state may go forward with no sign of criminality in its politics for a long period, when suddenly a piece of stupendous rascality is put through with all trails leading to definite evidence carefully concealed.

"The iniquitous interference of the brewing and whiskey interests with politics, their large contributions of money to parties, their control of large blocks of foreign-born voters, their absolute distastefulship over men in high places, had much to do with the establishment of national prohibition.

"When the Public Service Commission of New Hampshire investigated the interference with politics of the Boston and Maine Railroad and discovered that it had made contributions to defeat woman suffrage, it pointed to the probability that these interests work together to secure the defeat of any man or measure inimical to the advantage of any one of them.

"The great cotton industries, North and South, employing thousands of women and in some states, children; the packers trust, making enormous profits while the price of meat is prohibitive to the poor, are known to take a master hand in politics. Who would suspect that so simple a proposal as daylight saving would draw into politics the forces of any vested interests? Yet, here come the great gas and electric light corporations to make vigorous protest and get the law repealed, if they can.

"We may later discover that some of the thousands of war contractors—ships, munitions and equipment—may join hands to oppose the League of Nations.

"Between these two stands the majority of our population, the common people, intelligent and understanding, respecting and upholding American ideals, voting wisely, conducting themselves honestly. To these classes we owe the fact that the Republic has lived and moved forward, despite its load of illiteracy and the consequent tempering interference of those whose only motive is private gain. It is to these we owe the victory of our nation in the war. It was they who caught the vision of a war of liberation, of an America freeing the oppressed people of the world and kept our nation at her task. Whenever there is a cause of justice, of common national welfare, of national progress, here in America we 'tell it to the people,' and from mountain and valley, city and farm, this great middle class rallies to its support.

"It is a law of social psychology that wherever reaction becomes unseeing, oppressively unreasoning, there corresponding radicalism, as unreasoning, develops. As Russian Czarism bred Bolshevism and Kaiserism bred revolution, so everywhere the

more intense the reaction, the bolder the radicalism; and these extremes each exciting and baiting the other, continue their play, one growing more reactionary, the other more radical, until the fury bursts in some national tragedy. No nation has ever had or will ever have a more dangerous enemy than organized reaction.

"The word reaction must not be too indiscriminately used. There is a tendency among advocates of causes to hurl it at those who may honestly disagree with them. There is one infallible test. When man, party or group organizes for destruction of ideals and progress and never offers construction; when such oppose, but never propose; tear down and never build up, that is reaction. Constructive criticism is always wholesome, but that proposes when it opposes. When we contemplate the amazing action of the minority of the United States Senate concerning the woman suffrage amendment, when we reflect upon the incredible attitude of the same body toward the League of Nations, to which the oppressed peoples of the world, left exposed to terrible dangers by the outcome of the war, are now turning for protection; when the many expressions heard since the Armistice are taken into account, that 'a war for democracy' was mere twaddle used to keep this country going, but the war was really one of self defense, it becomes clear that we have a more forceful reactionary influence in this country than most of us had realized. This influence is not Democratic, it is not Republican, it is found within both dominant parties. It is a minority, but clever, united and insistent.

"This is the great American menace. It represents a defect in our institutions which has grown more dangerous under the neglect of half a century. It threatened to wreck our war preparations, it threatens now to wreck the reconstruction of the world. Until this problem is met frankly and disposed of definitely and decisively, there can be no security for American democracy, no guarantee of good government.

"What shall we do about it? Shall we, who have struggled for our enfranchisement at least a quarter of a century longer on its account, shall we, who know its meaning and its danger, turn our backs upon it? For a half century women have sacrificed and labored hard to persuade our forty-eight states and our nation to lift them up to political equality with men who cannot speak our language and who cannot read their ballots. Shall we not turn again to these states and to the nation and demand that, without delay, these men shall now be lifted up to qualified equality with them?

"How is it possible to approach so vast a task, do you ask? What can we do?"

"Let us begin by eliminating the word 'Americanization!' That word sounds too much like Russianizing the Poles, Germanizing the Alsatians, and Hungarianizing the Croats. It sounds too much like oppression, whereas the only way to succeed in making true Americans of the foreign-born citizens, is to give them an incentive to be Americans in all the senses that word implies."

As a constructive remedial program of work Mrs. Catt suggested nine points for consideration, "none of them original," she said, "and most of them advocated by many associations."

"It is not my idea that the League of Women Voters will assume the sole leadership or furnish the sole support of these proposals, but that it shall cooperate with other agencies to secure a joint leadership and provide an important and influential support. The active interest of both political parties, the National and all state governments should be secured and this combination should furnish a leadership which will guarantee quick action. We have seen what united governmental and political leadership

can do to produce national action in time of war. The same unification should be secured for a patriotic peace program; not to Americanize our foreign citizens, but to nationalize the entire electorate. These proposals should strike a popular chord and stir little controversy, but people 'are so fond of the old and so fearful of the new' that there may be more resistance than we think. If, at first, political leaders are timid, suffragists will not be afraid to follow the vision of right until they grow bolder; if unexpected opposition develops, they will not hesitate to meet it."

Her nine points were: Compulsory education in every state; education of adults; English the national language; higher qualifications for citizenship; citizenship for women; education in citizenship; oath of allegiance; schools of citizenship and an educational qualification for every voter.

The returning soldier will demand such things of this nation, the speaker was sure. Such experiences as these men have had, has left them impatient of narrow partisanship, politics without aim, a country without progress.

"TODAY these boys are hunting jobs, sweethearting, enjoying mothers' cooking, finding their niche in the world, but tomorrow they will be filling legislative and congressional halls, gubernatorial and presidential chairs—leading the nation. They will bring fresh young minds and lofty ideals to the task. Shall we go our own way and leave this task to them? Or, shall we clear the way for them by sweeping this most immediate and threatening menace to national security out of the way?

"They have fought 'over there' for the spirit of democracy. Shall we not give over to them a country in which democracy is realized by a people speaking one language, reading its own ballots and honoring one flag?

"Is an America, which every citizen may love and under whose flag every citizen may feel secure, what we want? Is an America freed from the combined threat of alternative control by aggressive reaction and that of revolution worth while? Then all the progressive forces of the nation must be united to bring it about and we must do our part. It needs sane heads, constructive plans and earnest work. Does the task seem overwhelming?

"All things worth having are possible. I believe in my America, I believe in her ideals, her common sense, her responsiveness to duty. When she understands, she has never proved false to a single appeal to justice. She has never failed to rise to her full measure of greatness when the call has been made. She will not fail now.

"Arise women voters of East and West, of North and South, in this your first union together; strong of faith, fearless of spirit, let the nation hear you pledge all that you have and all that you are to a new crusade—an American crusade, a national crusade; a crusade that shall not end until the electorate of the Republic is intelligent, clean, American.

"Every patriotic American hearing your pledge will respond with another. The spirit of this new crusade will travel from state to state, from city to city, arousing every teacher, school board, high school, and college, every church, every moral and social power until all progressive agencies will be united in a nation-wide campaign against the world's oldest enemy—ignorance. What should be done, can be done; what can be done, let us do. And may 'God's truth go marching on.'"

*The full text of Mrs. Catt's speech may be had from the National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company, 171 Madison Avenue.



DR. MARION
HORTON
the
NEWLY
ELECTED
PRESIDENT
of the
VERMONT
EQUAL
SUFFRAGE
ASSOCIATION

THE list of delegates to the Jubilee Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association in St. Louis, March 24 to 29, read like the Woman's Who's Who. Women voters who are helping to re-shape the old political parties, women heads of government departments, leaders in war work, in civic affairs, in moral reform, writers, lecturers, educators stood out from among the rank and file of home women who participated in the convention because they were convinced that the home should have further representation in government.

One of the oldest woman suffrage states, Colorado, sent a goodly delegation, including two women appearing on the program, Mrs. Ellis Meredith, publicity director of the Women's National Democratic Committee, and Miss Jessie Haver, legislative representative in Washington for the National Consumers' League.

From the District of Columbia went Judge Katharine Sellers and Mrs. James C. Cantrill, wife of Representative Cantrill, of Kentucky.

The New York delegation was headed by Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw and Mrs. Raymond Brown, state officers and members of the National Board. It included: Mrs. Frank J. Tone, the leader who carried Buffalo over the top; Miss Kathryn Starbuck, of Saratoga, suffrage leader for her district and candidate for the New York legislature from Saratoga County in 1918; Mrs. F. E. Bates of Ithaca, New York; Miss Sarah Wadsworth from Auburn; Mrs. Gertrude H. Martin and Mrs. H. W. Chapin from Syracuse; Mrs. J. J. Dayton from Cornell; Mrs. Henry White Cannon, of Delaware Co.; Mrs. Gordon Norrie of Dutchess, and Mrs. William Belknap of Westchester; Mrs. Charles Noel Edge, Miss Mary Drier of the Woman's Trade Union League; Mrs. Frederick Nathan of the Consumers League and Dr. Josephine S. Baker of the City Health Board. The city delegates, headed by Miss Mary G. Hay, city chairman and a National vice-president, included Mrs. F. Louis Slade, Mrs. Richard Aldrich, Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany, Mrs. V. Everit Macy, Mrs. William Boyce Thompson, Mrs. John H. Griesel, Mrs. Walter Timme, Miss Anna Maxwell Jones, Mrs. Willard D. Straight, Mrs. H. Edward Dreier, Mrs. Frederick L. Cranford, Miss Eva Potter, Miss Adella Potter, Miss Mary Buxton, Miss Clara Caulkins, Mrs. Stephen Loines, Mrs. George Notman, Mrs. William G. Willcox, Mrs. David R. Rodger, Mrs. Emil Glogau, Mrs. Louis Walker, Mrs. Henry Russell, Miss Marjorie Shuler and Miss Hilda Loines.

Others especially interested in the formation of the new voters' organization were the delegates from Utah and Wyoming, Mrs.

Emily S. Richards, president of the Utah association, and Mrs. Louise Palmer Webber, both of Salt Lake City, and from Wyoming, Miss Theresa A. Jenkins, of Cheyenne.

Among Massachusetts delegates were Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, president of the state association; Mrs. Charles Sumner Bird, first vice-president; Mrs. Oakes Ames, Mrs. George W. Perkins, Mrs. Wenona O. Pinkham, Mrs. Robert Gould Shaw, Mrs. Benjamin F. Pitman, Mrs. Wirt Dexter, Miss Fanny C. Osgood, Mrs. William Ripley, Mrs. George Stearns, Miss Mable Willard and Mrs. Emma L. Blackwell.

Mrs. Richard E. Edwards, Miss Betsy Edwards and Miss Mary Gallahan, of Peru, were in the Indiana delegation of thirty-eight members.

Other Indiana delegates and alternates were: Mrs. L. J. Cox Terre Haute; Mrs. Chas. J. Gill, Muncie; Miss Betsy Edwards, Shelbyville; Mrs. Alice Foster McCulloch, Ft. Wayne; Miss Sara Lauter, Indianapolis; Mrs. Elizabeth Claypool Earl, Connorsville; Mrs. E. A. Gould, Mrs. A. S. Meade, Mrs. Joseph Shirk and Mrs. John Crume of Peru; Mrs. Ovid Butler Jameson, Miss Eldena Lauter, Mrs. Julia C. Henderson, Dr. Amelia R. Keller, Mrs. Alice M. French, Mrs. Edward Franklin White, Mrs. Wilmer Christian and Miss Nanette Kennedy of Indianapolis; Mrs. Mabel Dunlap Curry, Miss Elizabeth Cooper, Miss Emma May and Miss Helen Benbridge of Terre Haute; Mrs. Thomas Arthur Stuart, Mrs. Chas. Q. Erisman and Mrs. Chas. B. Stuart of Lafayette; Mrs. Jessie Fremont Croan, Mrs. Frank E. Kimble and Mrs. I. E. May of Anderson; Miss M. Mable Johnston, West Point; Mrs. Isaac Beitman, Wabash; Mrs. Mark Rogers, Covington; Mrs. Florence Keeler, Crown Point; Mrs. C. W. Boucher, Valparaiso; Mrs. Hugh A. Cowing and Mrs. M. A. Greenup of Muncie; Mrs. Rachel Harris, Sullivan; Mrs. Edith Stout Stipp and Mrs. Paul Lindley of Paoli; Mrs. George Stedman, Aurora; Mrs. F. E. France, Decatur; Mrs. R. V. Claxton, French Lick; Mrs. Elizabeth Stanley, Liberty; Miss Eva Toms, Cambridge City; Mrs. Clara Crooks, Waterloo; Mrs. Meda Sexton and Mrs. Ben Oppenheim of North Manchester; Mrs. Louis Walker, Hagerstown; Mrs. M. P. Hollingsworth, Princeton; and Mrs. Frederick Lauhenstein of Evansville.

GEORGIA had a large delegation, including Mrs. Mary Latimer McLendon, called the Mother of Suffrage in Georgia; Mrs. Emma T. Martin, Mrs. Amelia R. Woodall, Miss Katherine Koch, Mrs. E. C. Cresse, Mrs. Rose M. Ashbry, Mrs. Raymond E. White, all of Atlanta; Mrs. W. H. Felton, of Cartersville; Mrs. W. T. Atkinson, of Newman; Miss Mildred Hicks, of Bainbridge; Mrs. Mary Harris Armor, of Crawfordsville; Mrs. Harold Lamb, of Union Point; Miss J. S. Wiley, of Rome; Mrs. M. B. Merritt, of Macon.

These all represented the Georgia Woman Suffrage Association. From the Georgia Equal Suffrage Party went: Mrs. Emily C. MacDougald, President, and Mrs. A. G. Helmer, chairman of Fulton County, from Atlanta; Mrs. John Dozier Pou, vice-president, Columbus; Miss Annie G. Wright, auditor, and Mrs. L. S. Arrington from Augusta; and Miss Isabelle Thomas, Society Editor, of Atlanta Journal.

The New Hampshire Equal Suffrage Association was represented at St. Louis by Mrs. Vida Chase Webb of Lisbon, New Hampshire, a member of the Advisory Council and Finance Chairman.

Within the
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the organization as Win St. Louis

Connecticut delegates, in addition to Miss Mary Bulkley, the official Board representative, were Miss Edith Hastings of Stratford, Miss Caroline Ruutz-Rees of Greenwich and Miss Julia Hinaman of Hartford, Press secretary for the State Association.

Miss Anna B. Lawther, of Dubuque, headed the Iowa delegation, which included Mrs. James Devitt, of Oskaluska, and Mrs. Laura Hurd Baily, of Dunlap; Mrs. Ralph Thompson, of Muscatine; Mrs. Everett Moses, Centerville; Mrs. P. J. Mills and Miss Flora Dunlap, of Des Moines; Dr. Margaret Mills, of Ottumwa; Mrs. F. J. Tallett, Marshalltown, and Mrs. J. M. Walker, Dubuque.

An interesting group of women represented the new equal suffrage state of Oklahoma. Miss Katherine Pierce, of Oklahoma City, is the youngest state chairman in the National Association. The state secretary is another of the younger suffragists, Miss Aloysius Larch-Miller, of Shawnee. Miss Larch-Miller helped in digging the dug-out and proving up the land when her family went a-pioneering in Oklahoma. Mrs. Albert T. Crockett, of Oklahoma City, treasurer of the State Campaign Committee, is a former Georgia woman and as state chairman of the Fatherless Children of France made a valuable contribution to Oklahoma women's war service. Mrs. Alice David, of Choteau, is the former editor of the Kansas suffrage publication and was a county leader in the Oklahoma campaign. Mrs. W. M. Maben, of Shawnee; Miss Olive Le Soeur, of Antlers; Mrs. Minnie Bailey, of Enid; Mrs. Feuquay, of Chandler, and Mrs. Ardery, of Oklahoma City, completed the delegation.

The Pennsylvania delegates were: Miss Lucy E. Anthony, Moylan; Mrs. Edward Parker Davis and Miss Emma Klahr, of Philadelphia; Miss Mary and Miss Nannie Lee, of Sharon; Mrs. Wesley A. Looney, Pittsburgh; Mrs. Edward Y. Hartshorne, Haverford; Miss Anna Harris Snyder, Philadelphia; Mrs. A. M. Snyder, Ardmore; Mrs. F. D. Maxwell, Lansdowne, and Mrs. G. P. Worrell, of Ogden.

Among the Minnesota delegates and alternates were: Mrs. Andreas Ueland, Miss Marguerite Wells, Miss Stiles Burr, Mrs. Walter Burr (alternate), Miss Cornelia Lusk, of St. Paul; Mrs. P. L. De Voist and Miss Clara Le Duc, of Duluth. Minneapolis sent Mrs. H. G. Harrison, Mrs. Walter Thorp, Mrs. Victor Troendle, Miss Hope McDonald, Miss Florence Monahan, Mrs. Milton Purdy, Mrs. A. E. Merrill, Miss Nellie Merrill, Mrs. James Paige, Mrs. A. W. Strong, Mrs. R. H. Passamore, Mrs. O. J. Evans and Mrs. Earl Spencer.

Arkansas women present in St. Louis included: Mrs. T. T. Cotnam, state chairman and National director; Mrs. Minnie Rutherford Fuller, legislative chairman for the State Federation of Women's Clubs and member of the legislative committee of the General Federation of Women's Clubs; Mrs. Stella Brizzolara, Fort Smith; Mrs. M. C. Burleigh, Dermott; Mrs. J. D. Head, Texarkana; Mrs. A. Marinoni, Fayetteville; Mrs. Frank Gibb, Little Rock; Miss Alice Cordell, El Dorado; Miss Josephine Miller, Little Rock.

Mrs. Arthur Hunter, of Montclair, acted as proxy for the state president of New Jersey, Mrs. Lilian Feickert.

Remaining delegations will be reported on April 5th.

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Easter Fashions for Women

Early?—Not at all! Who would be dull this Easter? Surely, no one, and so we must begin to prepare everything in flower-like freshness for this most joyous of festivals.

Frocks are in keeping with the happy Spring—floating tissues of printed voile, crepe Georgette, etc. And for the woman who wants to wear her dress without a coat or with furs, there are the gowns of gabardine, tricotine, Poirer twill, tricolette, Moire silk, satin, Poulette and silk duvetyn.

Wraps rather favor the dolman or the short, straight-line capes of luxuriously soft woolen and silk fabrics. Women are showing a decided color preference for navy blue, walnut, sand, horizon blue, terra-cotta and checks.

We invite you to come and see our display of individual fashions that were planned especially for women's Springtime pleasure.

Third Floor

You Never Pay More at Best's



The Jubilant Diary of a Golden Jubilee

(Special Convention Correspondence)

Thursday, March 20, 1919.

MARVELOUS! Marvelous! You hear it on every hand. New York women, accustomed to come to conventions armed cap-a-pie to combat with the preliminary perplexities, complexities, mix-ups, omissions, confusions that attend on conventions are meeting one another in the corridors of the Statler tonight, with hands uplifted in wonder and thanksgiving. There aren't any complexities, the perplexities have all been smoothed out, nothing has been omitted, nothing has been mixed up, nobody is confused.

It's Mrs. George Gellhorn, past mistress of organization and execution that she is, flanked by that remarkable coterie of women of the St. Louis Equal Suffrage League, together with the women of the Missouri State Association, who is the informing genius of it all. There is literally nothing that she hasn't seen to, with the help of her vitally efficient committees. Floor, space or people, she has everything and everybody in hand. Banquets, Odeon meetings, Mrs. Catt, Dr. Shaw, display tables for the *Woman Citizen*, she knows exactly where to put us—and oh, the genial, joy-compelling serenity of the lady while she is about it!

We are all checked off, farmed out in the most delightful way, to local women of prominence, who know everything and take us everywhere. It is the delectable fate of the *Woman Citizen* crew to be chaperoned by Miss Letitia Parker, exquisite person, competent guide, gracious hostess; but when we brag of her to Miss Ogden, Miss Ogden says: "Why, my Mrs. Buschman. is just like that, too!"

And Mrs. Clarke is just like that, too, and Mrs. Thompson, and Mrs. English, and Mrs. Haight and all the others.

Then, again, never was hotel management so accommodating as is the management of this great new hostelry. From the moment you step within the doors of the beautiful lobby, you feel the lifting of the cares of this life from your shoulders. Thenceforward, for as long as you are here, life is simple. If you have sense enough to push buttons and turn faucets, the Statler will do the rest.

The sessions of the convention are to be held in the ballroom of the Statler, the spacious parlors and reception rooms adjoining being given over in large measure to the press and suffrage exhibits. *The Woman Citizen* has for its near neighbors the National Suffrage Publishing Company on one side and *The Missouri Woman* on the other. There are special exhibits of the various branches of educational and publicity work being carried on by the Leslie Bureau of Suffrage Education.

LIST OF LOCAL ARRANGEMENT COMMITTEES

Mrs. George Gellhorn, Chairman
Miss Irene Loeb, Secretary to Chairman
State and City Relations.....Mrs. Walter McNab Miller
Bureau of Information, Union Station.....Mrs. Wm. Haight
Headquarters, Statler Hotel.....Mrs. A. E. Reton
a. Bureau of Information.....Mrs. John S. Payne
b. Seating.....Mrs. D. O. Ives
c. Post Office.....Mrs. F. P. Hays
d. Emergency.....
Credentials and Registration.....Mrs. J. P. Higgins
Ushers.....Mrs. Scott Porter,
Mrs. F. Blelock, Mrs. Thos. Anderson
Hospitality—
a. Hospitality to the National Board.....Mrs. E. W. Stix,
Mrs. David O'Neil, Mrs. Robt. McKittrick Jones
b. Committee of Hostesses.....Mrs. J. D. Dana

c. Hotels and Housing.....Mrs. Leslie Thompson
d. Auto Drive.....Mrs. Philip B. Fouke, Mrs. A. Brueggeman
e. Banquet.....Mrs. N. D. Thompson,
Mrs. Arthur Proetz (Acting Chairman)
f. Chairman on Hospitality for Committee of "1872,"
Mrs. B. Morrison-Fuller

Odeon Meetings.....Mrs. Fred J. Taussig
a. Ushers.....Mrs. Henry Lodge
b. Decorations.....Mrs. E. W. Pattison
c. Music.....Mrs. Robt. Atkinson
d. Boxes.....Mrs. Fred. L. English
e. Distribution of Literature.....Mrs. Harry January
f. Reception Friday night.....Miss Nellie A. Quick

Press, Mrs. F. B. Clarke; Publicity, Mrs. E. M. Grossman; Street Speaking, Mrs. Fred L. English; Meeting other than Convention or Street, Mrs. Fanny Bonner Price; Badges, Mrs. A. S. Rauh; Distribution of Badges, Mrs. A. J. Goodwin; Program, Mrs. A. S. Rauh; Churches, Mrs. Clay Jordan; Distribution of Literature, Mrs. B. F. Burch; Committee for "The Woman Citizen," Miss Letitia Parker; Committee for National Suffrage Publishing Company, Mrs. A. Buschman, and International News, Mrs. Eugene Meyer.

THE members of the National Press Staff attending the St. Louis Convention and the young women on the reportorial staff of the several papers have just been made acquainted at a delightful luncheon with Mrs. F. B. Clarke, Chairman of the Local Press Committee, as hostess. The affair included beside Mrs. Clarke, Mrs. George Gellhorn, Miss Rose Young, Miss Mary Semple Scott, editor of the *Missouri Woman*; Miss Letitia Parker, Chairman of the local committee for the *Woman Citizen*; Miss Marguerite Martyn, of the *Post-Dispatch*; Mrs. Emily McG. Alcott, of the *Republic*; Miss Myra Lynch, of the *Globe-Democrat*; Miss Edith V. Young, of the *Times*; Miss Elizabeth Fletcher, of the *Star*; Miss Betty Boyd, who is assisting the local committee on publicity; Miss Marjorie Shuler and Mrs. Rose L. Geyer, associate editors of the *Woman Citizen*.

The event of the afternoon was the arrival of Dr. Shaw, fresh from Washington, and in instant demand as soon as St. Louis realized her presence.

Friday, March 21, 1919.

"Minnesota has won presidential suffrage!" was the shout that rang through the ballroom of the Statler, where preparations were on for the Jubilee Convention today.

Maine on Wednesday, Minnesota on Friday!

Then the horrifying thought—those maps!

The swiftest runner in the world could not keep up with the suffrage map. One of the prize "lay-outs" in the *Woman Citizen's* Jubilee Convention number is a two-page spread of the suffrage map, brought right up to the minute, so the editors thought. Now it is all wrong—and no one is the least bit sorry. Henceforth Maine will appear on the suffrage map as a white state marked with black polka dots rather than the coal black state she has been so long, and Minnesota will change from black with white dots, indicating school suffrage, to snowy white dotted with black, indicating her dignified place in the suffrage world.

The National's Golden Jubilee will therefore jubilate over eight suffrage victories all in a row, all won within a period of five months—Michigan, Oklahoma and South Dakota, which came in as full suffrage states last November, Indiana, Wisconsin, Vermont, Maine and Minnesota, which have won presidential suffrage since January 1, 1919.

(Continued on April 5)

Latin American Women

IN these days of internationalism the women of North, South and Central America are still strangers to each other for lack of an adequate means of exchanging their ideas. Two women in Porto Rico propose to bridge this gap. In a letter just sent they say:

"Porto Rico is half Anglo-American and half Latin-American, and, small as it appears on the map, its geographical location makes the island an excellent hub for propaganda.

"Therefore the *Heraldo de la Mujer* (the Woman's Herald), published in Spanish and English, starts out on the mission of finding the missing links and connecting them in a chain of publicity covering the various activities of women in the United States, Central and South America, with frequent side-lights from Europe; thus creating a stronger unified force that will eventually concentrate the scope of education and enlightenment among women.

"Woman suffrage is the natural issue upon which higher education of women rests; it forms the basis of woman's activities and furnishes the knowledge that 'women are people.'

"A Latin-American woman suffrage alliance is the ultimate object of the *Heraldo de la Mujer*; to be attained and subsequently developed through a constant, constructive campaign of propaganda for women, among women, by women.

"Articles dealing with special activities among the women of Anglo and Latin-America will be principal features of the magazine.

"The Spanish editor of this publication is Ana Roque' de Duprey; the English editor, Geraldine Maud Froscher, Box 313, Manati, Porto Rico.

MRS. IDA HUSTED HARPER,
Historian of the Suffrage Movement



The Suffrage Historian

THERE never was better reading than the four volumes of the *History of Woman Suffrage*. It is what those Frenchmen, Des Goncourts, called "a human document"—the most human of documents. Beneath its sober pages burn the fires of martyred women's lives. It has more thrills than the many volumes of *Jean Christophe*, or all the chronicles of the Five Towns.

The first three volumes were written by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, with contributions from many more fiery-souled women of mid-Victorian days. That early chronicle was almost written in blood and tears. The enormous task of putting together its vo-

luminous material was carried out mainly by Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton between arduous campaigns. As Mrs. Stanton had the facile pen but also a demanding family, many a time and oft, Miss Anthony did housework and tended children in Mrs. Stanton's home, while the swift pen of the latter set down what they had devised together.

The fourth volume of the *History* was written by a woman who is probably the best living authority on suffrage facts—Mrs. Ida Husted Harper.

As Mrs. Stanton was Aaron to Miss Anthony's Moses in the earlier part of her life, so Mrs. Harper became literary spokesman for her in her later years, Miss Anthony always saying that Mrs. Harper's pen came to her aid just as Mrs. Stanton's was laid aside. For about ten years before Miss Anthony's death, Mrs. Harper's association with her was very close, as the great bulk of material on the suffrage cause for forty previous years, lay in the unsorted piles in Miss Anthony's attic in Rochester, New York. It was in this pleasant attic room that Mrs. Harper gave two years of her life to the completion of the fourth volume of the *History*, which brings the history of suffrage down to the beginning of the twentieth century.

Mrs. Harper is now engaged upon the fifth volume which she expects will complete the story of the long toil of American women for their enfranchisement.

Mrs. Harper was chosen by Miss Anthony herself from among all possible American women writers to set forth the facts of her life-work, an acknowledgement of the fact that she was the best informed and most authoritative writer upon the growth and development of the suffrage cause in America. It is not only the national but international aspects of the equal suffrage struggle with which Mrs. Harper is familiar. For the past twenty-five years she has been present as delegate and speaker at the European meetings of the International Council of Women and the International Woman Suffrage Alliance.

Accounts of these congresses are among the priceless data Mrs. Harper has generously shared with the public in her gift of thirteen volumes of contemporary matter to the Library of Congress at Washington. These volumes are in the form of scrap-books made up of current articles written by herself and published in the many newspapers to which she has been a contributor. One series of these articles, showing the growth of suffrage, ran continuously in the *New York Sun* for five years from 1899 to 1903, inclusive. Many autographed letters, received from people of prominence in the United States and Europe are included in the scrap-books.

He Talked Like a Woman

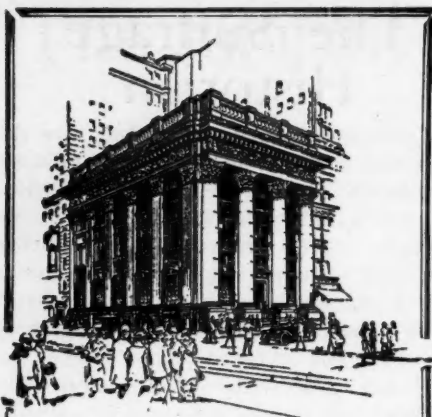
"BUT I think it is a little hard for us to be found worthy enough to be trusted to subscribe a major part of the Liberty loans, and to give to all the charities, but not fit to take part in the government of our own country."

Who was it that spoke these words? Was it a woman, indignantly protesting against disfranchisement, and recalling the active part that she and her sisters had taken in selling Liberty Bonds, and the large amounts that women give to charity? Not at all. It was the arch enemy of equal suffrage, U. S. Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts, in an address to the voters of Lynn during the recent campaign. He was appealing in behalf of the Republican party and against the election of Democrats to office.

The Republicans had simply been outvoted. If they had all been debarred from voting, Senator Lodge would not have been able to find words to express his righteous wrath. Yet he, with Senator Wadsworth and ex-Senator Weeks, was the ringleader of the obstinate minority group in the U. S. Senate that blocked the wish of almost two-thirds to submit the nationwide suffrage amendment to the States. Consequently, justice-loving women all over the country "have it in" for Senator Lodge, and they will quote this inconsistent utterance of his with malicious glee.

If the test of eligibility for suffrage were either patriotic service or charitable gifts, the doors would stand wide open for the women.

A. S. B.



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A Report to Make the Bones Fat

A part of the Annual Report of Mrs. Frank J. Shuler, Corresponding Secy., read at the Convention of the N. A. W. S. A.

IF as the proverb has it, "A good report maketh the bones fat," then the record of suffrage victories should strengthen and nourish all who read it.

In the past fifty years there has never been a time when the suffragists have so much reason to rejoice for victories chronicled all over the world and for the favorable attitude of the U. S. press as evinced by the steady growth of editorial support.

Our suffrage year of fifteen months has seen the full franchise won by the women of Oklahoma, Michigan and South Dakota; Presidential Suffrage granted in Indiana, Wisconsin and Vermont; Primary Suffrage in Texas and Municipal Suffrage in some charter towns. It has seen the Federal Amendment go through the House, January 10, 1918, fail in the Senate October, 1918, by two votes, and fail again February 10, 1919, by one vote. Even this reactionary body—the United States Senate—showed *some* progress. The one vote gained was that of Senator Pollock of South Carolina.

You remember Deborah. The Bible says: "She was a prophetess who sat under the trees in Lebanon and judged Israel." She had an easier job than Mrs. Maud Wood Park, the head of the Washington front door lobby. But in those days in Israel, as in Washington, the men did not seem to be able to do what they ought to be doing. They were oppressed by the enemy. Deborah said to Barach: "Go out and invite these people," and Barach went and finally sang a song of triumph. Pollock spoke on that memorable February 10, 1919, for a new South, for a South awake to the needs of its women and children. His stirring words in which he placed the responsibility on every man who voted against the Federal Amendment will echo down the ages in its song of triumph over prejudice and conservatism just as surely as did Barach's in the Bible story.

Nineteen hundred and eighteen saw 1,000,000 women vote in New York State, between 40 and 50 thousand women in Arkansas vote at the first state primary open to them, and 386,000 women vote in the Texas primaries.

January 24th, 1919, saw Nebraska emerge victorious from the battle fought since 1917 to retain Presidential and Municipal Suffrage. The story is an astounding revelation of fraud, forgery and fiction in the anti end of the fight.

The past year has seen suffrage by Federal Amendment endorsed by 21 Democratic State Conventions, 20 Republican State Conventions and many State Central Committees, while many more have stood for the principle of equal suffrage.

The past year has seen, too, one of our Vice-Presidents, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, made chairman of the Platform Committee of one of the political parties at the conference at Saratoga, New York, in July, 1918, a distinct suffrage victory, inasmuch as the men of New York State realized in thus signally honoring her they were honoring the women who by winning the suffrage campaign in New York City, had made possible the victory in New York State. Miss Hay has since been made a member of the National Woman's Committee of that same party.

The work of the last fifteen months has been accomplished under most trying and difficult conditions. Many women under the allurements of war work dropped suffrage work altogether. Some suffragists could not be persuaded that suffrage work was necessary at this time; others were unable to endure the criticism that they would be slackers if they did anything beside war work; still others thought if they did their war work well that men "seeing their good works" would "reward them openly" with the gift of the ballot.

Our Fighting Units—From Honorary President to the last Director every member of the Board of the National American Woman Suffrage Association had some part in war work. It covered a wide range, from Chairman of the Woman's Division of the National Council of Defense, Liberty Loan, Oversea Hospitals, to Canteen Service "over there." Our service flag representing workers from the official file of suffragists carried 25 stars.

Dr. Shaw, Mrs. Catt and Mrs. McCormick were conscripted for the Woman's Committee National Council of Defense. Miss Hay, Mrs. Gardener and Mrs. Dudley for Congressional and Mrs. Brown for Oversea Hospitals work. Other members were on special missions.

The activity regarding appointment of a woman or women on the Peace Commission originated in the National office and stirred the people of the entire country.

On December 8th, 1918, a meeting of war workers was held in the National Theatre in Washington, D. C., protesting against further delay in the Senate on the Federal Amendment.

Twenty-seven delegates representing the National Association attended the eight Congresses in the interests of the League of Nations.

FIELD WORK

The Five Salients—Democracy is our birth-right and heritage. Shall all be given to its defense and naught be given to its interpretation and its meaning to the people of this great

Republic? This was the thought in mind when the resolution which committed the National Association to an aggressive policy was passed at the 1917 convention. It read: "If the 65th Congress fails to submit the Federal Amendment before the next Congressional elections the Association shall select and enter into such a number of Senatorial and Congressional campaigns as will effect a change in both Houses of Congress sufficient to insure the passage of the Federal Amendment."

The 65th Congress had failed to pass the amendment. It was decided to enter the campaigns in New Hampshire, New Jersey, Massachusetts and Delaware.

The first two were at no time specially hopeful as they are likely to poll Republican majorities in those districts and both Republican Senatorial candidates were against suffrage. However, as a result of the work done in New Jersey, Senator Baird fell behind his ticket, while in New Hampshire the women and the advertising made so strong a case for the pro-suffrage candidate that for a day or two the result was in doubt. It was finally declared that Moses had won by 1,200 votes.

IN THE TRENCHES

1. The Three Referenda Victories.

(a) *Michigan*—The referenda campaigns in Michigan, Oklahoma and South Dakota were carried on under the most difficult and distracting conditions. The handicaps of war work and the influenza epidemic, which alone was accounted a political disaster by New York politicians, affected all states equally. Michigan's campaign started unfortunately with the belief that the war work of women would win the campaign. It was the task of Mrs. Catt and Mrs. Shuler, who attended the Michigan State Suffrage Convention March 25-28, to destroy this sinister optimism. Michigan's campaign later became unique because of its co-operative basis. The Michigan State Suffrage Association under Mrs. Percy Farrell had the assistance of politicians and political parties. Professional and business men formed themselves into a federation to give more effective aid. The Woman's Benefit Association of the Macabees, Miss Bina West, President, rendered special service. Michigan's majority for suffrage was 34,506.

(b) *South Dakota*—South Dakota's fifth campaign was unique because Amendment E, as it was called, made citizenship the basis of participation in governmental affairs. Mrs. Pyle and other women offered to forego their proposed campaign to devote their energies solely to war service, but the legislators said: "We look to the women to wage the best campaign they have ever made, and they did—the suffrage majority being 19,716."

(c) *Oklahoma*—The Oklahoma campaign was unique also, because of many handicaps.

1st—There was the necessity of polling a ma-

jority of the highest vote cast in the general election—the silent vote being counted as a negative vote. The task of arousing every man to such a degree of interest that he would remember to mark his ballot on the suffrage amendment seemed a hopeless task. Those who know the general inattention given any constitutional amendment by the rank and file of voters can estimate how easy it was to get a majority correctly marked.

2nd—The pessimism of suffragists themselves the country over who said, "It can't be done."

3rd—The fact that Oklahoma was a Southern Democratic state—the first to be in a full suffrage campaign.

4th—The severe heat of the summer.

5th—A serious drought.

6th—The decision by the Board of Elections not to put the suffrage amendment on the ballot on the technical ground that the Secretary of State had failed to supply the official wording ninety days before election.

7th—The separate ballot.

8th—The failure to send suffrage ballots to seven camps, thus preventing (4,500) Oklahoma soldiers from voting on the amendment. These were counted as negative votes.

9th—The attempt made by certain interests to hold back returns, to get a new ruling on the meaning of the so-called "silent vote" to count mutilated ballots as silent votes; in short, with the help of prominent state officials and a resort to all kinds of political trickery, an effort was made to steal the election won against such fearful odds.

When these failed the anti-suffragists filed a protest against certification with the Elections Board. So much pressure was brought to bear on the Governor that after a month of dallying he finally called for the suffrage returns and without certification from the Elections Board proclaimed woman suffrage carried. The majority was 25,528 on our amendment and nearly 10,000 (9,791) over the silent vote.

SEEING IT THROUGH

Yes, of course we shall see it through and every woman will do her share.

George Ade said during the recent war, "If you can't find anything bigger to do, hold the yarn for the Red Cross knitter, and when your arms ache, say to yourself, 'I am helping on a pair of socks for some soldier and when the time comes he will climb over the top of a trench. There will be a great victory and I will share it because I held the yarn that knit the socks that warmed the feet that carried the man that chased the German that obeyed the Kaiser that has to be licked before the world can go back to housekeeping.'"

It will not be drudgery of the pioneer, neither will it be glory, but the good hard team work of all will take the last trench and give us final victory.

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OLD DRESSES, White, each	2.00
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OPERATING GOWNS (Nurses) the dozen	15.50
OPERATING GOWNS (Nurses) each	1.50
KERCHIEFS, Lawn and Hem-stitched Mull	50c. up
COLLARS, CUFFS, CAPS, ETC.	

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JOHN P. TOLSON, Manager.

Mary Just Ahead

(Concluded)

Synopsis of First Installment

THIS is the second part of a story concerned with a modern young novelist's quest for a modern young heroine. When Barington really found his modern heroine, Dr. Mary More, she began teaching him a few things about women.

THAT was the beginning of the most vivid winter of Barington's whole existence, vivid in its writing achievement, vivid in its living. Dr. Mary was a revelation. It was not alone the facts in her life that made her available as story material. Her personality was a wonderful asset. She was so readable, so crystal clear. He could see straight through her so beautifully, a dear woman, a little impersonal, a little remote, a little likely to make you feel like an audience of two thousand when she addressed you, but a dear woman whose desire had centered on her profession with that pure flame of spirit he had spoken about to Carr, and yet who sensed an incompleteness, an unappeasable heart hunger. He was sure of it. He heard it in her voice sometimes. Sometimes he saw it in her eyes. She was not "cold, hard, and unsentimental." Working with her, sitting close to her, shone on by that beauty of hers, he laughed to remember Carr's arraignment of her. He laughed to think how he had been played at Carnegie. Those "radical" women, those women who wanted to vote, were, after all, immensely conservative. "That, in the last analysis," Dr. Mary told him, was why they wanted to vote, so that they could conserve, "save for the world what the world gained in its dashes and rushes." They were not, he reassured himself, individually in any state of challenge of law and order. Women who challenged law and order disturbed him. If the point was a reorganized philosophy of life, better leave it to men. It was comforting, therefore, to discover that it was not fundamentals that concerned the suffragists. It was merely ways and means. They were moving as a great massed body and they were so full of

law and order that they were impelled to place themselves in direct relation to the imposing of law and order. The whole world was becoming accustomed—to the acceptance of women as having a part to play in government. He mentioned it once in passing. Inappropriately it was young Mary who caught it.

"Oh yes, you!" mocked young Mary. "You have moved us up so far and drawn a heel mark to settle the limits of our progress, haven't you!"

Barington had been right. Pictures was a nuisance. She said hardly anything, but she was a nuisance just the same. Parisian influences had, Barry decided, made her reactionary. She yawned all around the room when the talk was of woman suffrage. "It's 19th century stuff," she told him. "It's a hang-over. To think of women like my aunt having to put time and talent and life itself into the struggle to escape being wards of the government."

Definitely she was a nuisance. She went so far as to laugh outright at the idea of the story Mary. "Put a woman with a profession in the hands of a man writer and I see her finish," she told him, with contagious hilarity. "Yours is certainly one rotten art," she went on irrepressibly. "There's no place for your kind of literature to end except in love. I don't see how you can bear to have your art circumscribed by an unescapable ending. It would kill me to have to paint the same thing into every picture. See here, I can write the ending of your story here and now: 'His hand dropped

softly to her shoulder—it was her farther shoulder, so that his arm was virtually around her; she lifted her face to his; their lips met.'" She pronounced it "their lips met" sibilantly.

In spite of her, or maybe because of her, Barington named the new novel, "Her Profession," and he had not written ten chapters when Carr issued a mandate. "Break it for serialization," said Carr. "You are going to be able to handle her. I am not afraid any more."

Barington loathed photographic reproductions of life in the name of literature. He loathed flat reportorial transcriptions of facts. "Get the facts, so that you can get impressions," he was always saying. "The facts won't be yours. The impressions will. Make your story out of the impressions. Then it will be yours and red-hot. The way that he utilized Dr. Mary as story material was to sit at her fireside and listen while she told him things that she remembered. That gave him his impressions. Out of this plastic dream stuff he fashioned "Her Profession." The farther he went with Dr. Mary into the facts, the more stimulating he found his impressions. How the stones had torn woman's feet as she climbed the heights! "No, not the stones," corrected Dr. Mary. "It's been the barbed wire fences that men have built in front of her. Her feet could have negotiated the stones all right."

Dr. Mary's bent was judicial on the whole, but she belonged to a profession the men of which had long tried women's souls and still tried them. "Of course you don't know it, Barry," she told him, "but to this day a woman is barb-wired out of nearly all post graduate opportunity in the medical profession. The hospital men shut her out of the services. The college men shut her off the faculty staffs."

"I notice," said young Mary, who happened to hear, "that you always skeddaddle away from the subject when she begins to talk like that about men."

True. There was at such crises a little look in

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Dr. Mary's eyes and a little ring in her voice, which, as Carr would have said, were not at all adaptable for the purposes of romance.

Carr began publishing "Her Profession" in his magazine as soon as Barington was what he called three jumps ahead. And at once people wrote in to say that they liked the new serial. They particularly liked the love story that began almost at once to ripple through the chapters with the lively stir of a mountain brook. A perfectly beautiful love story, people called the love part. Barington himself watched the love part with a sense of destiny. He had, he found, passed into a curious psychic state with regard to "Mary." Sometimes he told himself point-blank that he was in love with her. "Her? Her who?" he would ask, and placated himself for his own sense of confusion by answering, "Why, with the story Mary, that's who." He tried conscientiously to hold the story Mary to type and in the effort reminded himself again and again that Dr. Mary was prototype. He referred constantly and conscientiously to his earlier self-commitments with regard to Dr. Mary. He tried forcibly to re-establish the earlier hold that Dr. Mary had gotten on his imagination. Yet, "here you, stop that," he would hear himself telling the story Mary, finding her inexplicably informed with a flare of spirit that by no means comported with the poise of the woman she had shown herself to be in earlier chapters.

"It's you," he complained to young Mary on an impulse of candor. "You mix me up. You intrude. I wish you'd keep out."

"The Lord knows I don't want to intrude," she answered feelingly. "I don't want to get

even incidentally involved in the making of your story—any story. If it isn't a menace to life and limb for a woman, it's a menace to her future. If it isn't a fire or a cyclone or a railway accident or a runaway motor or the typhoid fever that has to happen to her in a story, it's marriage."

Rather foolishly he put himself within range of this shot-gun force of young Mary's quite often. He would come in to talk with Dr. Mary and she would have to fail him because of a "laryngectomy," or an amputation, or some such cheerful matter, and instead of going on home, he would drop down by the fire and talk to Pictures.

He retained that sense of young Mary's personality as lickings-out of lively flame. But he couldn't correlate her. There seemed to be no rules and regulations by which to get her measure. As woman, that is. Of course, he felt her definitely as artist. Whereas Dr. Mary's spirit struggled toward expression in personal service on a wide professional plane, the younger woman's spirit struggled toward expression through her sense of beauty, of form, and of color. "Yes, but what about beauty, what about joy of life?" he had wanted to ask those women at Carnegie. Well, here was Pictures with some fragment of the answer, it seemed. She thrilled with the sense of beauty and the joy of life. And it forced her into the achievement of vivid little canvases that were comprehensible. She was portentously creative. But the creativeness scared him a little and, dissociated from the creativeness, she scared him a lot. Her motives were unreadable. Her candor hid complexity.

Sometimes after a talk with her his benign intention to arrange a literary apotheosis for Dr. Mary seemed laggard. Say he had overtaken Dr. Mary—what about this second generation of new woman? And yet, was she not in some respects an older woman than Dr. Mary? It sometimes seemed so. It sometimes seemed as if she had swung around a circle, choosing, eliminating, surer of herself than Dr. Mary had ever dared be, reassuring herself as woman where Dr. Mary had feared so to assert herself lest she put in jeopardy her hardly-won recognition as human being. "I always had to be about to be," Dr. Mary explained once. "Young Mary is. I theorized a good bit. I had to. The world was so new for women twenty years ago. Young Mary lives. I like to think she lives the more easily because I, with my theories, my mental way, helped change the world's attitude toward woman. If I hadn't talked it all out yesterday, she couldn't live it today."

"I suppose," young Mary said to him one evening when he found her sitting before Dr. Mary's fire with the current number of *Carr's* open at the fifth instalment of "Her Profession," "I suppose that it won't take more than

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another twenty thousand words to make her give up her profession for him?"

"Well—I know a lot of words." He had early resolved not to allow her to disturb his outward serenity, but it received a nearly irresistible shock when she suddenly laid down the magazine, folded her hands on it and looked him straight in the eyes.

"How can you write such lies, French? Making Mary in the book do exactly the thing that she can't be made to do in life!" It was a challenge, a challenge to his writing, a challenge to his artist's obligation to life. "Your new women in stories who swap professions for matrimony prove nothing by marrying and settling down to domesticity except that they weren't really new, idiot. You can't shelve a career as if it didn't count for two whoops. Try to think of giving up your own career if you think it's so simple for a woman. How would that be? Career would come right on after you, wouldn't it? It would haunt you

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and get you again at last. Yet you dare make this story woman, all wrapped up in her profession as she is, calmly chuck it so that she can be 'an inspiration to John Farrar.' Much you know about the new woman, idiot. What you are after is the same old hausfrau."

She turned from him and talked into the fire intensely. "What a woman is looking for in books, as in life, these days, is for some evidence of her acceptance as a person. But always she stays just a man's notion of something that helps make *him* a person. You won't take us out into our professional work really, you writers. You aren't really interested in us there. How could you be! You swing us right back to the hearth. You have to. It's our only real point of contact with your imagination. You start to write the story of Her Profession, but you wind up by writing the story of Her Marriage."

He considered her. He felt sorry for her.

She, after all, was so little prepared to admit life's outer limitations, its inner compulsions. "But can't you see," he reminded her patiently, "that the bare story of a profession won't do. It especially won't do for a woman. There—there isn't any eternity in it."

"You mean because the woman with the career mayn't continue herself through her children? The real modernity of woman, Barry, lies in finding the ability to do just that. Music, pictures, babies—they are all part of the same impetus toward expression, creation. Superwomen must manage them all. In the meantime, you've no right to make a woman like Dr. Mary marry in the book. It is a sin against her inmost persuasion, idiot."

"It's a sin against the reader not to make the heroine marry, idiot." The resources of her vocabulary he found well suited to the exigencies of the moment. "Besides," he gathered his forces crushingly—"the truth of your condemnation of the story Mary and my artistry all depends on Dr. Mary. Do you realize that? All on Dr. Mary."

He might have gone even farther but Dr. Mary came hurriedly into the room. He turned to her welcomingly. "Ah, the beloved physician," he began, but she had only a moment. She had just left the telephone and had on her hat and coat and was buttoning her gloves. "Temperature," said she, "temperature of that young laparotomy has shot to 105½—hardly a ghost of a chance for him—I am off to the hospital—not back tonight."

She was gone. Young Mary's eyes followed her with an eager adoration. "Good for you, old death-fighter!" cried young Mary after her. Then she turned on Barington again. "There! Can't you see she is splendid as she is? Romance for her? Why don't you try putting *that* into your story?"

"What?"

"The way she didn't hear you and your love toots when the call of her stricken was in her ears!"

His love toots!

It was of a piece with the submerged bulldog strain in his make-up that he became more and more insistent that Dr. Mary should go around with him—on drives where the scenery was expressive and to restaurants where the

dinner music tended toward expressiveness. Hesitant, she yet went. Each time she made the most exquisite background from which his fancy played out. Her qualities, large, calm, sweet, helpful, irradiated by her beauty, gave a man's worshipfulness, his need to worship, exactly the right things to cling to. In her presence he lost utterly the sense of being stung and goaded which he quite frequently had in other circumstances. She was absorbed in her profession, but it was not true that her profession was everything to her. It was not true that suffrage was everything to her. It was these portentously creative women who were unplaceable.

From now on he was daily more conscious of the sharpness of the clash between him and young Mary—Young Mary with her misplaced stresses, he with his surer, maturer knowledge of life. Often she seemed truly uneasy about Dr. Mary and when he saw that it put heart in him.

"I'll *show* her," he quite frequently reminded himself. And to young Mary, toward the end, he said one evening calmly, I'll strike this bargain with you; either the real Mary marries some fine day, or the story Mary shan't."

Did he know life and women, or didn't he? Was that vivid young genius of a painter right or was he? During the last fortnight he grew sorrier and sorrier for young Mary. He could divine that it must be something of a blow to her to find from the obvious trend of events in the little Knickerbocker house that—well, that he was not, in the story, making Mary in the book do "exactly the thing she couldn't be made to do in life."

The final fortnight was a tense one but the end of it found the novel finished. It also found him feeling very much artist and every inch man. On the last evening of that last week he met young Mary going out of the little Knickerbocker house as he was coming in. She held out her hand to him, delightfully. Dr. Mary had already come in. "She's told you!" he cried.

"Just. I give up. You win. Blessings on you."

"And you see the book was fair after all. It was honest. And you can't say I don't keep up."

"Your own grandfather couldn't have done better, Barry. To be not more than a generation behind—it's as much as any woman should ask of a man's ideal of womanhood. It's actually starting to commence to arrive—Goodby, Barry, I'm faring on."

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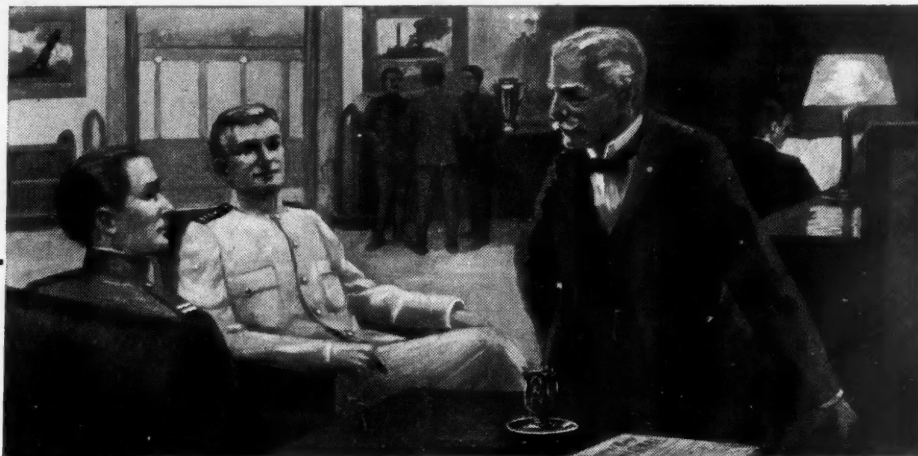
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The Last Word About the War

And How Colonel Sibley Was Helped to Write It

SCENE: (Army and Navy Club, New York, where Commander Ellsworth, U. S. N., and Captain Trowbridge, U. S. A., are having a conference and an after-dinner cigar in the Club Library and are joined by Colonel Sibley, U. S. A., retired)

The Colonel: Well, comrades, I win!

The Commander: Been fighting again, Colonel? Who says you're retired?

Colonel: I was retired, but now I'm in action again or soon will be, and this time with the pen instead of the sword.

Captain: How's that?

Colonel (Drawing closer to the table and glancing around): Well, comrades, I don't mind telling you in confidence that I just signed up with the Editor-in-Chief of a big magazine (name censored for the present) to write a series of articles on the Great War.

Commander: Tell us about it.

Colonel: Well, it's going to be a long campaign. The Editor, whom I have just left, wants an extended series of articles, to begin with an exhaustive survey of the causes which led up to the War.

Captain: The causes? All of them? Well, you've sure got your work laid out for you.

Commander: I should say you had.

Colonel: The Editor feels that way

himself. He's now concerned chiefly about what has happened up-to-date and the authority upon which my statements will be based. The Editor's a big gun in the business, you know, and his rivals will be getting his range if he exposes himself. He wants to secure a strategic position so that he can't be successfully attacked on anything he prints.

Captain: Well, what did you suggest?

Colonel: I'll tell you. While he was talking I was thinking and I finally told him that what he wanted as a reserve-force was some late general reference work of recognized reliability that he could fall back on. "That's it," he said, and then asked: "Which one?"

Commander (Turning his head and glancing at a set of The New International Encyclopaedia in its special case): I'll bet I can tell which one you named.

Captain (Glancing at the set): Ours, of course.

Colonel: You're both good guessers. Of course I named The New

International and the Editor nodded his head and said: "That's the very work I had in mind, not only as an authority on the causes of the War and what has already happened, but when peace comes I hear the publishers are to bring the war-volume down to date at once and are to send it to all subscribers in exchange for the war-volume now in their possession so they'll know the last word about the conflict."

Commander: Well, that settled it, I suppose.

Colonel: Yes, I told the Editor that the selection of The New International as our authority simplified the problem and he added that it not only simplified the articles, but solidified them and made them so authoritative that he would be able to follow out with safety his plan to publish the series of articles in book form.

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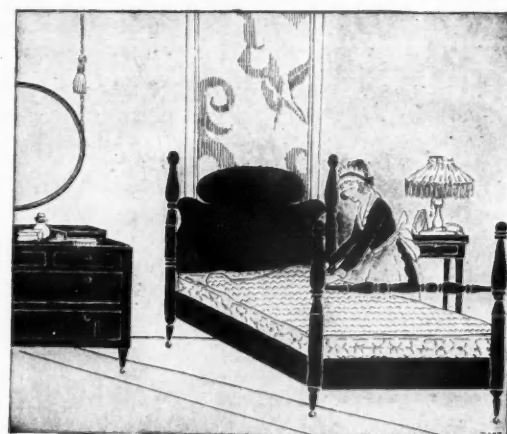
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The Woman's National Political Weekly

NEW STYLE VOL. III

APRIL 5, 1919

NUMBER 45

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

The League of Women Voters

MOST significant, by far, of all the significant accomplishments of the fiftieth annual convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association at St. Louis last week was the formation of the League of Women Voters.

Ever since the project was broached by Mrs. Catt last fall, interest in it has steadily grown. For the most part, that interest was based upon an intelligent appreciation of the intent and purposes of the proposed organization. Perhaps it is inevitable, however, that such an undertaking shall be attended by uneasy fears on the part of some who manage to miss the vital significances as laid down by its projectors. Certainly from the beginning there was no lack of definitive explanation in the case of the League of Women Voters. And certainly from the beginning the point that was made clearest of all was that there was to be no massing of women against men in the new organization. Yet, well-known human nature being what it is, such opposition as was voiced was all projected from the same base—"women should not be lined up in a woman's party against men."

AFTER a few newspapers had allowed themselves to be victimized by the situation, and an editor here and there had rushed valiantly forward to show the women how wrong they would be to indulge in any such organization, and a few politicians had done likewise, and two, perhaps three, members of the association had made occasion to voice opposition to a segregated woman's party, it dawned upon all that the opposition was not to what was proposed, but to what wasn't.

Thereupon there ceased to be any opposition, and the new league leaped to life-size on the floor of the conven-

Cablegram to Mrs. Catt from President Wilson:

*"BEST wishes for Convention.
I earnestly hope suffrage
amendment will soon be adopted.
"Woodrow Wilson."*

tion amid the greatest manifestation of enthusiasm shown during an enthusiastic week.

THE method of organization as finally worked out was simplicity itself and directly provided for taking care of the new organization within the

old without jar to the latter. It was on Wednesday of last week that the women of the fifteen full suffrage states got together in executive council and voted to organize the enfranchised women of the country as a component part of the N. A. W. S. A. That same day another conference of women voters was held which included the women of the Presidential suffrage states as well.

As a result of their deliberations certain amendments were offered to the present constitution of the N. A. W. S. A., which provide at once for the inclusion of the League of Women Voters in the N. A. W. S. A., and, after the expiration of one year, substitute the name League of Women Voters in place of the N. A. W. S. A. Thus the name of the National will be retained long enough for the Federal Suffrage Amendment victory in the 66th Congress to be won under the old banner so dear to the hearts of all who have fought under it, and the new name will be ready and waiting at exactly the right moment.

On another page will be found the organization plan adopted by the League which has Mrs. Charles H. Brooks of Kansas as its first chairman.

Suffice it to say here that the exalted purposes of the League—the development of a higher order of citizenship among women, the holding of voting women together for constructive legislative programs, and the furtherance of women's enfranchisement—open before the women of the country new vistas of opportunity.

The Jubilant Diary of a Golden Jubilee

(Special Convention Correspondence Continued from March 29)

WHEN the *Woman Citizen* went to press last week, for the issue of March 29th, it was in a protesting spirit, like that of Stevenson's little boy "who had to go to bed by day." The Convention in St. Louis had just begun, reports were fast coming in, incomplete advance notes were flying over the wires. Not even the list of delegates was complete in the *Citizen's* office. All the world was having a holiday over the fact that the 27th Division, New York's own, was marching its triumphant way up Fifth Avenue.

Here was the *Woman Citizen* bursting its back-stitching in its eagerness to tell how woman's freedom was marching along the Mississippi valley led by that high-powered engine the suffrage convention in St. Louis. Yet only the first notes of its marching song had reached the Atlantic seaboard from the great Middle West.

Day by day since the March 29 issue went to press, the story has been coming in, kept in chronological order for our readers by those of our staff who were present.

This diary picks up the story where it was dropped last week.

Saturday, March 22.

EVEN the weather man is conspiring with the local committee to make the Jubilee Convention a banner affair. He has ordered the finest kind of weather for today and all signs point to a continuation of sunshine and spring warmth.

Suffrage colors, suffrage decorations and suffrage menus are the order of the day, or the week rather, in the spacious restaurant which occupies the seventh floor at Scruggs-Vandervoort & Barney, leading merchants of St. Louis.

Miss Mitchell, who presides over this department, has entered into the arrangements with enthusiasm, and the delegates and visitors to the convention are enjoying her thoughtfulness and cordial welcome.

It so happened that early suffrage arrivals, taking luncheon at the restaurant, overheard the superintendent giving an order for certain decorations for suffrage week, and it closed like this: "Nothing cheap now; only the finest goes for these people"—and only the finest it is!

Everyone is on the *qui vive* awaiting the formal opening of the convention on Monday evening and every indication is for a banner attendance of both delegates and visitors. Tomorrow evening Mrs. Catt and the members of the National Board will receive formally in the parlors of the Hotel Statler.

Of course, the serious side of the convention holds the major attention, but there are no signs to indicate that the social side will be neglected. Reservations for the "Inquiry Dinner" Tuesday evening are pouring in, and then there is that drive about the city for Tuesday.

Automobiles, sufficient in number to accommodate 500 or more persons, will start out from the hotel and tour all the points of interest. Large orange disks pasted on the windshields, streamers and pennants will adorn the cars. It is safe to say that St. Louis will know it is the National Suffrage Convention Automobile Drive.



CREDENTIALS BUREAU

Several of the state delegations are planning dinners and luncheons, among them Missouri, Indiana, Wisconsin and New York.

Today the National officers were entertained at luncheon by the St. Louis Equal Suffrage League. And it was there that the Spirit of the Convention was projected, with a sort of concrete luminosity, a bright and shining thing that has entered our hearts and minds and revived us. Mrs. Gellhorn was in the chair and presented the chairmen of her hospitality committees, and as they rose, woman by woman, and made their rapid-fire reports, each in her fine and friendly helpfulness stood there before us as that Spirit of the Convention incarnate.

It seems to be something indigenous to St. Louis—that spirit. The management of the Hotel Statler is showing it on every hand. Never was so much space given us for our registration booths—we are literally all over the main lobby. Never was there such quick divination of possible needs, never such instant response. What with the women and the Statler, St. Louis will stand out forever as the Queen City of Conventions to all suffragists.

National officers and prominent delegates to the Jubilee Convention are much in demand for addresses and talks before important gatherings of men and women to be held during the convention period. The list is not yet complete and there will be, in some instances, additions to the speakers, but among those scheduled are: The Wednesday Club luncheon, Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany, speaker; the Woman's Club, Mrs. Guilford Dudley, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell and Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, speakers; Town Club dinner, Mrs. Raymond Robins, speaker; City Club of St. Louis, with a membership of 2,000 men, before whom the President of the United States and others of prominence have spoken, Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany, speaker; Rotary Club, Miss Mary Garrett Hay and Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, speakers; Chamber of Commerce, Planters' Hotel, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, Mrs. Stanley McCormick and Mrs. Richard E. Edwards,

speakers; Lenox Hill Chapel service, Mrs. Raymond Brown; Ethical Culture Club, Mrs. Maud Wood Park and Mrs. Raymond Robins, speakers; the Women's Trade Union League, Mrs. Raymond Robins, President of the National Women's Trade Union League, speaker.

Monday Midnight, March 24, 1919.

THE Convention has actually begun—the greatest convention in the history of the suffrage movement.

Its first public note was sounded at the mass meeting in the Hotel Statler to-night, after the Executive Council had been in all-day session.

Dr. Anna Howard Shaw assisted Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt in presiding, and offered the invocation.

A perfectly up-to-date feature of the convention was the community singing led by Mrs. W. D. Steele. The delegates present were then thrice welcomed, once by the Mayor of St. Louis, Hon. Henry W. Kiel; again by Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, president of the Missouri State Suffrage Association, and then again by Mrs. B. Morrison Fuller as a Daughter of Pioneers.

After the President's address, which was reproduced in large part in the *Woman Citizen* of March 29, Mrs. Guilford Dudley, third vice-president of the Association, was spokesman in a ceremonial in which every southern state was represented. In the name of the southern women, two beautifully illuminated parchments with hand-carved gilded frames were presented to Dr. Anna Howard Shaw and Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt.

MRS. DUDLEY said: "Soon after our first Senate delay in October of 1918—I should call it a defeat if Dr. Shaw were not present—it was my good fortune to be much in the different southern states, and everywhere I found the same boiling, seething indignation over the attitude of certain southern Senators who blandly assured all comers that the women of their states did not want the vote, and that they were quite certain that no truly southern woman would have it. With lifted eyebrows they gently insinuated that we were far too superior to give a thought to our country's good. You must admit this was somewhat maddening, when we remembered the long, hot summer days spent in gathering petitions which, we hoped, would forcibly open the eyes of these blind statesmen, and in view of the many demonstrations arranged to give oral and ocular proof of the fact that southern women were demanding the same civil recognition that was rapidly being given to the women of nearly every other nation.

"But not for ourselves was our chief regret—most of all it was for our leaders. For them a cherished dream had been strangled; a prophecy had failed of fulfilment. The bitterness of the resentment of this dishonor to our nation, the keenness of the disappointment of the fruition of all our hopes, the delay in our work for which they had paid so large a price; all these thoughts gathered in our minds until we determined, with all the fervor that is southern, that we must find some concrete expression, the visible form of some tribute to the wonderful leaders who stand out from the world of women—pre-eminent in greatness, dauntless in courage, noble in spirit—whose names are inscribed in all our hearts—Anna Howard Shaw and Carrie Chapman Catt.

"To make it beautiful to the eye we chose the artist Scapecci, who did the memorial for Queen Wilhelmina; to manifest the beauty of words we chose the President's message on that memorable occasion when he went out to do battle for us with the U. S. Senate. These two testimonials, identical in design and wording, will, we hope, bear mute witness for us. They are the message from the women of the southern states; not one is missing.

"For those of us who have had the privilege of working with you, have known the joy of service under inspired leadership, and we wear always in our hearts the badge of your service for us, two stars of rainbow hue in memory of two of the greatest guides who have ever blazed the trail of world progress. You have led us up the steep and stony paths onward toward the ideal, away from the throttling influences of prejudices and selfish habit, past the chasms of political trickery and betrayal, over the impasses of formidable foes and, scaling at last the heights where the clear, cool winds of freedom blow, we now look over into the Promised Land. The record of that journey is illumined by your years of unselfish devotion, years which must forever stand sentinel to guard the history of a progress unstained by bloodshed, unmarred by destruction, unspotted by notoriously mistaken policies. You have clothed us with dignity, and the light of your undaunted spirits has glorified even the dark hours of defeat.

"We are all here to-night to do you homage, to protest that, though we were in some ways the last of your daughters to awaken, you have not watched over our slumbers in vain."

SIXTEEN representatives of the southern states then responded as follows:

Alabama—where they no longer rest—Mrs. Solon Jacobs.

Arkansas—the first southern state to give primary suffrage to its women—Mrs. T. T. Cotnam.

Florida—where they seek today the fountain of eternal youthfulness through service—Dr. Mary A. Safford.

Georgia—where the Crackers crack prejudices to-day and keep reactionaries at home—Mrs. M. L. McLendon.

Kentucky—where the best liquor in the world will soon go dry, but where the horses will still be as fleet, and the women, we hope, remain as beautiful as in pre-suffrage days—Mrs. Desha Breckinridge.

Louisiana, the birthplace of the Gay Amendment—Mrs. Lydia Holmes.

Maryland—the home of the first American suffragist—Mrs. Charles Ellicott.

Mississippi—where they are going to lay the dusky ghosts of ante-bellum days—Mrs. B. H. Trotter.

Missouri—where they have the most wonderful conventions in the world—Mrs. Walter McNab Miller.

North Carolina—where Simmons is the Overman—Miss Gertrude Weil.

Oklahoma—the first southern state to grant full suffrage to its women—Mrs. Ora Frost.

South Carolina—the home of Senator Pollock, that knight *sans peur et sans reproche*, who typifies the spirit of the new South—Mrs. Julian B. Salley.

Tennessee—the volunteer state where neither men nor women have to be conscripted—Mrs. Leslie Warner.

Texas—the Lone Star State, whose rays will soon shine suffrage white—Mrs. W. B. Mahoney.

West Virginia—where mountaineers are always free—Mrs. John R. Ruhl.

Virginia—The Old Dominion, the Home of the Father of His Country, the Birthplace of many succeeding Presidents, and in some ways the Mother of us all—Mrs. John L. Lewis.

Not for nothing do southern women have the reputation of being orators, as the eager and pithy little tributes of these sixteen women quickly proved. They kept the big audience on the alert from the beginning of their program to the end.

Tuesday, March 25.

THE features of the morning session were the "Welcome" from the Equal Suffrage League of St. Louis, the hostesses royal of the Convention, delivered in rousing fashion by Mrs. George Gellhorn; a survey of the year's work, given *in toto* by Mrs. Shuler, Corresponding Secretary (see *Woman Citizen* of March 29); the Treasurer's report; and the Recommendations passed on to the convention by the Executive Council.

"How the Money Is Raised and Spent" was told by the Treasurer, Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers. She read the list of states and individuals who have provided for the year from November 1, 1917—October 31, 1918, \$107,736.09, the largest budget in the history of the National Association. Added to this she reported a balance from preceding years of \$11,874.03, making the total receipts \$119,610.12.

Mrs. Rogers accounted for expenditures of \$98,613.19 leaving in the treasury \$20,996.93, a remarkable balance for a propaganda organization.

For the Oversea Hospitals, which the Association organized and is maintaining, Mrs. Rogers reported receipts from March 1, 1918, to March 1, 1919, of \$133,339.76.

THE chief recommendations presented by the Executive Council to the Convention were:

1. That the N. A. W. S. A. continue to support and endorse the Federal Amendment which has been pending before Congress for forty years, the wording of the amendment to be left to the Congressional Committee, with the understanding that the vital principle be preserved in the text.

2. That the next convention be in the nature of a Centennial Celebration of the birthday of Susan B. Anthony and that it be held in February of 1920.

3. That the Budget for 1919 as presented by Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers, treasurer, consisting of \$120,000 if the Voters' League is formed and \$100,000 if the Voters' League is not formed, be recommended as the budget for the ensuing year.

4. That the six war service committees adopted at the last convention be discontinued, with the exception of the Oversea Hospitals Section, which shall be discontinued at the conclusion of its work and the Americanization Committee which shall be continued.

5. In view of the fact that a request has been made for a new definition of "non-partisan" in relation to the National Association as at present constituted, or as it may be constituted, the Executive Council recommends the following resolution:

"Resolved, that the N. A. W. S. A. shall not affiliate with any political party, nor endorse the platform of any party, nor support or oppose any political candidates unless such action shall be recommended by the Board of Directors in order to achieve the ends and purposes of this organization as set forth in the constitution. Nothing in this resolution shall be construed to limit the liberty of action of any member or officer of this association to join or serve the party of her choice in any capacity whatsoever as an individual."

6. That an organization of women voters be formed.

7. The executive council recommended that the Constitution when amended and made satisfactory to the needs of the Association should be substituted for the present constitution and with this end in view the chairman was instructed to appoint a committee of five women from enfranchised states and five from the Executive Council to whom the Constitution was referred. This committee will later present the constitution to the convention.

Tuesday Afternoon.

ONE of the significant events of the afternoon meeting was Mrs. Stanley McCormick's report on the War Service of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

Mrs. McCormick, who has been Chairman of the National War Service Department, was also Chairman of the Economics Department of the Woman's Committee, Council of National Defense.

Briefly she went over the main facts of the six war service committees of the Association, as follows:

"The War Service Department of the N.A.W.S.A. was instituted at the specially called war conference of the Association at Washington in February, 1917. It consists of six sections, namely: Oversea Hospitals, Land Army, Food Conservation, Child Welfare, Women in Industry, and Americanization.

"The object of having such a department was to make it possible for suffragists to do war work under the same generalship, with the same methods, and in the same companionship in which they were accustomed to do their suffrage work. The sections were chosen with reference to the principal divisions of war work to which it would surely be necessary to direct the interest and attention of women. The Oversea Hospitals Section was added at a later date at the Convention in Washington in December, 1917, at the suggestion and under the immediate direction of Mrs. Tiffany.

"In April, 1917, the Council of National Defense appointed a Woman's Committee as one of its numerous committees. By this same appointment the honorary president of the National Suffrage Association, Dr. Anna H. Shaw, was made the chairman, and the president and first vice-president were made members of the Committee. As all suffragists had for years looked to Dr. Shaw and Mrs. Catt for the leadership in their work, it was not unnatural that the behests of any committee under this direction should have commanded the efforts of any and all suffragists.

"The aim of the Woman's Committee was necessarily the unification of all women for Government war service. The result of this was the creation of state organizations in which women of all associations, however diverse in object and association, might be joined for the purpose of nationally directed war work.

"WHAT, then, was the situation facing women when the United States declared war in April, 1917? It was, of course, the same desperate one that confronted men. We had come in late—almost too late—we were unprepared. The greatest despatch was necessary. We were not so short of men in all our businesses as were the other Allied Countries; but we were soon to feel that shortage. What was imperative was speed; speed in initiation; speed in development; speed in completion. Women understood at once that they must relinquish temporarily the organizations of their choice and unite nationally as rapidly as possible in order to make their work efficient. This they did promptly, and then they waited for their tasks. The tasks came finally, often uncertainly, often with obstacles, often unnecessarily hampered, but the burdens reached the right shoulders ultimately. For individual women these tasks covered every occupation. For the mass of women these tasks were principally: (1) money-raising, (2) growing and conserving food, (3) caring for children and other dependents, (4) guarding public health, (5) protecting women in industry; and, of course, the usual task of nursing and providing clothes and bandages. Such problems deal with a wide range of activity. The five sections of the War Service Department of the National Association represent the majority of these basic demands upon women's service.

"Because suffragists are active, energetic persons, with train-

ing in organization work, many have been called upon to lead in the various branches of war service, both here and abroad. Here at home they have worked so largely with others that what they did cannot be estimated apart from such cooperation, as might have been the case had it been possible for them to work in a separate group as suffragists. To emphasize the point that many war-service leaders have been recruited from the ranks of the suffragists, let me call your attention to the fact that of fifty chairmen of the state divisions of the Council of National Defense—Alaska and the District of Columbia being included—only twelve were not well-known suffragists. In England the highest appointment given to a woman—the director of the Woman's Department of War Service—was given to a prominent suffragist, Mrs. J. J. Tennant. Of the two women appointed in 1917 to the English Ministry of Foods, one, Mrs. Reeves, was a radical suffragist, and the other, Mrs. Peel, the editor of a woman's magazine. In France suffragists are such a small group that, although they were most active in war service, they did not have a controlling influence. Germany appointed as an attaché for each of the six army commands throughout the empire a woman to serve as 'Directress of the Division for Women's Service.' Each one of these appointees was a feminist leader. The war service of the National American Woman Suffrage Association is woven inextricably with that of the national governmental agencies, such as the Woman's Committee, C.N.D., the Liberty Loan Committee, the Food Administration, etc."

Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany and Mrs. Raymond Brown were enthusiastically greeted by the Convention as the two women on whose shoulders has rested the chief responsibility for that great popular favorite, the Women's Oversea Hospitals, the suffragists' War Baby. In terse and telling words they brought the hospital work close to the audience and were cheered to the echo.

THE following message, endorsed by women from suffrage states represented at the Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, was sent to the Missouri Senate—an act that was received with shouts of acclaim by the Convention:

Whereas, We, delegates from states where women vote, assembled in the Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, expect to organize a League of Women Voters, for the purpose of furthering the cause of woman suffrage and other legislation of special interest to women, and

Whereas, We desire to have the women of Missouri take part with us in perfecting this new organization, now therefore, be it

Resolved, That we respectfully urge the Missouri Senate to pass Senate Bill Number One immediately, that your new constituents may be represented in the great forward movement of the women of the nation.

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, President.

Signed by delegations from: Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, Michigan, Montana, Nevada, New York, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah, Washington, Wyoming, Illinois, Indiana, Nebraska, North Dakota, Rhode Island, Wisconsin, Maine, Minnesota, Arkansas, Texas.

TUESDAY night's "Inquiry Dinner," the second public function of the week, was heralded far and wide as the "biggest banquet the Statler ever seated." In the two great rooms, at right angles to each other, which the speakers addressed there were over a thousand diners, while two hundred more had to be taken care of in the main dining-rooms.

The subject of the "Inquiry Dinner" was: "What is the Matter with U. S.—Concerning the Suffrage Amendment."

It took nine women and one man a very short time to prove (a) that women want the Amendment passed; (b) men want it passed; (c) political parties want it; the press wants it; (d) the old South wants it; (e) Congress wants it; (f) the Legislatures want it; (g) all other countries have it; (h) who doesn't want it? (i) just what is the matter?

Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout gave the keynote of peppery conviction with her argument that women want the amendment passed. Rev. W. C. Bitting answered for the men, and the other arguments followed like shrapnel from Mrs. Emma Smith DeVoe, Mrs. Pattie Ruffner Jacobs, Mrs. Maud Wood Park, Mrs. T. T. Cotnam, Mrs. Guilford Dudley, Mrs. Ida Porter-Boyer, Mrs. Henrietta Livermore, and Miss Rose Young.

Wednesday, March 26, 1919.

MRS. MAUD WOOD PARK, Chairman Congressional Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, was greeted with a prolonged applause that attested her popularity when she faced the Convention with her report of congressional activities. She said in part:

"In January, 1915, our Amendment was defeated in the House by a vote of 174 in favor to 204 opposed. In January, 1918, it was carried in the House by a vote of 274 in favor to 136 opposed. In March, 1914, it was lost in the Senate by a vote of 35 in favor to 34 opposed. In February, 1919, it was defeated in the Senate by a vote of 54 in favor to 29 opposed. These figures do not include pairs.

Work in the House

"On the day of the House vote in January, 1918, a number of men who voted favorably came to the Capitol at great personal inconvenience. Representative Sims, of Tennessee, who had broken his shoulder several days before, refused to have it set until after the suffrage vote, and against the advice of his physician, was on the floor for the discussion and the vote. Republican leader, Mann, at great personal risk, came over from a hospital in Baltimore to vote for suffrage. He had not been present in Congress for months and his arrival shortly before five o'clock, occasioned great excitement in the chamber. Mr. Barnhart of Indiana was taken from his bed in the hospital and came to the Capitol just long enough to cast his vote. One of the New York Representatives came directly from the deathbed of his wife, who had been an ardent suffragist, to add his vote to those in favor.

Work in the Senate

"It is not easy to summarize our efforts in connection with the Senate since the passage of the Amendment in the House, though they may be roughly classified under the head of work leading up to the expected votes on May 10 and June 28, 1918, and to the actual votes on October 1, 1918, and February 10, 1919. In the main the record is one of 'hope deferred.' Much that was done can never be told in detail because any statement of it would be a violation of confidences given to individual members of your committee. All that can be said is that no stone was left unturned to secure effective help from every possible friend with political influence and from political committees and organizations, both partisan and non-partisan. The history of our Amendment in the Senate would be incomplete without mention of the speech made for it by President Wilson October 1, 1918, and his words in behalf of it when he spoke to Congress on December 2, 1918, before sailing for Europe.

"Losses by Death: During the 65th Congress there were ten



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vacancies in the Senate due to death. Seven of these losses were of friends, only three of opponents. Again and again when we seemed on the high road to success, we had to stop and wait in anxious suspense for the vacancies to be filled, meanwhile calling upon every available agency, personal and party, organized and individual, to make clear that in the filling of the vacancies the interests of woman suffrage should not be overlooked.

"As a result of our efforts enormous numbers of resolutions were sent to the Senate, as was evidenced by the fact that the Congressional Committee received notice of over 550, probably only a small proportion of those received by the Senators. About 200 were presented on the floor of the Senate and mentioned in the Congressional Record, but the full effect of the campaign was spoiled by the fact that a ruling was revived in the Senate prohibiting the printing of resolutions and petitions in the Congressional Record. The rule permitted resolutions to be presented and mentioned by name in the Record, but the effect of the ruling was more drastic than this, inasmuch as it led to discussion which developed a reluctance on the part of Senators to present resolutions at all. Among the most important are the resolutions adopted by the Democratic National Committee on February 11, 1918, by the Republican National Committee on February 12, 1918, by the Democratic Congressional Committee on June 4, 1918, by the model state platforms of the Republican and Democratic parties of Indiana in May and June, 1918, by the General Federation of Women's Clubs on May 3, 1918, and by the American Federation of Labor on June 14, 1918.

Hawaiian Bill

"ON January 3, 1918, the Hawaiian Bill, granting to the Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii the power to enfranchise the women of Hawaii, either by direct legislative action or by a referendum to the male voters of the territory, passed the House without a roll-call and on January 13 it was signed by the President.

"It is probable that under this bill the women of Hawaii will be enfranchised by the Territorial Legislature now in session, a fact that throws an amusing side light on the logical consistency of some members of the United States Senate.

Preparation for the 66th Congress

"IN preparation for the 66th Congress, it has been necessary to watch closely the organization of both Senate and House. In the Senate the Floor Leaders, Whips and Steering Committees and in the House the Speaker, Floor Leaders, Whips, Steering Committee, Rules Committee, Ways and Means Committee can materially help or hinder legislation. And in both Houses it is of course important to have strong working members for the Woman Suffrage Committee.

"The early indications of reactionary organization in both Senate and House were therefore of the utmost concern to your committee. Not only was there a threat for the Suffrage Amendment, but for all good government. We held a number of conferences with our friends of both parties in both Houses. A definite program of procedure was outlined. Where elections of men not pledged to us seemed inevitable, we worked only to secure promises of help. In contested cases we were more actively interested in the success of our friends.

"Both party organizations in the Senate and the Democratic organization in the House will probably not be perfected until just before the new session, but the organization on the Republican side of the House is now complete and seems promising.

"Great prestige has been given to our cause by Mr. Mann's

consent to act as Chairman of the House Committee on Woman Suffrage. He will be effectively supported on the Republican side by Mr. Little of Kansas, Mr. Elliott of Indiana, Mr. Nolan of California, Mr. Edmonds of Pennsylvania, Mr. Burroughs of New Hampshire, Mr. Nelson of Wisconsin, and Mr. McCrate of New York. On the Democratic side we confidently expect that our good friends of last year will be reappointed.

"We are facing the 66th Congress with every reason to expect that our half century fight is won and that a united army of women which knows neither north nor south, east nor west, is at last to receive at the hand of our great nation justice of completed citizenship calling us to still greater service."

Wednesday Afternoon.

AT the Jubilee Anniversary this afternoon tributes were paid to the pioneers of the suffrage movement by those best fitted to know what their services had been.

The first was given in the name of the National Woman Suffrage Association by Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, beloved young friend of Susan B. Anthony.

It fell to her lot to bring Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton close, and so well did she do her part that one visualized Mrs. Stanton's queenly sang-froid as vividly as Miss Anthony's alert and far-visioned efficiency. She was a quaintly genteel figure, was Mrs. Avery, standing there before us, but nobody quite understood the quaintness until she said presently: "The dress I have on is one of Miss Anthony's dresses, quite unchanged, just as she used to wear it, and this shawl is the shawl she used to wear."

All unbidden the tears leaped to the eyes of the listening throng. The neat, fastidious dress of a bygone time brought her so very near—the majestic woman of all time!

The second tribute, in the name of the American Suffrage Association, was from Miss Blackwell. In part she said:

"Lucy Stone has been called the morning star of the woman's rights movement. A Massachusetts farmer's daughter, she began her public work for the women's cause five years before Susan B. Anthony. For ten years she lectured all up and down the country to immense audiences, and with a wonderful eloquence. Her life was devoted to this movement, and her influence led her highly gifted husband and her daughter to devote their lives to it also. Henry B. Blackwell had great abilities both as a speaker and a writer, and from 1853 onward he gave most generous service to this cause. Among other pioneers who worked in the American Woman Suffrage Association were the saintly Quakeress, Abby Kelley Foster, and the brave sisters Sarah and Angelina Grimke of South Carolina, the three women who bore the brunt of the battle to gain for women the right to speak in public; and a host of women revered and beloved in their day. 'Aunt Fanny' Gage, of Ohio; Mrs. Mary J. Coggeshall, of Iowa; Mary Grew, of Pennsylvania; Mrs. Emily P. Collins, of Connecticut; Julia Ward Howe, author of the Battle Hymn of the Republic; Mary A. Livermore, army nurse, pillar of the Sanitary Commission, a tower of strength to a score of righteous causes; Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, the first woman to take a medical degree (there are now more than 5,000 women physicians and surgeons in the U. S.); Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell, the first woman to be ordained a minister (there are now more than 3,000 women ministers and preachers); Mrs. Rebecca N. Hazard, of Kirkwood, Missouri; Chancellor William G. Eliot, of the University here in St. Louis, and many other brave men: Col. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, George William Curtis and others too numerous to mention. Last, but not least, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt came into this movement from the American Woman Suffrage Association.



Ostrich Flies Into Vogue on Women's Newest Hats

Jaunty tips of ostrich, long graceful ostrich fringe, and willowy plumes carry both small and large hats to success. It is such a smart, cheery mode that one would know instantly that it is straight from Paris.

Hats have made up their capricious minds to fly away;—there is no doubt about that, for if the bird-like air is not given by ostrich, then it is by scores of tiny wings. We wonder if the Aeronautical Exposition had anything to do with this!

Flowers are blooming in lovely gardens on little round turbans, large sailors and on becoming floppy hats.

A wide and varied collection of individual models from our own work-rooms and copies of Paris models—

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Promise to be most popular. There is an innumerable variety—some as delicate as shadows and others well-defined. Chenille dots are being worn and will be, all Spring.

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vacancies in the Senate due to death. Seven of these losses were of friends, only three of opponents. Again and again when we seemed on the high road to success, we had to stop and wait in anxious suspense for the vacancies to be filled, meanwhile calling upon every available agency, personal and party, organized and individual, to make clear that in the filling of the vacancies the interests of woman suffrage should not be overlooked.

"As a result of our efforts enormous numbers of resolutions were sent to the Senate, as was evidenced by the fact that the Congressional Committee received notice of over 550, probably only a small proportion of those received by the Senators. About 200 were presented on the floor of the Senate and mentioned in the Congressional Record, but the full effect of the campaign was spoiled by the fact that a ruling was revived in the Senate prohibiting the printing of resolutions and petitions in the Congressional Record. The rule permitted resolutions to be presented and mentioned by name in the Record, but the effect of the ruling was more drastic than this, inasmuch as it led to discussion which developed a reluctance on the part of Senators to present resolutions at all. Among the most important are the resolutions adopted by the Democratic National Committee on February 11, 1918, by the Republican National Committee on February 12, 1918, by the Democratic Congressional Committee on June 4, 1918, by the model state platforms of the Republican and Democratic parties of Indiana in May and June, 1918, by the General Federation of Women's Clubs on May 3, 1918, and by the American Federation of Labor on June 14, 1918.

Hawaiian Bill

"ON January 3, 1918, the Hawaiian Bill, granting to the Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii the power to enfranchise the women of Hawaii, either by direct legislative action or by a referendum to the male voters of the territory, passed the House without a roll-call and on January 13 it was signed by the President.

"It is probable that under this bill the women of Hawaii will be enfranchised by the Territorial Legislature now in session, a fact that throws an amusing side light on the logical consistency of some members of the United States Senate.

Preparation for the 66th Congress

"IN preparation for the 66th Congress, it has been necessary to watch closely the organization of both Senate and House. In the Senate the Floor Leaders, Whips and Steering Committees and in the House the Speaker, Floor Leaders, Whips, Steering Committee, Rules Committee, Ways and Means Committee can materially help or hinder legislation. And in both Houses it is of course important to have strong working members for the Woman Suffrage Committee.

"The early indications of reactionary organization in both Senate and House were therefore of the utmost concern to your committee. Not only was there a threat for the Suffrage Amendment, but for all good government. We held a number of conferences with our friends of both parties in both Houses. A definite program of procedure was outlined. Where elections of men not pledged to us seemed inevitable, we worked only to secure promises of help. In contested cases we were more actively interested in the success of our friends.

"Both party organizations in the Senate and the Democratic organization in the House will probably not be perfected until just before the new session, but the organization on the Republican side of the House is now complete and seems promising.

"Great prestige has been given to our cause by Mr. Mann's

consent to act as Chairman of the House Committee on Woman Suffrage. He will be effectively supported on the Republican side by Mr. Little of Kansas, Mr. Elliott of Indiana, Mr. Nolan of California, Mr. Edmonds of Pennsylvania, Mr. Burroughs of New Hampshire, Mr. Nelson of Wisconsin, and Mr. McCrate of New York. On the Democratic side we confidently expect that our good friends of last year will be reappointed.

"We are facing the 66th Congress with every reason to expect that our half century fight is won and that a united army of women which knows neither north nor south, east nor west, is at last to receive at the hand of our great nation justice of completed citizenship calling us to still greater service."

Wednesday Afternoon.

At the Jubilee Anniversary this afternoon tributes were paid to the pioneers of the suffrage movement by those best fitted to know what their services had been.

The first was given in the name of the National Woman Suffrage Association by Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, beloved young friend of Susan B. Anthony.

It fell to her lot to bring Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton close, and so well did she do her part that one visualized Mrs. Stanton's queenly sang-froid as vividly as Miss Anthony's alert and far-visioned efficiency. She was a quaintly genteel figure, was Mrs. Avery, standing there before us, but nobody quite understood the quaintness until she said presently: "The dress I have on is one of Miss Anthony's dresses, quite unchanged, just as she used to wear it, and this shawl is the shawl she used to wear."

All unbidden the tears leaped to the eyes of the listening throng. The neat, fastidious dress of a bygone time brought her so very near—the majestic woman of all time!

The second tribute, in the name of the American Suffrage Association, was from Miss Blackwell. In part she said:

"Lucy Stone has been called the morning star of the woman's rights movement. A Massachusetts farmer's daughter, she began her public work for the women's cause five years before Susan B. Anthony. For ten years she lectured all up and down the country to immense audiences, and with a wonderful eloquence. Her life was devoted to this movement, and her influence led her highly gifted husband and her daughter to devote their lives to it also. Henry B. Blackwell had great abilities both as a speaker and a writer, and from 1853 onward he gave most generous service to this cause. Among other pioneers who worked in the American Woman Suffrage Association were the saintly Quakeress, Abby Kelley Foster, and the brave sisters Sarah and Angelina Grimke of South Carolina, the three women who bore the brunt of the battle to gain for women the right to speak in public; and a host of women revered and beloved in their day. 'Aunt Fanny' Gage, of Ohio; Mrs. Mary J. Coggeshall, of Iowa; Mary Grew, of Pennsylvania; Mrs. Emily P. Collins, of Connecticut; Julia Ward Howe, author of the Battle Hymn of the Republic; Mary A. Livermore, army nurse, pillar of the Sanitary Commission, a tower of strength to a score of righteous causes; Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, the first woman to take a medical degree (there are now more than 5,000 women physicians and surgeons in the U. S.); Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell, the first woman to be ordained a minister (there are now more than 3,000 women ministers and preachers); Mrs. Rebecca N. Hazard, of Kirkwood, Missouri; Chancellor William G. Eliot, of the University here in St. Louis, and many other brave men: Col. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, George William Curtis and others too numerous to mention. Last, but not least, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt came into this movement from the American Woman Suffrage Association.



Ostrich Flies Into Vogue on Women's Newest Hats

Jaunty tips of ostrich, long graceful ostrich fringe, and willowy plumes carry both small and large hats to success. It is such a smart, cheery mode that one would know instantly that it is straight from Paris.

Hats have made up their capricious minds to fly away;—there is no doubt about that, for if the bird-like air is not given by ostrich, then it is by scores of tiny wings. We wonder if the Aeronautical Exposition had anything to do with this!

Flowers are blooming in lovely gardens on little round turbans, large sailors and on becoming floppy hats.

A wide and varied collection of individual models from our own work-rooms and copies of Paris models—

15.00

Irregular Meshes in Spring Veils

Promise to be most popular. There is an innumerable variety—some as delicate as shadows and others well-defined. Chenille dots are being worn and will be, all Spring.

Large oblong veils are quite effective when twined around the hat and left floating behind, especially when they have wide chiffon borders.

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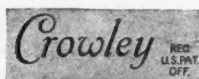
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touch of
Youthfulness*

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Makers Inc.

NEW YORK

"IN Tasso's Jerusalem Delivered, when the long siege of the city nears its end, there comes a moment when the eyes of the Crusaders are miraculously opened, and they see the spirits of all their comrades who have fallen in the holy war, still with them and fighting by their side. If our eyes could be opened, we might see all these wonderful pioneers still working with us upon the eve of our nation-wide victory."

EVEN the money-raising is fun at this convention. With a great map hung on the wall as a picture guide state by state went over the top today—that is to say, raised all the money assigned to it to raise, and, in most instances, a good deal more besides. New York was first out of the trenches, the state sending up its signed cheque, with a sweet smile. Miss Hay, who was the official money-getter, just had to do as well by the city, for Miss Hay is not one to let the state get ahead of the city. Indiana went over, too, in a flying leap, and Missouri far overshot the mark. In all some thirty states (35 organizations) won their gold stars—and had the honor of seeing them pasted on the big map right before the eyes of the suffrage world.

Still Wednesday.

IT is curious—the way you can't keep people from making men of straw for the belligerent satisfaction of knocking them down.

Away back, weeks ago, when we first began to talk a women voters' league, the N. A. W. S. A. issued this warning:

"If the proposed coalition-organization should be effected it would be pan-partisan and non-militant. Its immediate purpose,

so far as America is concerned, would be to further the complete enfranchisement of all American women; its farther-reaching purpose to equalize the democracy of the country, especially as regards conditions governing women and children. The same purposes, immediate and ultimate, would hold good so far as the world is concerned—enfranchisement of all women and improvement in the conditions of life governing women and children the world over.

"In the sense that a party aims at 'political ascendancy' the new union would not be a party. There would be no intention of massing women against men; its object would be to utilize the tendency, already existing among enfranchised women, of turning their vote-seeking associations into law-seeking agencies for better social conditions."

The *Woman Citizen* printed that warning. More statements were issued covering it. Mrs. Catt sent out bulletins on it. But when one is bent on pummeling a man of straw, pummel apparently one must. So two or three began voicing opposition to the proposed league of women voters even before they got here.

Their reasons?

They did not believe in massing women against men.

Well, of course, it took just one meeting to show that the so-called opposition was misinterpretation, and the recommendations for the formation of a voters' league went blandly through unopposed.

Thursday, March 27.

ANYHOW, it's named!

But it was quite the most fastidious piece of work of the Convention.

Father and mother naming the baby present a very simple problem beside this matter of a name that will do not only for the new

FEED THE HUNGRY BABIES OF AMERICA!

\$100 a day is needed to provide milk for the children of peaceable mill workers of Lawrence, on strike for an AMERICAN STANDARD OF LIVING and against a cut in their pay.

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New York City

For further information in regard to the Lawrence strike, see article in the "SURVEY" for April 4th by John J. Fitch.

McCutcheon's Spring and Summer Catalogue Now Ready

This Catalogue is small but the Garments and Linens shown have been selected with the greatest care from our comprehensive stocks.

Not only is each illustrated article up to the usual McCutcheon high standard of excellence, but there is in each case some special reason for its appearance—an unusual design, exceptional quality or novelty, an especially moderate price, or perhaps it is all of these combined.

This special Spring and Summer Catalogue illustrates a choice selection in the following lines:

Pure Linen Handkerchiefs
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The New Sweaters
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Children's Suits, Dresses and Rompers

Children's Underwear
Art Novelties
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Linens
Embroidered Towels and Pillow Cases
Sheets, Blankets and Comfortables

Also, a page of selected haberdashery for men of discriminating taste.

James McCutcheon & Company
Fifth Avenue, 34th and 33d Streets, New York



It is a catalogue that will delight the shopper because it illustrates the newest and best of the metropolitan stocks at prices that are outstandingly moderate.

For Easter Wear and Remembrances

You will find in this McCutcheon Spring Book dainty Handkerchiefs, Linens, Hosiery and Lingerie appropriate for the Easter season, for your personal use or for remembrances for your family and friends. A copy will be mailed to you gladly upon request.

League, as a component part of the N. A. W. S. A., but be the right sort of name for the whole association to take over a year from now. Everybody had something else to suggest. It's doubtful if agreement could ever have been reached if the youngster hadn't turned to and named itself. The "League," "Our New League," "The League of Women Voters"—it was thus that it was calling itself. It was Mrs. Maud Nathan, of New York, who had the wit to see that the naming was all over save for the adopting. It was she who moved "The League of Women Voters." A few stood out for "Allied Council of Women Voters." When the press representatives present added a final argument by unanimously selecting The League of Women Voters as their name. That ended it. You are what the press calls you, no matter what your name is.

AND everybody likes this name now that it has been adopted.

The big special features of the "sectional program" today included Mrs. Raymond Robins' section on the "Protection of Women in Industry." In the afternoon the principal speakers at the Women Voters' Conference were Mrs. Catherine Vaughn McCulloch, of Illinois, and Dr. Valeria H. Parker, of Connecticut.

Tonight's great meeting at the Odeon was a tremendous climax in a spirited day. St. Louis had turned out in a palpable effort to fill the capacity of the big Odeon. It was from the beginning an electrified sort of audience, and when Mrs. Catt read the despatch from Paris that told of the recognition of the principle of woman suffrage by the League of Nations, it became an irradiated audience. Likewise it became an articulate audience. People outside that the deafening noise of the cheering inside could be

heard for blocks. St. Louis was really and truly glad with the triumphant women and glad to let it be known.

Each of the speeches of the evening was a bright and shining contribution. And Dr. Shaw, as always, was—well, she was Dr. Shaw—which is but to remind you that she held the vast audience entranced by her wit, her logic, from start to finish.

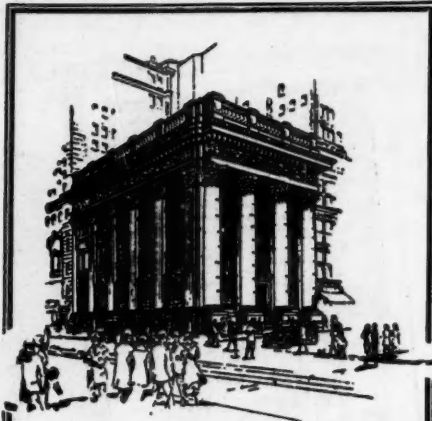
Friday, March 28.

AND now Missouri women have presidential suffrage. At least, they are as good as have it, because the Senate, the hold-out body in the Missouri Legislature, has passed a presidential suffrage bill. It is not the same bill as was passed by the House, but the House is so overwhelmingly pro-suffrage that it will pass anything the Senate passes. Before this is read the Senate bill will in all likelihood have passed the House and the Governor's signature will be affixed. It was a beautiful Convention gift. And all the more appropriate because the Missouri suffrage association was likewise in convention. The news stamped both conventions with joy.

Mrs. Philip North Moore, Miss Jessie R. Haver, Mrs. Lydia Wickliffe Holmes, Mrs. Ben Hooper were the speakers before the Convention this morning, while the Voters' Conference had scheduled Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker, Miss Julia Lathrop and Mrs. Ellis Meredith.

As a result of the elections the following women become directors for the ensuing year: Miss Esther Ogden, Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore, Mrs. Charles H. Brooks, Mrs. George A. Piersol, Mrs. Ben Hooper, Mrs. J. C. Cantrill, Mrs. Richard E. Edwards and Mrs. George Gellhorn.

(Continued on page 948)



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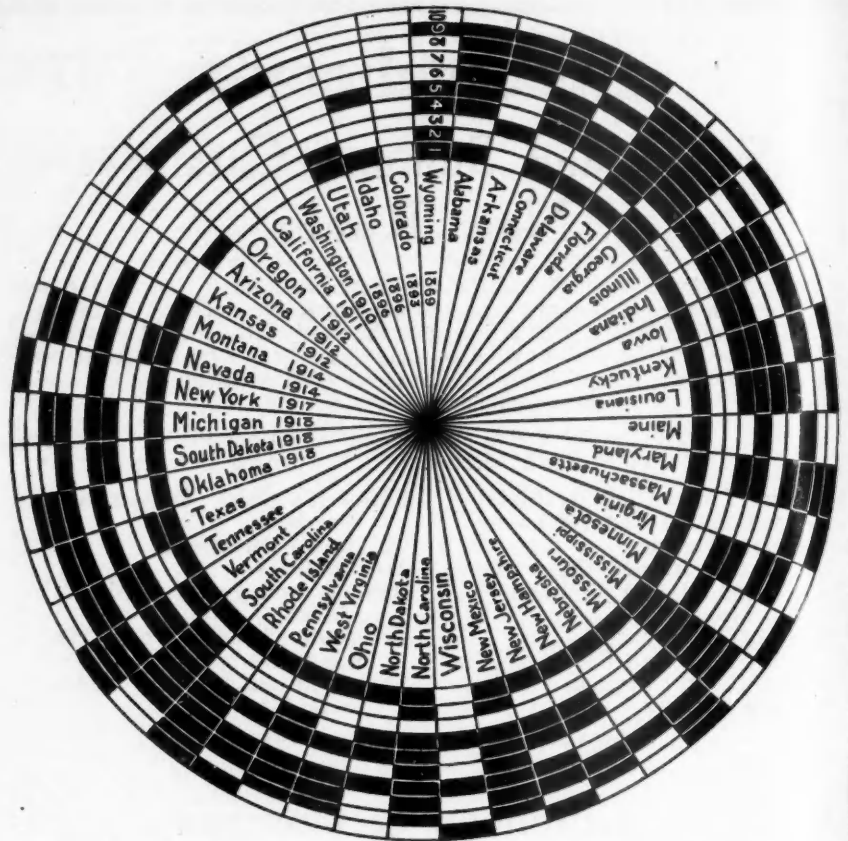
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The special features of this corset are:

Extreme Flexibility
Close fitting without feeling tight and a corset to be worn at all times



THE WOMAN CITIZEN'S WHEEL OF PROGRESS

(Mrs. J. C. Holman, of St. Paul, originated this wheel)

White Spaces Indicate Good Legislation, Black Spaces Poor or No Legislation. Full Suffrage States Are Shown in the Order in Which They Won Suffrage

- | | |
|--|--|
| Circle 1 Industrial Welfare Commission to regulate hours, wages and working conditions of women and children. | Circle 3 Compulsory education—State wide. |
| 2 Child Labor—14 year limit. Guarded exemptions during vacations are allowed and poverty exemptions, when these are neutralized by Mothers' Pensions laws. | 4 Eight- or nine-hour day for women |
| | 5 Minimum wage. |
| | 6 Mothers' pensions. |
| | 7 Equal guardianship. |
| | 8 Age of consent, 18 years—chaste or unchaste. |
| | 9 Red light abatement. |
| | 10 Prohibition. |

Legislative Standard II

(Approved by the National Child Labor Committee)

THE new Federal Child Labor Law, or rather Title XII, Sec. 1200 (a), of the Internal Revenue Act, which was signed by the President Feb. 24, reads in Section 1200 as follows:

"That every person (other than a bona fide boy's or girls' canning club recognized by the Agricultural Department of a State and of the United States) operating (a) any mine, or quarry situated in the United States in which children under the age of sixteen years have been employed or permitted to work during any portion of the taxable year; or (b) any mill, cannery, workshop, factory, or manufacturing establishment situated in the United

States in which children under the age of fourteen years have been employed or permitted to work, or children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen have been employed or permitted to work more than eight hours in any day or more than six days in any week, or after the hours of seven o'clock post meridian, or before the hour of six o'clock ante meridian, during any portion of the taxable year, shall pay for each taxable year, in addition to all other taxes imposed by law, an excise tax equivalent to ten per centum of the entire net profits received or accrued for such year from the sale or disposition of the products of such mine, quarry, mill, cannery, workshop, factory, or manufacturing establishment."

(a) Amendment to Revenue Act. Adopted by Senate and House conferees, Jan. 15, 1919; Adopted by Senate, Dec. 17, 1918; by House, Feb. 8, 1919.

The act thus sets for the less than 300,000 children who are employed in mills, canneries, workshops, factories, manufacturing establishments, mines or quarries:

- 1) Age limit of fourteen in all but the last two industries listed, of sixteen in these two hazardous industries.
- 2) Time limits: a) 8-hour day; b) 6-day week; c) no night work (7 p. m., 6 a. m.).
- 3) No exempted classes, seasons or industries.

Other sections of Title XII touch on employment certificates and provide for the enforcement of the law.

The children covered by the Federal law form perhaps a tenth of the working children of the United States. (b) The only protection for the others lies in such state laws as exist. In many states they get little protection.

The Federal law offers ready to hand a convenient set of minimum standards for state legislation to protect the remaining millions of children who work for their living in the United States.

Applying these three standards as a unit, no states come up to the Federal law in respect to the whole list of occupations in which children engage, though Arkansas, Kentucky, Maryland, New York, Ohio and Oklahoma come near it. List of occupations, indeed, gives us a fourth standard in child labor legislation. The minimum standard state child labor law should cover not only the occupations covered by the Federal law, but also work in mercantile establishments (stores, etc.), laundries, messenger service and street trades. Five state laws cover no industries but those in the Federal law and a dozen others specify very few industries besides. About half the states include all or almost all the above list.

The tenement industries can probably, only be covered effectively by the new French method of imposing a minimum piece work wage for tenement made products large enough to drive the industry out of business.

In respect to standard No. 1 of the Federal Act, all but a few of the southern states set a fourteen year minimum for some industries. In not all these states does the limit, however, apply to all or almost all occupations. The street trades are set lower than this limit in every state but one. It is bad enough for a young child to work in any place, but in few places is it so bad as among the physical and moral dangers of the street, yet Kentucky alone sets fourteen years in street trades for boys and improves on the Federal standard by setting eighteen for girls, for whom the moral dangers of the street are greater.

Half a dozen states have no, or very rudimentary, special age provisions for hazardous

trades, but the majority of the states provide sixteen for a fairly comprehensive list of hazardous, eighteen for extra-hazardous and the age of majority for a few, the latter applying in most to the moral hazards of work where liquor is manufactured or sold.

As to hours for children under sixteen years, an unqualified 6-day week, 8-hour day, no night work between 7 p. m. and 6 a. m. is the Federal requirement. Twenty-four states have an 8-hour day, but two of these do not require also a 6-day (or 48-hour) week. Thirty-one states come up to standard in respect of night work. Of the rest, seven have absolutely no night work laws; two have this provision only for messengers and in others the prohibition goes into effect later in the evening than the Federal law provides. Ten states set eighteen years as the limit for the morally hazardous work of the night messenger and seven provide that no minor can engage in this work. Eighteen is the very lowest standard that should be set for the night messenger in any state and probably twenty-one is not too high.

Federal standard No. 3 "No exemptions" is the block on which many states stumble. Almost all have some industry or class which they exempt, sometimes for certain seasons only. In respect of industries, canning was the offender in this respect in the greatest number of states until the Federal law took it out of the scope of the states and wiped out its privileges with one stroke. What could be done with canning, can be done with other industries still exempt in some states.

Two classes of children most frequently exempted are those of the minimum legal work age who have not satisfied certain educational requirements and who are allowed to work at certain times, perhaps only in the summer vacation. These are a class who need all the education they can get and to whom special classes, vocational or general, should be offered instead of work.

The other big exemption is the poverty class of children allowed to work under age, who are the shame of nine states. To meet premature child labor among other problems, the mothers' pension law has been established in thirty-six states, but the pension can only do the maximum of good when there are no poverty exemptions to child labor laws and the families of all children who really need their earnings are given the pension. Another solution of this problem of poverty is to give the child himself a scholarship during his school life. Already Montana, Ohio and Oklahoma give these scholarships and the Hoke Smith bill introduced in the last Congress would provide that the Federal Government shall give financial help, dollar for dollar of the state

(Continued on page 950)

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(b) The census of 1910 gives 2,000,000 children in all industries, but this was even then under the number.



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Room with Bath.....\$2.50 and up
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Parlor, Bedroom and Bath....\$5 to \$7

Dining Room a la carte, serving the highest grade foods at moderate prices.

(Continued from page 945)

The evening meeting at the Odeon was the scene of another great public demonstration, with Mrs. Catt, Governor Allen, of Kansas, and Miss Helen Fraser of England, as the bright particular stars. Governor Allen spoke on "Woman's Place in War and Peace," and the distinguished Kansan's contribution to the evening's program intensified the high regard in which suffragists hold him.

Saturday, March 29.

Concerning Mrs. Catt's address, "Looking Forward," the *Globe-Democrat* says this morning:

"Henry Watterson said something about not liking Mrs. Catt. Colonel Watterson must never have seen Mrs. Catt. If Watterson saw and heard Mrs. Catt he would like her. She'd make him like her. Colonel Watterson is very impressionable. Mrs. Catt is very impressive. Colonel Watterson admires handsome, aristocratic looking women and democratic men. Mrs. Catt is the picture of an aristocratic American lady and the soul of democratic American man. Tall, white-haired, graceful, level-eyed, firm-chinned, full-voiced, Mrs. Catt is calculated to charm and to impress. If

Diary of a Golden Jubilee

Colonel Watterson wishes to keep on hating suffrage, and Mrs. Catt, he would better never see or hear Mrs. Catt. If he ever sees or hears her he will be drinking tea instead of cocktails, playing 'old maid' instead of poker." It's over.

We are packing up.

There are many points left uncovered in this diary, but they must wait for attention later.

Good-bye to the goldenest Golden Jubilee ever held!

Organization Plan Council of Women Voters

1. The Council of the League of Women Voters shall consist of one woman from each state having the full, presidential or primary suffrage vote. These shall be the presidents of the present auxiliary state associations or their proxies, and the Chairmen of the Ratification Committees in the seven states of Montana, Idaho, Washington, Colorado, Nevada, Arizona and Wyoming, until such time as a more definite organization is established in those states.

2. This Council shall pass upon all policies of the League of Women Voters and legislative programs must be approved by them.

3. The permanent chairman shall be the chairman of the legislative committees, shall conduct necessary correspondence, take direction of organization in unorganized states and should visit states with the view of stimulating organization, clarifying the objects of the League, etc. She should take the complete responsibility of the work of the League, except that of suffrage work which should remain in the National Congressional Committee and the State Ratification Committees.

4. On being duly nominated, Mrs. Charles H. Brooks, of Kansas, was elected permanent Chairman.

5. The State League of Women Voters under the State Chairman shall consist of individual members and organized committees, with the addition of organizations already established which subscribe to the principles of the League.

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Dancing Excellent Cuisine

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6. We recommend that at the regular state convention or at a special state conference to be called, the object of the League of Women Voters shall be set forth and each department presented with much publicity and advertising to bring it to the attention of the public.

7. We recommend the appointment of the following committees with the national chairman and one woman from each state on each committee:

Industry—Mrs. Raymond Robins.

Child Welfare—Miss Julia Lathrop, or some one to be recommended by her.

Citizenship—To be filled by Mrs. Catt.

Elections—To be filled by Mrs. Catt.

Social Morality—To be filled by the present committee.

Unification of Laws—Catherine Waugh McCullough.

Food Supply and Demand—Mrs. Carl Barus.

Research Department—Mary Sumner Boyd.

8. These committees shall become familiar with all laws on the subjects under consideration, shall recommend legislative programs, shall prepare and issue literature on their subjects and shall work in the states through the state committees.

9. The following budget was recommended and approved:

Seven Committees, \$1,000 each.....	\$7,000
Organization, 7 states, \$500 each.....	3,500
Conference in 10 states, \$500.....	5,000
Secretary, postage, stationery, etc., for	
Chairman	2,500
Incidentals	2,000
	\$20,000

MRS. RAYMOND BROWN, Chairman, N.Y.

MRS. EMMA SMITH DEVOE, Washington

MRS. CHARLES H. BROOKS, Kansas

MRS. GRACE WILBUR TROUT, Illinois

DR. BLANCHE HAINES, Michigan

Resolutions

Adopted at the Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association:

1. "WHEREAS, Women can now vote for President in twenty-six states of the Union, and for all elective officers in England, Scotland, Ireland, Canada, and throughout the largest part of Europe; and

"WHEREAS, Our eastern and southern states are now the only communities in the English-speaking world in which women are still debarred from self-government; and

WHEREAS, Our nation has just emerged from a war waged in the name of making the world safe for democracy, and ought in consistency to establish real democracy at home; and

WHEREAS, Every political party in the United States has endorsed woman suffrage in its national platform; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we call upon the 66th Congress to submit the Constitutional Amendment for nation-wide woman suffrage to the States at the earliest possible moment.

2. WHEREAS, One-fourth of the men examined for the army were unable to read English or to write letters home to their families, be it

Resolved, That we urge the establishment at Washington of a national department of education, with a Secretary of Education in the Cabinet.

3. WHEREAS, the world conflagration of the great war has brought indescribable wrongs to women and children, an enormous wastage of treasure and life, and incalculable misery and grief, leaving civilization in ruins and millions of human beings on the verge of starvation; and

WHEREAS, The advance of science would make future wars even more terrible and destructive; and

WHEREAS, The world's best intelligence ought to be enlisted to ward off the recurrence of this colossal calamity; therefore be it

Resolved, That the National American Woman Suffrage Association earnestly favors a League of Nations to secure a worldwide peace based upon the immutable principles of justice.

WHEREAS, A large number of women doctors and other professional women in our country have demonstrated their ability in their professions; and

WHEREAS, In a democracy there should be no discrimination because of sex, be it

Resolved, That we protest against the unfair treatment of professional women by the United States authorities in declining the services of women physicians, surgeons and dentists in the recent war, thus compelling loyal, patriotic women to serve instead under the flag of a foreign government, the authorities of our sister French Republic having been glad to avail themselves of their valuable services. Furthermore, be it

Resolved, That we recommend that in future our Government recognize the fitness of accept-

ing the services of professional women for work for which their training and experience have well qualified them.

5. WHEREAS, Revolution is rife in Europe and may spread to America; and

WHEREAS, We desire that all needed improvements in the United States shall be made by peaceful and legal means instead of by violence and bloodshed, therefore be it

Resolved, That we urge our Government to bring about the prompt redress of all legitimate grievances, as the removal of the sense of injustice is the surest safeguard against revolution by violence.

6. WHEREAS, The latest report of the Provost Marshal General shows that nearly one-third of the men examined for the army were rejected as physically unfit, and that more than one-third were found unfit for full military service; and

WHEREAS, The nation is aroused to the need of giving constructive attention to the physical well-being of our citizenship, be it

Resolved, That we urge Congress and the State Legislatures to enact legislation providing for the physical education of children.

That we endorse the educational campaign for social morality now being carried on throughout the country by the United States Government and other agencies, and we offer our hearty co-operation.

7. WHEREAS, The Woman in Industry Service of the United States Department of Labor was established as a result of the war emergency and without provision for its permanence, and

WHEREAS, The problems now presented regarding women workers are even more difficult than they were during the war and require continuous study and adjustment, which can only be assured through a permanent bureau; therefore be it

Resolved, That we call upon Congress to establish the Woman in Industry Service as a Permanent Women's Bureau in the United States Department of Labor with adequate funds for the continuance and extension of its work. And furthermore be it

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to all members of the United States Senate and House.

8. WHEREAS, During the war women have entered a great variety of occupations, achieving a reputation for competence in them, and

WHEREAS, There is danger that these wider opportunities may not be assured to women now that the war emergency is past; therefore be it

Resolved, That it is of the utmost importance that women shall be free to choose their occupations without restriction through custom or prejudice, and that opportunities for advancement shall be opened for them equally with men; and we further urge that girls shall be given the same opportunities as boys in all vocational training.

9. WHEREAS, The United States Government has erected in Washington buildings housing

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about two thousand women in government employ; and

WHEREAS, Women understand better than men the requirements that go to make comfortable homes and the kind of food that women like; and

WHEREAS, There are available women of business ability who could manage these residence halls successfully and economically, be it

Resolved, That we ask that the policy and administration of government residence halls for women be placed in the hands of women.

10. *Resolved*, That we ask the United States Government in its next census definitely to classify the unpaid women housekeepers as homemakers, thus recognizing their important service to the nation.

11. *Resolved*, That we call upon Congress to give military rank to army nurses.

12. *Resolved*, That we tender to our National President, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, our deep appreciation of her sagacity, good judgment, fairness, and indefatigable devotion to the cause of equal rights; and we pledge our best efforts to carry out her wise and far-reaching plans to ultimate victory.



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Legislative Standards (Continued from page 947)

appropriation to the state educational systems in order, among other things, "to encourage the establishment of scholarships in elementary and secondary schools."

Besides setting age and hour limits, and covering the maximum number of industries without exemptions, a good child law must have provisions and appropriations for adequate enforcement, and it must require convincing proof of the child's age, and compliance with certain health and educational minima.

The subject of enforcement is a big one and will be treated later in a general article on provisions for the enforcement of all labor laws. Some of our present child labor laws,

and some with excellent provisions in other respects, are practically nullified by lack of enforcing provisions or of appropriation. The work certificate is touched only generally in the text of the Federal law. Its requirements, which are laid down by a Board working under the laws, should cover:

- Documentary proof of age by birth certificate, passport, or baptismal certificate. birth record, physician's certificate, parent's affidavit, or certificate of arrival in United States.
- Completion of sixth grade.
- Physician's certificate of physical fitness.
- Employer's written statement of occupation in which child is to be employed.
- Employer's promise to return permit to issuing officer on termination of employment.

Working papers must be obtained by all children between fourteen and sixteen for employment; after the latter year, according to the Federal standard, the child passes out of childhood.

The fact just mentioned shows how moderate to the point of inadequacy the standard just laid down is; for no child passes into maturity at sixteen. Our standard is, in fact, no permanent standard, but a stepping-stone to something better. Once a state has taken this step, the struggle will begin for something better. A higher and more ideal standard would at least cover agricultural and domestic service, raise the minimum age to sixteen, in hazardous industries to twenty-one. Already in Colorado, where the beet sugar industry is exploiting children, a strong effort has been made by a group of women's organizations, and a bill has been introduced in the legislature to regulate this work. In certain Colorado counties also school authorities are planning to use the compulsory education law to prevent it. In Wyoming the Association of Collegiate Alumnae has presented a bill covering children in agriculture. Toward a higher age limit than fourteen, New York, Ohio, Texas, California, and Michigan have already made progress, for they require fifteen years for a long list of industries, Montana requires sixteen, Ohio and

Nevada sixteen for girls, and Texas seventeen instead of sixteen for hazardous work.

This higher standard should require also continuation classes in general or vocational education for a certain number of hours a week, to be taken, with no diminution of pay, out of the employer's time during the years sixteen to eighteen, an earlier hour in the night work prohibition, and a higher educational standard (eighth grade). Higher education is or should be the natural corollary of child labor prohibition.

After working papers are obtained, the child should under our higher standard have a physician's examination at least each year and should not be allowed to work if he is shown to be falling off in health.

Laws Every Woman Should Know About Children, Good and Bad

Twelve states include begging among the gainful occupations of children. They legalize it by setting an age limit below which it can not be carried on. This limit ranges from ten to sixteen.

Three fourths of our working children labor on the farm, yet no state law effectively protects them. Women's organizations in Colorado and Wyoming have been the first to push for legislation protecting this group of children.

Poverty is in nine states made an excuse for exploiting the child by cutting short his education and allowing him to enter industry below the age set for other children. Oklahoma, Ohio and Montana provide scholarships for this group of children, instead of driving them prematurely into industry.

Minnesota sets the highest compulsory education standard (18 years). The standard in Virginia is as low as twelve.

Missouri is one of the few states which still recognizes common law marriages. As this state sets no minimum legal age for marriage, a boy or girl of twelve may without their parents' consent, live together as man and wife.

A few drops of silver nitrate at birth would prevent about 15 per cent of the blindness in our institutions through ophthalmia neonatorum. Yet more than half the states still after many years' agitation have no law requiring its use by physicians and nurses.

Montana sets the highest minimum age (16 years) at which a child is allowed to work.

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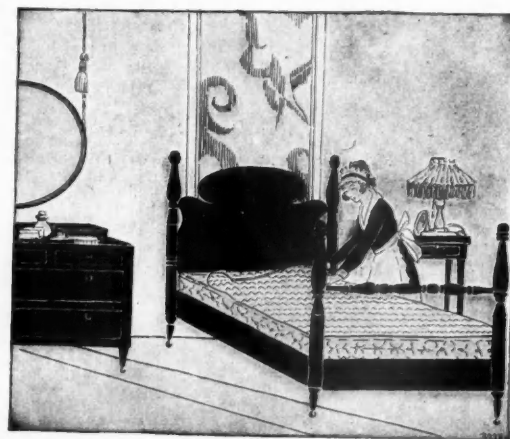


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members throughout the United States.

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The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie
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Vol. III, April 12, 1919. No. 46.

What is Dangerous Legislation? Are There Two Points of View?

See the next issue of

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The Woman's National Political Weekly

NEW STYLE VOL. III

APRIL 12, 1919

NUMBER 46

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

The League of Women Voters

WHAT is it?

A group of enfranchised women, who want not merely to vote, but to vote for something. The vote is only a tool with which to work, and for years they have struggled and sacrificed to secure it. Now, they want to build a better world for their neighbors and their posterity. They are women skilled in organization, propaganda and political work. They have won the vote for themselves against great odds and now they propose to unite once more and to bring their experience, their training and their enthusiasm to bear upon other problems.

What problems? Illiteracy, too easy qualifications for the vote, too uncertain dissemination of knowledge concerning citizenship and its duties and kindred topics.

Why not leave these questions to political parties for solution? These problems have existed for a century and have grown bigger, blacker and more menacing with each year, and political parties have only evaded and avoided them.

How is the work to be done? By creating so widespread a demand for the needed correction of these ills that each political party will adopt the movement and make these aims a part of its platform and its campaign.

Is it political? Certainly, but not partisan. Its members are as free as other women to join and vote with the party of their choice. They make no pledge otherwise in joining the League of Women Voters. Their only obligation is to support the program which aims to bring the laws and the practices of every state up to the standard of the best law and best practice of any state.

What will the program be? All programs will be worked out by committees composed of experts on the subject treated, and will then be adopted, amended or rejected by the League of Women Voters in open discussion at its annual convention. There will be no

"If ever the world sees a time when woman shall come together purely and simply for the benefit and good of mankind, it will be as a power such as the world has never known."—Matthew Arnold.

secret support of or opposition to any measure. All members of the League and the public may know the exact objective of the League at any time.

What is its present program?

Ten aims with the view to securing a more intelligent citizenship, more efficient elections and higher political ideals; seven aims with the view to pro-

tecting women in industry have been adopted, and nothing further can be added until the next meeting held in February, 1920.

What groups may use the name? The state, county, city, town and precinct groups in states of fully enfranchised women. No such organizations in presidential suffrage states may adopt the name, but will automatically take it when fully enfranchised.

Meanwhile, what? Organization, education, understanding, study, investigation and legal work. Later, what? A nation redeemed from the charges of ignorance and corruption; a nation glorified by a democracy safe for the world.

Can women accomplish this alone? No, women and men will work together. There is no war, no conflict, no misunderstanding between the sexes. There are men and women with a vision of better things, and men and women with no vision. There are unselfish men and women, willing to give themselves to bring about the better things they see and selfish men and women who would rather "bear the ills they have" than make attempt to find remedies. The League of Women Voters makes its call to the brave, the intelligent, the forward looking. No others will be interested. Its program is so patriotic, so sound, so obviously needed; its motives are so unselfish and impersonal; its aims so certainly for "the benefit and good of mankind" that its success is assured.

If you want to know more about the League of Women Voters write us. Ask your question; it shall be answered.
C. C. C.

What the League of Women Voters Is

THE League is not a woman's political party.

It has no desire to exclude men from its activities.

It has no separate constitution, but will, for the next year, at least, work as a department of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

Mrs. Raymond Brown, 4th Vice president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and Director General of the Women's Oversea Hospitals, U. S. A., was one of the first members of the official Board of the Association to return from the Convention at St. Louis.

Mrs. Brown, who acted as chairman of the organization committee for the new League of Women Voters, has clarified the position which the League holds in relation to the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

"No separate constitution for the League of Women Voters has been drawn up," says Mrs. Brown. "No separate constitution was necessary. For a year to come the League will work as a division of the National Association."

"In order to make this possible, amendments to the Constitution of the National American Woman Suffrage Association were made to admit of a second object. Hitherto the National's program has been confined to the enfranchisement of women. As the *Woman Citizen's* editorial of April 5th admirably expressed it, the purposes of the League are 'the development of a higher order of citizenship among women, the holding of voting women together for constructive legislative programs.' These will 'open before the women of the country new vistas of opportunity.'"

"THE League will be composed of representatives from all the states having full, presidential or primary suffrage. Representation in the national suffrage body will be the same as it has been from other states in the past.

"All questions of extension of women's enfranchisement will belong, as now, to the whole body of suffragists, including enfranchised and unenfranchised states. In the intervals between conventions such questions will continue to belong to the Official Board of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, which has just elected eight directors. The officers of the National will remain unchanged until 1920.

"The new League will be especially interested in promoting intelligence and effectiveness in the use which women make of their votes. During the next year a legislative program will be prepared to improve and standardize legislation in the voting states. This program will be made under the direction of experts in each line."

The governing body of the League of Women Voters under the Board of Officers of the National Suffrage Association, is vested in a Council composed of one representative from each voting state.

Its function will be to promote the work of the eight legislative committees appointed under the new League. These eight committees include: Industry, Child Welfare, Citizenship, Elections, Social Morality, Unification of Laws, Food Supply and Demand, and Research. All the committees are headed by experts, who will work in conjunction with recognized authorities throughout the country—both men and women.

"There is not the slightest desire," Mrs. Brown urgently explained, "to mass women against men in legislative advancement. The League of Women Voters is eager to put itself in touch

*An interview with Mrs. Raymond Brown,
Chairman of the Organization Plan of
the New League of Women Voters*

with sound and progressive plans for equalizing the benefits of democracy and extending these benefits from state to state."

The Council is to have an executive, as well as a deliberative, function, since its chairman, Mrs. Charles H. Brooks of Kansas, will be expected to stimulate the formation of separate leagues in each voting state. She will be expected to visit the states and take personal direction of the necessary work of promoting an interest in the objects of the League.

"Each State League of Women Voters will consist of individual members and organized committees with the addition of organizations already established which subscribe to the principles of the League.

"All plans arising in the various states for better legislative standards must be passed upon by the Council of the League of Women Voters, which will, in turn, present them for acceptance to the Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association," was Mrs. Brown's summary.

Standardization throughout the country of such legislative reforms as have proved best in practice is one of the aims of the League. Legislative programs will be carefully surveyed and approved before any action is taken. The work of gaining suffrage itself will still be left in the hands of the National Congressional Committee and of the several State Ratification Committees.

Of the eight legislative committees outlined in St. Louis to begin the nation-wide campaign for a better America, chairmen have already been selected for five: Mrs. Raymond Robins, of Chicago, is chairman of the Committee on Industry; Miss Julia Lathrop—or someone recommended by her—Child Welfare; Dr. Catherine Waugh McCullough, of Illinois, attorney-at-law, Unification of Laws; Food Supply and Demand, Mrs. Carl Barus. Two committees, Citizenship and Elections, are to be supplied with chairmen of Mrs. Catt's appointing. The Social Morality Committee has Dr. Valerie Parker of Conn. as its chairman. The program of work for this committee, which has already been adopted, follows:

SEX Education: Authority, State Board of Health, State University, State Social Hygiene Association.

Methods

Literature, lectures, moving pictures, personal interviews, correspondence bureau.

Centers to be reached

Parents, Parent-Teacher Associations, Teachers—Kindergarten to University, including Normal Schools, welfare organizations, clubs, chambers of commerce, industrial plants, public institutions, churches through Sunday School Associations, federations of churches and Theological seminaries, boys and girls clubs, high schools and colleges.

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2. Supervision of Recreational Facilities.
3. Establishment of Standards for Dance Halls, Moving Pictures, etc.
4. Salaried Recreational Directors and Organizers of Boys and Girls Clubs.
5. Increase of Parks and Athletic Facilities.
6. Supervision and Lighting of Parks and Public playgrounds.
7. Use of Public Schools as Recreation centers.

(Continued on page 978)



OPENING SESSION OF JUBILEE CONVENTION, HOTEL STATLER, ST. LOUIS

Why We Celebrate

CELEBRATE! We do nothing but celebrate. We are almost dropping in our tracks because of the pace this celebrating business sets us. We no sooner count up our gains than they are outdated.

Missouri for presidential suffrage! Coal black Missouri without a fleck of white upon its surface, is now about to add nearly a million women of voting age to the list of women in enfranchised territory. The Senate passed the Presidential Suffrage Bill while the Golden Jubilee Convention was in session.

And the House vote on April 4, confirming Senate Bill No. 1 was 118 to 2.

Can you beat it?

And little old Tennessee, joined to Missouri at one flapping corner, is trying to go one better than its bigger neighbor and give women both municipal and presidential suffrage. Tennessee has another half million women of voting age—564,104 to be exact. It has also 12 electoral votes. The bill passed the Tennessee House on April 3, with a favorable vote of 54-30. Tennessee women are hopeful of a quick Senate victory.

Twenty-four hours later along comes news that the Iowa Senate by a vote of 38 to 3—nine not voting—passed a presidential bill. Iowa has 603,644 women over 21 and 13 electoral votes.

Maine was another dark-skinned state which whitened over night. Now Portland, Maine, will no longer have to wear deep mourning while Portland, Oregon, walks in bridal white, for the Maine Legislature has granted presidential suffrage to the women farthest east and farthest north in the United States.

Governor Carl Milliken, good friend of suffrage, has signed the bill.

Get out your suffrage map, published in the *Woman Citizen* on March 22, 1919, and paste a bit of white paper covered with black polka dots, over that dense black thumb sticking out towards Europe which once was Maine. Also write on your black-flecked white background that there are in Maine 234,765 women over 21.

Minnesota having proved that a state can change its spots if a leopard can't, will now show black spots on a white background instead of white spots on a black ground. She will also proudly flaunt another half million women of voting age—558,528—before the world. Proudest of all is Missouri with her near-million adult women, 931,998.

Expand your list of suffrage victories on page 883 of the *Woman Citizen* of March 22 to include 36 more electoral votes and 185,825 more square miles of territory. Your totals will then read: Number of women of voting age in states where women may vote for the President of the United States in 1920, 14,325,003 with Vermont, 14,196,675 without Vermont. Number of electoral votes, 281 with Vermont, 277 without Vermont; number of Congressmen for whom women may vote, 132; area in which women are largely enfranchised, 2,215,214 square miles.

Don't be too quick to discard Vermont from your presidential lists. Vermont's Senate passed over the veto of Governor Percival W. Clement by a vote of 18-9—that is 2 to 1—a bill giving the women of Vermont the right of presidential suffrage. Though the Assembly did not sustain the Senate, the question is still open.

Looking Forward

Extracts from Mrs. Catt's Closing Speech

MANY people have been asking for Mrs. Catt's closing speech at the St. Louis convention. Through the alertness of Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, who was present and took notes, the following account of it was printed in the *Boston Evening Record* of April 4:

"A cartoon published during the National Suffrage Convention showed the elephant and the donkey both listening anxiously at the door of the convention to learn what attitude would be taken by the suffragists and especially by the League of Women Voters," wrote Miss Blackwell.

"A St. Louis daily reported that politicians of both parties breathed more freely after the platform and resolutions were adopted.

"Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt's address on the last night of the convention may have helped to quiet their fears. She said:

"They used to ask us why we wanted a vote. They seemed to think we meant to do something in particular with it—something that we were not telling about. They did not understand that women wanted the right of expression and wanted to help make the public welfare.

"We were far off then. Now we are all voters or near voters. Now we are asking ourselves what we shall do with the ballot. We have struggled for the tool; what shall we do with it now that we have it?

"IF there had been no war, we might have dissolved our association when the vote was won, but the war has taught people a great many things, and it has taught us some. A comradeship and friendship has grown up which is the soul of our movement, and which must not be allowed to die. Hence has been born the League of Women Voters.

"Some people are afraid of us. They fear we mean to disrupt and trouble the parties. We shall trouble no party unless it fails to keep up with the times.

"All troubles come because men fail at the right time to look forward. Our Civil War cost money enough to have bought every slave at the full market price and to have run the U. S. Government for ten years in addition. It left thousands of men dead on the battlefield; but it did something even more dire—the flower of our manhood, North and South, went forth and gave their lives for what they believed to be right, and then the doors were flung wide, and through them came millions who did not know the Declaration of Independence, or the spirit of our nation, and so we became a different nation, prospering to a wonderful degree materially, but not caring much about ideals.

"If the men in Congress and in the State Legislatures twenty-five years earlier had had the courage and the vision that they should have had, they would have realized that there was no place in the modern world for human slavery. They did not see it, and walked straight into the teeth of civil war.

"James Beck says that twelve days before the breaking out of the present war not fifty people knew it was likely to come, and some of those were trying desperately to hold it back. Only a handful knew it was actually upon us; yet ever since the Treaty of Vienna it had been clear to the greatest men that the secret treaties there adopted meant another war. Now 7,000,000 men lie dead. Unless conditions are recognized today, unless we look forward, and unless the problems now facing us are solved and not temporized with, we shall have a class war; and unless women in industry are dealt with justly and wisely we may have a sex war.

"WE went into the war in a rebaptism of American ideals. Our army and our civilian army won the war for democracy; but we shall lose that war if democracy does not remain triumphant abroad and at home. The War Department has proved to us that one person out of every four in the United States over ten years old is illiterate. Democracy is not safe where voters cannot read their ballots. This must be a land where every citizen speaks English and can read. If we are to remain a leader among the nations, there must be no citizen who does not know the ideals that the stars and stripes represent. So we have set ourselves to the biggest task women ever undertook to stand behind this program. We are not radicals, we are only looking forward, but the parties are to know that there is a power behind them, pushing them on to do the right thing.

"We are going to try in our humble way and with such little power as we have to solve these problems beforehand. It may be asked shall we not lose votes? We have had to dodge problems for years to avoid losing votes for suffrage, but we are going to dodge them no more.

"The only reservation in my mind is that perhaps we have not looked forward far enough. Perhaps the time is past for a League of Women Voters. We are going to fight with you, gentlemen, and you with us, but we women are going to be a pudding stick inside of each party, until America becomes a nation rebaptized in the old principles of freedom—a nation which will go forward leading the nations of the world."

The St. Louis Globe-Democrat Also Speaks

MRS. CATT lost no time about going to the heart of her subject, 'Looking Forward,' reported the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* of March 29.

"Now," said Mrs. Catt, 'if statesmen do not look forward and prepare there will be a class war and a sex war that will be worse than the civil war and the great war.'

WOMEN WILL NOT DODGE

"Her next period brought down the house in the applause of the evening. 'You ask,' continued the president of the National American Suffrage Association, 'what are women going to do about all this? I will answer that question. Hitherto we women have had to deal, to give and to take, to seek and to hide, with the great governing parties. We had to dodge the great public issues of the day that we might win our way to the vote. Now that most of us are voters, the rest of us near voters, we do not have to dodge any longer. And we won't dodge.

"The great questions that are before us we will not dodge. We propose to get into the great parties and to work from the inside. We do not fear the issues, and we do not fear the future. We'll have our part in the great days that are with us. We'll not vote as women, but as American citizens, and we are unafraid.'

"This period brought forth the greatest applause of the evening. Many men who were present, lawyers, judges, politicians, said that they were greatly impressed by Mrs. Catt's speech. She went directly, in clear-cut language, to the heart of her subject.

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A Boom in Suffrage Literature

Mrs. Catt's, Dr. Shaw's and Mrs. Harper's Works Are "Best Sellers"

THE universal satisfaction with every arrangement made in St. Louis for the accommodation of the guests of the Convention was again emphasized when the President of the National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company, Miss Esther Ogden, one of the re-elected directors of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, returned to headquarters.

She spoke with enthusiasm of the location given to the exhibit of the Publishing Company's output. This was in the foyer of the ball-room of the Hotel Statler. Every person entering or leaving the convention hall was obliged to pass the tables where the Publishing Company spread out its books, leaflets and souvenirs. Consequently before and after all sessions a swarm of people might be found examining the literature and enthusiastically buying suffrage novelties.

"Since the Publishing Company came into existence we have never had so appreciative a clientele as at the Jubilee Convention," said Miss Ogden.

"We were very fortunate in having for our local chairman, Mrs. Alfred Buschman, who provided a corps of volunteers each day and planned everything possible for our comfort and convenience. When we attempted to thank her for her devotion Mrs. Buschman replied that it 'had been a liberal education for her and her assistants to familiarize themselves with the Publishing Company's literature.'

"Many women at this convention had not attended recent conventions in Washington and, consequently, had never seen our exhibit; they expressed themselves as astonished at the variety and exhaustiveness of the Company's output. At no previous convention have we sold so much suffrage literature to women coming from so many different states. One of the striking things was the desire of working suffragists to educate themselves in the suffrage movement. We took to the convention several hundred copies of the revised edition of 'A Brief History of Woman Suffrage,' by Ida Husted Harper. These little booklets were actually eaten up by the delegates, so that every copy was sold and orders taken for more.

"Another interesting feature was the deep impression made by Mrs. Catt's opening address, 'The Nation Calls.' Following that address Monday evening, requests came in every day from men in St. Louis for copies of the speech for their own use or to mail to friends. The men asking for these books include lawyers, doctors, two business men and a mechanic. There was also a great demand for Dr. Shaw's 'Story of a Pioneer,' so that the supply we took to



INFORMATION BUREAU

St. Louis was exhausted and we brought back several dozen orders. This autobiography is a never failing source of inspiration to the new workers in the suffrage ranks.

"I was especially interested in the constant demand on the part of the women for literature on citizenship and preparing women for the vote. We sold a number of 'The Woman Citizen' by Mary Sumner Boyd, 'The Woman Voter's Manual' by Marjorie Shuler, and the study outline 'What Every Woman Voter Should Know' by Henrietta L. Livermore. There was every evidence that the new women voters and near-voters take their responsibilities seriously and are keenly desirous of gaining a practical knowledge of governmental affairs."

The publishing Company has the astonishing record of having within the five years of its existence published and distributed over 50,000,000 pieces of literature. In the New York State Campaign of 1917, 10,000,000 pieces of literature were published by Miss Ogden's company for that state alone, and 8,000,000 pieces for the country at large, making a banner year output of more than 18,000,000 pieces.

Miss Ogden did not arrive over night as head of a business concern. She had served an apprenticeship in a publishing house for some years and learned much about the business before she undertook its management.

For the first two years of the publishing company's life, Miss Ogden was its treasurer. She was elected president three years ago, in 1916.



FIVE JUBILANT JUBILEERS IN ST. LOUIS

Left to right: Mrs. Shuler, Miss Hay, Mrs. Geo. Gellhorn, Mrs. Brown, Mrs. Rogers

Are Women People?

NO exposition of American citizenship is complete without some account of the grounds on which from 1869 to the present day women have

The material for this brief outline is mainly drawn from notes of a series of lectures on the United States Constitution delivered by Mrs. Arthur Livermore. Mrs. Livermore is not, however, responsible for this summary.

M. S. BOYD.

sought political citizenship through the Constitution of the United States, only turning aside for a time to state action with the aim of hastening the day of national suffrage. The three methods of working through the Federal Constitution have been (1) by attempting to vote on the ground that the constitution permits it, (2) by urging federal declaratory legislation confirming the right to vote for federal candidates, and (3) by pushing the Federal Amendment.

It is with the passage of the 14th amendment that the movement for woman suffrage through the national constitution began, but there were statesmen who believed before that that the original constitution gave women the right to vote. Said Charles Sumner "There is not a doubt but women have the constitutional right to vote and I will never vote for a 16th amendment to guarantee it to them. I voted for both 14th and 15th amendments under protest; would never have done it but for the pressing emergency of that hour; would have insisted that the power should have been vindicated through the courts." The basis for Sumner's belief lay in the fact that not once is the adjective *male* used in the Constitution in connection with the electorate, the word *people* being used throughout to represent both the voters and the whole body of inhabitants. True the people who framed the constitution were not the whole body of inhabitants but only 4 per cent of them. But one year later the Federal Government itself added to the number of voters by naturalizing a large body of aliens in all the states, and this power of augmenting the state electorates the Federal Government still has. The "We," of the Preamble, "the people of the United States," who "do ordain—this Constitution," is not a fixed quota but an expanding electorate and in order to "establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity" it is the obvious intention of the Constitution that *people* shall not be so interpreted as to prohibit any class or sex from exercising the franchise.

FURTHERMORE women are recognized in the constitution as people in the sense of potential voters, in the basis of representation in Congress (Art. I, Sec. 2 iii), for unlike the negro slave they count equally with men. Furthermore, supporters of this theory claimed that by Art. IV, Sec. 4, the United States was bound to guarantee a republican form of government to every state, and by Art. VI, Sec. 2, "this constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof shall be the supreme law of the land—anything in the Constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding." Finally the first eight amendments guarantee men and women alike civil rights, and civil rights have no reality unless reinforced by political rights.

With the 14th Amendment the issue became more clear-cut. There was on the one hand more to take hold of, for civil citizenship was for the first time defined as federal in origin and the states were forbidden to infringe on the rights of citizens of the United States. On the other hand the word *male* appears here for the first time, in the provision cutting down representation in proportion to negro males disfranchised. Thus the true intent and meaning of the word *people* was threatened. This was not however regarded as so important as the definition of

civil citizenship and protection of citizens from discrimination by the states for civil citizenship had up to this time been regarded as a state affair. Federal

citizenship strengthened the arguments based on the first eight amendments for federal, civil citizenship is *government without consent* unless supplemented by federal political citizenship. In 1870 Miss Anthony, Mrs. Stanton and others summarized the case in a petition to Congress.

"The constitution," says this document, "claims us as free people, counts us white people as a basis of representation; yet we are governed without our consent, are compelled to pay taxes without appeal and punished for violation of law without choice of judge or juror. The experience of all ages, the declarations of the fathers, the statute laws of our own day and the fearful revolution through which we have just passed, all prove the uncertain tenure of life, liberty and property as long as the ballot—the only weapon of self-protection—is not in the hand of every citizen. We ask that you extend the right of suffrage to women, and thus fulfill your constitutional obligation to guarantee to every state in the Union a Republican form of Government."

IN the same year the 15th Amendment was passed prohibiting *race* as a bar to suffrage. From this time to 1875 a succession of women in many states voted or attempted to vote and many cases were brought to the courts. The most important of these cases is that of Virginia Minor, of Missouri (Minor vs. Happersett). Mrs. Minor was defended before the United States Supreme Court in 1875 by her husband, Francis Minor, who made the following points: 1. The immunities and privileges of an American citizen are national and paramount to state; 2. the Constitution gives states the right to *regulate* not to *prohibit* franchise; 3. the Constitution prohibits abridgement of the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States and exclusion of women is violative of the spirit and the letter of the Constitution; 4. states have no right to deprive naturalized citizens of the vote; therefore they shall not deprive native and naturalized women; 5. the same laws apply to women and men.

"The Plaintiff," said Mr. Minor, "is entitled to all rights and immunities of the United States; the elective franchise is a privilege preservative of all rights and privileges, especially the right to participate in his or her government; it can be denied only by the United States Constitution; but the United States Constitution says, 'No state may make laws—to abridge the rights and immunities of the citizens of the United States'; the suffrage provision of the Missouri constitution is therefore in conflict with the United States Constitution."

He cited in support of his case not merely the sections and amendments to the Constitution we have already quoted but innumerable others, such as Art. I, Sec. 9 and 10, forbidding bills of attainder or patents of nobility; Art. IX leaving to the people rights not enumerated in the Constitution, thus amply exemplifying his point that the abridgement of the rights of citizens of either sex is "violative of the spirit and the letter of the Constitution."

The decision of the court was adverse. It said: 1. The United States Constitution confers the right to vote on no one. 2. The XV Amendment confers simply an exemption from discrimination.

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International Viewpoints

By Alice Stone Blackwell

MISS MARY W. DEWSON has lately returned to the United States after fifteen months of service with the American Red Cross in France. There she was Director of General Relief for the South Intermediate and Southern zones, superintending the relief work for about one-third of France. In this important position she had large opportunities for making acquaintance with the French people, and she has come home with warm praise for them, both the women and the men.

She says that the French women really have a larger share in the life of the men than most American women do. For one thing, the French woman understands all about her husband's business, and is an actual partner in it. Often she understands it even better than he does; but she is careful not to let him see this. Under an aspect of much deference and submission, she deftly steers him in the direction in which he ought to go.

On one occasion, Miss Dewson says, the agents of the Red Cross went to order some supplies. The man who was to furnish them was out, and his wife absolutely refused to do anything about the matter in his absence. When he came back a bargain was made, and a contract was drawn up for him to sign. There was one clause in it which was not to his advantage. He did not see it, but his wife did. She waited till the last moment without saying anything, in the hope that he would perceive it himself; but it was not until he had begun to write his signature that she quietly called his attention to that clause. Then he insisted upon having it changed; and the bargain finally struck was considerably more to his advantage than it would have been if his meek and humble partner had not intervened. As described by Miss Dewson, the French women manage their husbands much as little Anne Hutchinson manages her father in "T. Tembarom."

Miss Dewson says the women of France are fully competent to vote; but that the French people do not take as much interest in politics as Americans do, because they are much less in touch with their government.

"France has the most autocratic government that I ever met with in any country professing to have free institutions," said Miss Dewson. "The system dates from the time of Napoleon. He thought the greatest provinces—Brittany, Picardy and the rest—had too much power; so he divided all France into 83 small sections and placed in each a man of his own to govern it. Napoleon is gone, but the system remains. Each of the 83 sections is under a 'prefet,' who is not elected by the people, but is appointed by the Minister of the Interior, and is responsible to him. If the inhabitants of one section want to levy a small tax upon themselves for local improvements, they cannot spend the money without the consent of the prefet. No man can even build a pig-pen without his permission." The right to vote, therefore, is worth considerably less in France than in America. But Miss Dewson has no doubt that it is only a question of time when the women of France will have the ballot.

In a recent address before the Boston Equal Suffrage Association for Good Government she told of the remarkable reconstruction work done by the Red Cross among the French refugees, who had been driven from their devastated homes. The French government housed them in big barracks, with no privacy and no separation between men and women. It supplied them with a small sum daily for food, but provided no employment. This life of idleness in barracks was demoralizing and depressing, especially to French people, who think so much of the family. The

American Red Cross workers made a list of all the empty houses that were for rent in the nearby towns, and asked leave to provide separate quarters for such families as preferred it. They demonstrated that it would be cheaper than keeping them in barracks; and they got permission to try it. The families jumped at the chance to re-establish a separate home, however poor it might be. If it was only a cellar with a pile of straw, the refugees became quite different creatures when one family had the place to themselves. Then the Red Cross workers supplied them with work by which they could earn a little money, and started up with furniture factories to provide furniture, and let them buy it at very low rates on the instalment plan. The refugees soon become hopeful and busy workers, instead of discouraged recipients of charity. It was a real reconstruction of hearts and souls.

Miss Dewson at the time when she was called to France for this important work was the legislative chairman of the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association. There is not only pleasure in hearing of the great good that she was able to accomplish, but an additional pleasure in remembering that it was one of our own women who did it. As with so many other American suffragists who have gone abroad to help, her experience as a social worker had taught her what to do and how to do it.

ONE article in the proposed covenant of the League of Nations will have the warm support of thinking women everywhere. This is Article 20, which holds out hope of international action against child labor by forbidding international shipment of products made under improper labor conditions.

Our Congress passed a law forbidding the interstate shipment of goods made by child labor, but our Supreme Court, by a majority of one vote, declared the law unconstitutional—a decision based on the same antiquated doctrine of state rights which has been used to block the Federal Suffrage Amendment. If an international rule is adopted, this will at least set up a barrier against the export of goods manufactured by children.

The Supreme Court's nullification of our own anti-child-labor law was followed by an enormous increase in the employment of children. In North Carolina, for instance, hundreds of children under fourteen were immediately set to work, laboring sixty hours a week. Federal inspectors have even found many employers using children who never did so before, and the children's ages range all the way from five years to fourteen. Last year there was an increase of 35 per cent in the number of boys of fifteen and sixteen and girls between sixteen and eighteen who began to work for wages, with a corresponding falling off in school attendance. There has been a 25 per cent increase in juvenile delinquency, and the children's offences are more serious. Of course, the war conditions are in part responsible for these changes; but it is all the more important to have a child labor law with teeth in it and a law of nation-wide scope. The *Public* says:

"The states themselves have proved hopelessly unable to cope with the situation. In twenty-four states it is perfectly legal to work children of fourteen more than eight hours a day. The eleven-hour day for children is common in the United States. This is not a state problem. We have essentially the same conflict between industries based upon child labor and adult labor that we had between industries operated by slave labor and free labor. They cannot exist side by side. One or the other must go."

French Children in a Suffrage Hospital

To the Children of the Brooklyn School, Who Sent an Ambulance to This Hospital

By a W. O. H. Nurse

Nancy, February 17, 1919.

DO you want to stop in the midst of your rush and hear a word about the children's ward in the hospital Jeanne d'Arc? As you know I am no longer with the children, but I will always have pleasant memories of my week in Ward 6.

Formerly the Ward was the dining-room of the boarding school pupils. Its walls are cheerfully decorated with fruit and landscapes, and leading from it is a large sun-parlor. Perhaps the first thing to strike the eyes of a visitor are the gay worsted afghans tucked smoothly over crib and bed. These were knitted by American school children and given to us by the A. F. F. W. You have no idea how the little folks love their afghans. I have seen refugee Pierre, a shy two year old, and the handsomest baby in the ward, just recovering from pneumonia, sit up in his crib and pat first one square of color and another, as if he were admiring their brightness.

There are six cribs for the tiniest babies, and eleven beds for those old enough not to fall out, but sometimes we have to fortify the beds with chairs and pillows, for we have more applications from the parents of babies than we can grant.

We have had several cases of pneumonia, some of malnutrition, and a goodly number of intestinal disorders. It must be bewildering to children to find themselves in the care of strangers who speak a strange language in which now and then comes a familiar word pronounced with unfamiliar accent. But they speedily adjust themselves to their surroundings and learn when they must eat and sleep, and they respond to the affection of the nurses even if that affection is expressed by deed rather than by word.

We have had some desperately ill children, but they have all recovered or are convalescing with the exception of little Lucie, and she, poor child, is incurable. You would feel so sorry for Lucie if you could see her growing weaker every day. She is six and a half years old but has the body and mind of half that age. Miss Quain could not attend to her more faithfully if she were a relative, and it is pathetic to see the child's fierce jealousy when Miss Quain picks up another baby.

Titian haired, six year old Suzanne takes great pride in her English. "Good morning, Mees Cain," she screams when Miss Quain goes on duty, and "Good night," when the lights are turned off and Miss Quain tiptoes toward the door. Her English forsakes her entirely, however, when the nurse has to dress her sinuses. She not only has club feet, poor child, but she is a tubercular, and her joints are infected. She tries to be brave, and all through the process she sobs, in French, "They're better today, they're better today."

You'd love Roger—a fat-faced, hazel-eyed chub of a baby boy, who came to us with his digestion out of gear. His mother told us that his little sister had been sick just like Roger, and had died in spite of all efforts. Miss Quain caught her bestowing black gum-drops upon him one day when he was running a high temperature. With the aid of an interpreter she was immediately and forcefully informed that her affection must choose some other method of expression. I think she now has more intelligent ideas of diet, and now that Roger is fast getting well, she may be able to keep him although she lost his sister.

Madeline is 11 and her brother Charles is 21 months. The baby has inflammatory rheumatism, and Madeline intestinal trouble. Madeline is a sallow-faced big-eyed child sent in from

Dr. Brown's clinic, and the doctor said the first time she ever saw the child smile was when she asked if she would like to go to the hospital. She smiles frequently these days, but it will take a long time for the pathetic droop of her mouth to permanently curve upward.

Albert, age ten, carried an explosive in his pocket, some four months ago. Like others of fame, he didn't know it would go off, but it did and his leg was terribly burned. Albert has the biggest blue eyes you ever saw and true French courage, for though his eyes may fill with tears he never flinches or cries out when Dr. Formad dresses his wound. It is healing nicely and without the operation which at first seemed necessary. He gets up part of each day now, his pale cheeks are rounding and his lips getting back to their color.

FOR four days Yvonne with pneumonia, refused to eat, or even drink water. Miss Quain was almost discouraged, for the child needed nourishment in order to fight her illness. Now Yvonne, who loves Miss Quain with five year old intensity, does her best to attract Miss Quain's attention whenever she eats more food than is her custom. In fact she stuffs herself because she thinks it is the way to show her affection, and Miss Quain's care now is that the child doesn't get too much to eat. She is a strange little girl of moods and wilfulness, but very lovable.

Tiny Jeanne looks like a little wooden doll, so red are her cheeks, so round and bright her eyes, so rose-bud like her mouth, so wiry and straight her scanty hair, and so erect her little back as she sits in her crib. She was dirty beyond description when she came in and terribly ill with pneumonia. I'll never forget how persistently and rapidly her head went back and forth on the pillow the first day or two she was with us. Doctor Flood said she had a dreadful headache. But this very minute she is sitting up in her crib smiling happily upon a pleasant world, and in a very little while she will go to her mother.

Henri, *le terrible*, has gone home cured, and we breathe freely once more. He had an infection on his face, and at times he was as lamb-like as the Biblical Samuel, but at other times, ye gods, how he did carouse! He was not ill enough to keep in bed, and his superfluous energy vented itself in wild whoops in sliding down the banisters, in breaking dishes and in thrashing his weaker associates. But he was lovely with the tiny babies. He would feed them and sing to them with almost sisterly gentleness. Most of our boy patients are very kind to the other children. Marcel, with broken down glands and a wooden leg, is never too tired to get someone a drink of water, or at meal time to put around the trays and plates for the children in bed.

I think the life here must be a revelation to René, who is now convalescing sufficiently to realize the difference his present home and the one room left in which live his parents and eight brothers and sisters.

Some times, usually in the evening, if there are no very sick children who may be disturbed, our little patients sing together—"Frere Jacques" the "Madelon," and always the "Marseillaise." Fifteen years old Jeanne, the special protege of the A. F. F. W., is anxious to learn English. She has a pretty voice and sings the "Star-Spangled Banner," "Pack Up Your Troubles," "There's a Long, Long Trail," and "Dixie," so that any English-speaking person would understand the words.

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Is There Room at the Top?

ONE is more or less prepared for an impression of Miss Rachel Crothers, author and stage director of "A Little Journey," by her reception room—a neutral tinted, plainly furnished apartment, devoid of knick-knacks and of the usual litter of feminine sanctuaries. It is a sort of intellectual no man's land on the confines of which she may meet the stranger and the interviewer without admitting either into the intimate reserves of her mind or her tastes. Yet it voices a personality interested in the potentialities of character and thought rather than in mere objects of luxury.

Miss Crothers is another one of the women who have "made good"—which is to say, as *The Woman Citizen* interprets it, has made her life useful to others as well as profitable to herself, without sacrificing to a money value the essentials of womanly character. There are scores of women in New York who are more widely known perhaps, many with a higher percentage of financial profits, but not all of whom are, by any means, the material which we would hold up to the emulation of other women. There is a price to success. If one must pay for it in self-centered egoism, in selfishness, in the rubbing off of the essentials of a fine womanhood, it is not worth having. Far better than that are disappointment and a wholesome mediocrity—for there is such a thing. But Miss Crothers has accomplished the difficult things which most women, thrown upon their own resources, want to do and which few succeed in doing. She has done it without paying the prohibitive—or shall we say nullifying—price. Wherefore *The Woman Citizen* feels that Miss Crothers has a message for other women.

A tall woman with a thoughtful face, an expressive eye, and the frank, unaffected manner of a woman whose thoughts center beyond herself came into the room, apologizing for being a moment or two late. How busy a woman she is was demonstrated by the constantly recurring telephone calls which punctuated the interview.

"I was born in Bloomington, Ill.," she said in answer to a request for information, as to her personal history. "I was educated in a Normal School, and, after graduating, came direct to the Wheatcroft School of Acting here. After finishing there, I went on the stage for a brief time, but soon returned to the school as a coach and as a writer and producer of one-act plays for the students. Then I began to write for the real stage, and my first production was 'The Three of Us.' Now I am simply doing on a larger scale for the public what I did for amateurs."

"Did you start out with the intention of being a writer and producer?" was asked.

"I started out to act, and the writing and directing of my own plays has all come from and hinges on the acting instinct."

"A great many girls are stage-struck. Is there any way for a girl to determine for herself whether her desire for a stage career is prompted by real capacity for it or by vanity?"

Miss Crothers considered. "I should say," she responded at length, "that the only way she can find out is to try it and see what other people think of her."

"Suppose a girl continually indulges in day dreams of herself triumphing as an actress—is that any evidence of dramatic talent?"

"It is a very strong evidence that she has none. The girl who is thinking of herself cannot lose herself in a part. To the actor, as to the musician or the painter or the writer, the

The message of a woman playwright and stage director, who says there is all the room at the top that women can fill.—"Where they stop is entirely up to women themselves. —Work has no sex."

thing to be done is an end complete and satisfying in itself. Its reflex action upon his own financial or social position is a secondary consideration. On the other hand, if he achieves success in a thing which is of real importance it is unlikely that the other will not accompany it."

"Do you believe that just hard work and intelligence allied to good training will take the place of talent?"

Miss Crothers shook her head emphatically. "Good training and hard work will bring a mediocre development which, if intelligently handled, may be made financially paying. But for really good dramatic work there must be emotion and the power of minute study of human nature and of observation."

"Are you conscious, as a playwright, of a public leaning upon plays for a standard of idealism?"

"Yes; I think that is something which increases greatly."

"We Americans are accused of having rushed to a milk and water extreme in the introduction of idealistic plays. What do you think about it?"

"I am inclined to believe that a play should be both idealistic and realistic in its treatment. There is no particular value in depicting a human nature which is abnormal, especially tragically abnormal. The writer is often carried away by specialized study into losing his sense of proportion in depicting that sort of thing. The refusal of the public to accept it and its persistent demand for what is healthily possible to average humanity is the sign of dramatic sanity. I believe that the possibilities of all things for women are only beginning, and that where they stop is entirely up to women themselves. Women must find themselves and help themselves. I do not believe that men will ever consciously seek to hold them back."

"IT can be inferred from 'A Little Journey' that you do not believe in the sort of feminine love that comes from a woman's regarding a man as a 'meal ticket.' But how, unless the majority of women continue to regard marriage as their natural sphere of life, can we keep the home or give women their share of human love, without which no woman can be really happy? And, so long as women look upon marriage as a means of livelihood, how are we going to prevent its commercialization?"

"Now you have asked me a question, that, at the present stage of our development, nobody can answer. But I have every confidence," Miss Crothers went on after a few moments' reflection, "of the ultimate power of an intelligent human race to work out a solution for its problems—not a perfect solution because there must be a sacrifice element for everything accomplished, but one that does give the greatest good to the greatest number. A high standard of ideals, general education, and the spirit of human brotherhood will do nearly everything."

"You believe, then in the 'get together' spirit of settling our difficulties?"

"I most emphatically do," replied Miss Crothers.

"Do you feel that, at the present time, the stage offers as many inducements to women as to men, be it in the capacity of actor or playwright?"

"The stage, more than any other profession, makes absolutely no discrimination between men and women. Ability makes its own place, wins its own recognition. Work has no sex. I have not been obstructed in any way because I am a woman."

(Continued on page 970)

Are Women People?

(Continued from page 962)

"TEST" voting was given a temporary setback by the Minor case. In 1884 there came another supreme court case which suggested the expediency, on the one hand of pushing the Federal Amendment to obtain suffrage both in state and nation, and on the other of pushing for the immediate passage of a declaratory law securing to women the vote for federal candidates. This was the *Yarborough* case (1884) which decided that the right to vote for presidential electors was secured by the United States Constitution. The right to vote for members of Congress was secured by Art. I, Sec. 2, of the Constitution and this article, in Section 4, left to the United States government the control of the manner of these elections. On the basis of this decision a Federal Elections Committee was formed, in support of whose plan of getting partial suffrage through the United States Constitution it will be seen that two sections of the Constitution, not before quoted, were drawn into the argument. Thus passage after passage of the constitution was turned to account by those who were struggling for full democracy.

The Federal Elections Committee has year after year introduced a bill in Congress. It has never given up its work. Nor has the policy of test voting been given up. In the 1916 presidential election women who had lived in equal suffrage voting states attempted in Massachusetts, Maryland and Iowa to vote for Federal candidates. They quoted still other sections of the

Constitution, laying special stress on their rights in voting states; "Full faith and credit shall be given in each state to the public acts records and judicial proceedings of every other state" (Art. IV, Sec. 1); and "The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states" (Art. IV, Sec. 2). In 1889 Francis Minor had recommended continued work along the three lines of test voting to bring the matter once again before the United States Supreme Court Federal Elections Bill and Federal Amendment.

The Federal Elections Bill and the test voting of recent years fell away from the original claim that the United States Constitution had within it the power of giving full suffrage rights, both *State and Federal*.

Of late years, as more states have been gained for suffrage and ratification seems surer, the broadest method has taken precedence of the others. The larger claim of the earlier days to full suffrage through the National Constitution is to be made good by an amendment to the United States Constitution which will make sex a new "exemption from discrimination."

This will not take in any degree from the states their rightful power to regulate suffrage, recognized by Minor and all who have worked for National Woman suffrage; for there is but one test set today by state constitutions which is fundamentally prohibitory, and that is sex.

Women Fighters

AS the details of the great war gradually come to light, we learn of more and more cases where women not only nursed the wounded, harvested the crops and ran the industries, but took a hand in the actual fighting.

A very interesting new book by Dr. G. Pasdermadjian, "Why Armenia Should Be Free," gives some important and little known facts about the war, showing how the Armenians in the East played the part of Belgium in the West, and held back the hostile troops, on several critical occasions, till the Allies were able to bring up their forces to oppose them. Here is one instance:

"At Urfa the Armenians were able for forty days to repulse the attacks of a Turkish division, but finally fell heroically under the fire of Turkish artillery commanded by German officers, after having destroyed all their property to keep it from falling into the enemy's hands. In the ruined Armenian trenches, by the side of the Armenian young men there had fallen dead also Armenian young women, who, arms in hand, were found all mangled by the German bombs."

At Shabin-Karahissar, the Armenians held back another Turkish division for twenty-seven days. "There took place one of the most tragic and heroic episodes of the present war. When the ammunition of the Armenians was almost gone, nearly 3,000 Armenian women and girls drank poison and died in order not to fall alive into the hands of the Turks. An eye witness tells how on that last day Armenian mothers and girls, with tears in their eyes and hymns on their lips, received poison from the Armenian physicians for themselves and their little ones." When the supply of poison gave out, many girls who had failed to get any committed suicide by throwing themselves from the rocks of the citadel.

Have not women good reason to use all their efforts to make this war the last?

A. S. B.

Suffrage Hospitals

(Continued from page 964)

When our little folks leave us, cured, we not only give each parent or child's guardian detailed instructions as to future care of the child, but also for each discharged patient there are new shoes and an outfit of clothes.

Of course in the great need of France this children's ward may seem even less than the proverbial drop in the bucket. But I feel sure that anyone whose money has been given us with a desire to aid this suffering country would be satisfied in seeing the small but continuous company of children passing, ill, into our ward and leaving it cured. France herself can live only through her children and every child who regains his health, and whose parents abide by our instructions to preserve that health, is our lasting gift to needy France. And, of course, Ward 6 is only a fraction of the work we are doing as a unit.

Looking Forward

(Continued from page 960)

Without any attempt at oratory, she spoke in clear, incisive tones, and always kept strictly to her subject, 'Looking Forward.' Her voice was so clear, her poise so sure, her diction so well chosen and her periods so well rounded that she achieved oratory without any effort to do so.

"Announcing herself a conservative, she warned of the dangers of reaction rather than of the dangers of super-radicalism, though she warned against these, too. Giving an impression of balance and level-headedness, Mrs. Catt achieved a most favorable effect upon the lawyers who are accustomed to weigh speech. Her address was a positive triumph. Many acute judges of such things said that while they had listened to finer oratory, they had never listened to a clearer or more concise statement of political policy."



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How Maine Women

By Elizabeth Curtis Hol



MRS. ARTHUR T. BALENTINE

THE Maine Woman Suffrage Association is rejoicing in the fact that its state, which has so long been conspicuously black in the northeast corner of the suffrage map, has now come into the Presidential group and can be represented as white with black spots.

Notwithstanding the defeat of the State Constitutional Amendment in 1917, the Maine Woman Suffrage Association voted at its convention in October, 1918, to put in a bill for partial suffrage, as for many years it has been the policy of the association to introduce some suffrage measure at every session of the legislature. The Legislative Committee consisted of Mrs. Katherine Reed Balentine, of Portland, Chairman; Miss Mable Connor, of Augusta, President of the Maine Woman Suffrage Association; Miss Helen N. Bates, of Portland; Mrs. Wm. R. Pattangall, Mrs. Henry W. Cobb, and Mrs. Guy P. Gannett, of Augusta. By the advice of our political friends a bill was introduced for Presidential Suffrage, as they expressed the belief that it would meet with less opposition than any other form of suffrage bill. It was drawn up by Hon. George H. Allen, one of the best friends of suffrage Maine has ever had.

At first the legislators expressed great surprise at the attempt to bring up the suffrage question at all this year as they considered that the question was settled by the defeat of the referendum in 1917.

The hearing before the Judiciary Committee was pronounced one of the best suffrage hearings ever held at the State House. The principal speakers were Hon. Louis A. Burleigh, who made a remarkably strong appeal along political lines, and Prof. Frank Woodworth, of Bowdoin College, who dwelt on the rapid spread of equal suffrage and its justice. Telegrams were read from four of our congressional delegation urging the legislature to take favorable action on the measure. The rebuttal was most ably handled by Mrs. Nancy H. Schoomaker, of New York. The bill was reported "Ought to pass," by a vote of 8 to 2.

The measure was introduced into the Senate by Hon. Guy P. Gannett, of Augusta. An effort was made to attach a referendum amendment to the bill, but the Legislative Committee took a strong stand against such action and secured the passage of the original bill by a vote of 22 to 5. The principal speech in opposition to the referendum amendment was made in the Senate by the Hon. Leroy R. Folsom, of Norridgewock. In the House a yet stronger effort was made to attach the referendum amendment but it was again thwarted by the firm stand of the Legislative Committee and the bill went through un-amended by a vote of 85-54.



MRS. GUY P. GANNETT



MISS HELEN N. BATES

TWO OF
MAINE'S
"BIG SIX"

Presidential Suffrage

Chairman, Press Committee

VERY able speeches were made by Hon. Percival P. Baxter, Hon. Frederick W. Hinckley, of Portland, and Hon. Elisha W. Pike, of Eastport.

The Legislative Committee decided to conduct a quiet campaign such as they believed would appeal to Maine men. It was carried on entirely by Maine women with the exception of Miss L. Lola Walker, of Pennsylvania, who acted as Executive Secretary to the Chairman and was in Augusta each week of the session of the legislature. Miss Walker was in Maine during the entire referendum campaign and understands Maine people and the methods best calculated to secure the desired results. She has had much political experience and her work with the legislature was characterized by great tact and judgment. The association was particularly happy in being able to secure the valuable services of Miss Walker at this time and the success of the measure was in large part due to her work.

The legislature was circularized from time to time with appropriate literature; especially effective was a pamphlet on Presidential Suffrage prepared by Mr. Louis A. Burleigh and a speech by Hon. Ira G. Hersey made in the National House of Representatives at the time of the vote on the Federal Amendment.

The State Association was fortunate in having its President, Miss Connor, and three members of the Committee, Mrs. Pattangall, Mrs. Cobb and Mrs. Gannett, residents of Augusta, where they could watch the progress of the bill and meet any emergency that might arise. Our able and resourceful President, Miss Connor, was ably seconded in her work by the women in all parts of the state, who left no stone unturned to secure the support of their representatives for the bill.

It was a particular source of gratification to the state that the first suffrage victory in Maine was won under the leadership of so well known a woman as Katherine Reed Balentine, daughter of Maine's favorite son, Thomas B. Reed. Mrs. Balentine had the royal support of the committee in carrying out her wise policy for the campaign, and this excellent teamwork was no small factor in securing the passage of the measure.

The tact and legislative experience of Miss Helen N. Bates, a former President of the State Association, who kept the suffrage torch burning during the years when it might otherwise have been extinguished, made her an invaluable member.

The ablest men in the legislature worked indefatigably for the success of the bill; the Governor was friendly and the press of the state largely in favor. The *Kennebec Journal* and the *Lewis-*

(Continued on page 971)



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Equal Rights

THERE was a "gathering of the clan" in Old Kentucky March 11 and 12, when the Kentucky Equal Rights Association held its twenty-ninth annual convention at the Seelbach Hotel in Louisville. For the first time in the history of the organization leaders of both political parties appeared and espoused the cause of votes for women.

The first day of the convention was "Congressional Day," the Kentucky Senator and the seven Congressmen who voted for the Susan B. Anthony amendment being the guests of honor at a large reception given by the Louisville association. In the evening the retiring president, Mrs. John Glover South, of Frankfort, introduced Congressman J. Campbell Cantrill and Congressman Alben W. Barclay.

The last evening of the convention the Democratic and Republican candidates for Governor, who for the first time in the history of the state are all pledged to the support of suffrage, spoke to a large audience. Lieut. Governor James Black's topic was: "The Right of Women to Vote Is of the Spirit of Our Institu-



MRS. DESHA BRECKENRIDGE

in Kentucky

tions;" Hon. Edwin P. Morrow, Republican, confessed, "Why I Am for Woman Suffrage;" Dr. H. H. Cherry, Democrat, spoke on "Efficiency and Waste."

In presenting the candidates Mrs. Desha Breckenridge, newly-elected president of the association, spoke of the change in sentiment in Kentucky and throughout the nation in the past few years. Mrs. Breckenridge said: "We are feeling this day as if the suffrage millennium is here, and all there remains to do is the shouting."

Mrs. Breckenridge, who is the great grand-daughter of Henry Clay, is well known in the national suffrage association. She was the second president of the Kentucky Equal Rights Association and has been newly elected to succeed Mrs. South, the fourth president. Mrs. South was recently appointed to represent the

South on the National Republican Woman's Committee, but will also remain on the Executive Board of the Kentucky Equal Rights Association as first vice-president.

The morning sessions of the Louisville convention were marked with lively debates on "States Rights," some of the delegates favoring a state campaign. Mrs. South, the retiring president, led the opposition, which was triumphant, as it was resolved, almost unanimously, to postpone any action until after the St. Louis convention.

Reports of officers and chairmen were most encouraging. The Press chairman, Miss Eleanor Hume, of Frankfort, reported over one hundred new papers won over to suffrage in 1918. Among these was the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, long and bitter opponent. Over \$7,000 was raised by the Kentucky association for war work in the past year.

Resolutions were adopted thanking President Wilson for his support of suffrage, and condemning the militants for picketing the White House. A banner was hung at the left of the hall bearing an inscription, "Lest We Forget," and the names of the men who voted against the federal amendment.

The following officers were elected to fill vacancies on the Board:

Second vice-president, Mrs. Samuel Castleman; third vice-president, Mrs. James A. Leech; recording secretary, Mrs. Charles Firth; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Herbert Mengel; treasurer, Mrs. J. B. Judah; congressional chairman, Mrs. Samuel C. Henning; state member Executive Council, Mrs. Edward M. Post.

Is There Room at the Top?

(Continued from page 965)

"In the theatrical world, then, there is room at the top for woman?"

"All that she can fill," replied Miss Crothers.

The telephone bell rang again at this point, and the interviewer, realizing that she had taken all of the time promised her and even more, went away. She carried with her the pleasing remembrances of one woman who has truly found herself and made the best of life for herself and others.

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How Maine Won

(Continued from page 969)

ton Journal, always ardent champions of the Suffrage cause, were unfailing in their support. The following is an editorial which appeared in the Portland Evening Express, March 22, and is a fair statement of the impression on the public made by the campaign:

"At last Maine is to be removed from the list of states which do not grant any form of suffrage to women, as a result of the action of the legislature this week. The measure, however, has not been signed by Governor Milliken although he has assured its supporters that he will do so and he is expected to affix his signature almost any day now.

"The new bill gives women the right to vote for Presidential electors and they will have the first opportunity thus to express themselves at the election of 1920. The measure was introduced into the legislature by the Maine Woman Suffrage Association and it was due to its effective work that it was passed. The campaign has been conducted by this organization with true womanly dignity and has been pleasingly noticeable because of the absence of objectionable features which have hurt the cause of suffrage throughout the country."

GOVERNOR CARL MILLIKEN has not only signed the bill, but, late in March, he sent the two pens used by him to Miss Mabel Connor, President of the Maine Woman Suffrage Association, and to Miss Anna L. Dingley, an editor of the Lewiston Journal.—Ed.

Children's Codes: Out of Missouri

THE United States looks to legislation as the New England farmer looks to the patent medicine bottle. Neither is reputed to be anxious about the ingredients or preparation of the nostrum. The popular criticism of American fervor in law-making overlooks one side of the question—that it is the formula and not legislation *per se* that is at fault. We are only beginning to take to heart the fact that legislation must be appropriate, it must be consistent, and it must be subordinated to a general plan and scheme. In other words it must not be an end, but a step in the construction of the social organization we want, and to be an effective step its different parts must harmonize.

We have been legislating for children in this country since 1836 when the first child labor act was passed in Massachusetts. But to-day Massachusetts has no 8-hour day law for women and children over 16 years in factories. One came before the legislature last year and was defeated. In 1842 Connecticut passed a child labor law; and to-day Connecticut allows its children under 16 to work 10 hours a day, and boys over 16 to work any number of hours they or their employers desire. New York, supposedly the state farthest advanced in such matters, lets children of any age act on the stage (though they may not dance or sing), allows infants to sling a kit on their shoulders and shine shoes on the street, (though children

Ruth McIntire

National Child Labor Committee

must be 14, if connected with a stand), and restricts newspaper peddling only to children over 12 (though they must be 16 in order legally to peddle anything else). Much of the present state legislation dates from the civil war period and has not been disturbed to any alarming extent since.

There is an amusing discrepancy in North Carolina, which has an act forbidding children under 12 to work, but charging no official with the enforcement of this mild provision. The Commissioner of Labor may not even enter factories or bring a prosecution. In the same state marriages between feeble-minded persons are forbidden by law, but no penalty can be exacted from an official who performs such a ceremony.

Now the social organizations who propose and push such laws and the legislators who pass them are intelligent people. Yet the fact remains that there is not a state in the Union where discrepancies between law and enforcement, between one provision and another of like nature, or between the intention of the law and its achievement, do not exist. The result is such as to make us despair of human potentiality to impose upon itself the simple restrictions that it evidently wants.

Second only to more progressive legislation,

what is needed now is coordination and articulation between the measures already on the statute books. You can't enforce the child labor law for children under 14 when the school law releases them at the age of 13 (Kentucky). And there is not much object in having on the statutes a mothers' pension law for the purpose of enabling poor children under 16 to attend school, when the education law allows children to leave school at the age of 12, if they are poor, and the labor law allows them to obtain working papers (Texas). These laws and others like them are the natural result of the customary formula in social legislation. One group of people in the state interested in child labor pushes through a progressive law. A few years later, regardless of its provisions, another group of people will get a school law adopted. And so it goes, till we have a crazy-quilt pattern of laws with every other piece in the pattern at odds with its neighbors, contradicting, exempting, touching only the high spots perhaps, overlooking the very subjects which deserve most careful attention. This is the result of approximately 50 years' conscientious work.

The legislative year 1919 is novel. For the first time genuine far-reaching cooperation is being attempted in this field. For several years "children's codes" have been under discussion and have come before the legislatures of three states, Ohio, Minnesota, and New Hampshire; but not until this year, with the appearance of the report of Missouri's Code Commission, and with the agitation in at least 9 more states for the appointment of like commissions, has the subject become vital to anyone but the experts. These explain that in point of fact a children's code is not a code, but the name is likely to persist in spite of the objection. A children's code is not a code in the sense that all provisions relating to children are gathered into one part of the body of laws, but in the sense that such laws are studied as a whole, and brought to a common standard of progressiveness and efficiency. The Missouri method, which is recommended in other states, consisted in the appointment of a Code Commission which should study the existing children's laws and their operation in the state, and on the basis of this thorough investigation recommend a set of legislative bills. The Commission's report, just published, calls attention to the interdependence of most of the measures recommended. "For instance, the 1917 legislature passed a bill providing for treatment of incorrigible minors over 18 years of age in the juvenile courts. At the same time, the proposed juvenile court act, which raised the juvenile court age to 18 years, and the act to make 21 years the age of majority for girls, were defeated. The re-

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sulting inconsistency has made impossible the practical working out of the law which was enacted. Boys between 17 (the present juvenile court age) and 18 years, are not covered by the act. Girls (who now become of age at 18) are entirely outside its provisions. Thus, one of the primary objects of the Commission, to correct such inconsistencies in the statutes, is defeated."

IT stands to reason that legislatures will have to meet half-way the recommendations of their appointees, and the public support and sympathy given to the work of the Missouri Commission leave little doubt that the proposed measures will in large part be enacted. This general interest is the most encouraging part of the movement to those who have watched its progress. Not only are the different bodies of social workers getting together in conference and joint effort but the public itself is becoming aroused to the intimate relationship of the subjects studied. The National Child Labor Committee has adopted the code idea in its platform, and has sent investigators, at the invitation of groups in the given states, to study conditions affecting children in Oklahoma,* Alabama and North Carolina. The reports have been published and are being made the basis for proposed "codes." The idea has been accepted in such geographically diverse localities as Nebraska and Alabama, Texas and West Virginia, Connecticut and Oklahoma. In Kansas and Delaware code commissions are at work.

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(Continued on page 974)



Children's Codes: Out of Missouri

THE United States looks to legislation as the New England farmer looks to the patent medicine bottle. Neither is reputed to be anxious about the ingredients or preparation of the nostrum. The popular criticism of American fervor in law-making overlooks one side of the question—that it is the formula and not legislation *per se* that is at fault. We are only beginning to take to heart the fact that legislation must be appropriate, it must be consistent, and it must be subordinated to a general plan and scheme. In other words it must not be an end, but a step in the construction of the social organization we want, and to be an effective step its different parts must harmonize.

We have been legislating for children in this country since 1836 when the first child labor act was passed in Massachusetts. But to-day Massachusetts has no 8-hour day law for women and children over 16 years in factories. One came before the legislature last year and was defeated. In 1842 Connecticut passed a child labor law; and to-day Connecticut allows its children under 16 to work 10 hours a day, and boys over 16 to work any number of hours they or their employers desire. New York, supposedly the state farthest advanced in such matters, lets children of any age act on the stage (though they may not dance or sing), allows infants to sling a kit on their shoulders and shine shoes on the street, (though children

Ruth McIntire
National Child Labor Committee

must be 14, if connected with a stand), and restricts newspaper peddling only to children over 12 (though they must be 16 in order legally to peddle anything else). Much of the present state legislation dates from the civil war period and has not been disturbed to any alarming extent since.

There is an amusing discrepancy in North Carolina, which has an act forbidding children under 12 to work, but charging no official with the enforcement of this mild provision. The Commissioner of Labor may not even enter factories or bring a prosecution. In the same state marriages between feeble-minded persons are forbidden by law, but no penalty can be exacted from an official who performs such a ceremony.

Now the social organizations who propose and push such laws and the legislators who pass them are intelligent people. Yet the fact remains that there is not a state in the Union where discrepancies between law and enforcement, between one provision and another of like nature, or between the intention of the law and its achievement, do not exist. The result is such as to make us despair of human potentiality to impose upon itself the simple restrictions that it evidently wants.

Second only to more progressive legislation,

what is needed now is coordination and articulation between the measures already on the statute books. You can't enforce the child labor law for children under 14 when the school law releases them at the age of 13 (Kentucky). And there is not much object in having on the statutes a mothers' pension law for the purpose of enabling poor children under 16 to attend school, when the education law allows children to leave school at the age of 12, if they are poor, and the labor law allows them to obtain working papers (Texas). These laws and others like them are the natural result of the customary formula in social legislation. One group of people in the state interested in child labor pushes through a progressive law. A few years later, regardless of its provisions, another group of people will get a school law adopted. And so it goes, till we have a crazy-quilt pattern of laws with every other piece in the pattern at odds with its neighbors, contradicting, exempting, touching only the high spots perhaps, overlooking the very subjects which deserve most careful attention. This is the result of approximately 50 years' conscientious work.

The legislative year 1919 is novel. For the first time genuine far-reaching cooperation is being attempted in this field. For several years "children's codes" have been under discussion and have come before the legislatures of three states, Ohio, Minnesota, and New Hampshire; but not until this year, with the appearance of the report of Missouri's Code Commission, and with the agitation in at least 9 more states for the appointment of like commissions, has the subject become vital to anyone but the experts. These explain that in point of fact a children's code is not a code, but the name is likely to persist in spite of the objection. A children's code is not a code in the sense that all provisions relating to children are gathered into one part of the body of laws, but in the sense that such laws are studied as a whole, and brought to a common standard of progressiveness and efficiency. The Missouri method, which is recommended in other states, consisted in the appointment of a Code Commission which should study the existing children's laws and their operation in the state, and on the basis of this thorough investigation recommend a set of legislative bills. The Commission's report, just published, calls attention to the interdependence of most of the measures recommended. "For instance, the 1917 legislature passed a bill providing for treatment of incorrigible minors over 18 years of age in the juvenile courts. At the same time, the proposed juvenile court act, which raised the juvenile court age to 18 years, and the act to make 21 years the age of majority for girls, were defeated. The re-

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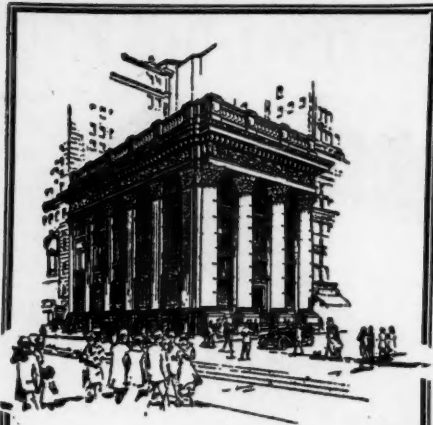
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(Continued on page 974)



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Correspondence

How It Works in Seattle

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

I WAS much interested in "Who's Who Among Candidates" in your March number.

We, who have been voting since 1910, have been waiting to hear from you on this subject, for we have found out to our bitter cost that the right to vote does not include the right to vote for the best man, or the fittest, or the best qualified, because a good man seldom files, or, if he does, the issues are so confused and beclouded, that often the best man seems to be the worst.

The people who hold office usually know very little about the duty and responsibility of that office, or have any sense of obligation toward the voters, and until we educate Public Opinion up to the point of insisting that candidates for an office have some fitness for that office besides the personality which attracts votes, we never will have the right sort of people to vote for.

Our system of government is as near right as any system can be—but when any man can file for office merely because he has enough friends to elect him, we begin to suspect that something may prevent the system from functioning properly.

The remedy proposed—a law to compel candidates to answer questions concerning themselves will only add to the mischievous legislation already cluttering up the statute books. For who would not be willing to put forth claims? Especially at the voters' expense?

No, the sort of questions that should be asked candidates, should be put to them when filing, and should deal with their fitness to conduct the office aspired to. For instance: legislative aspirants should be asked what laws are already on the statute books, and what new ones they propose to bring in. The latter they could answer very glibly, but the answer to the first question would settle their fitness.

We have in Washington the same law you extol for Oregon, but the mere sending of information to voters does not inform them. They seldom read the information, and if they do read what is said of the candidates, can they trust it?

New York's problem would be simpler, because New York's candidates are home-grown, and her voters are familiar with the offices and candidates, but with us, thousands of voters are newcomers with but little more than the required year's residence, and the candidates are seldom native born. Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin (they must be good

states to move away from) furnish us with the greater part of our candidates with but from 5 to 8 years' residence.

The greatest objection to your proposed law, will be the expense to the candidates. I think it penalizes them, for if they must pay their filing fee, and the expense of the publicity and then lose, it will be retro-active, and keep out poor but honest citizens!

But in any case the type of man who runs for office will promise anything, and do as he pleases after elected, per your own U. S. Senator, Wadsworth. So any knowledge, however acquired, does not always prove valuable.

Some few offices as, Coroner, Prosecuting Attorney, Civil Engineer, and School Superintendents are only applied for by men familiar with the work. This should teach us how important is preparation for the work, for it has given equilibrium in those departments. We don't so much need to know what kind of men we are voting for—there's little to choose between the two—as we need a new kind—we need men educated in Government management. Many men elected Governor—Mayor—or Councilman or Alderman have absolutely no knowledge of the routine business of their office, and no executive ability—but their personal following is such that they get the votes!

I am also in favor of a shorter ballot, many men are elected to offices which could be more suitably filled with appointments. Civil Service is one step in the right direction for appointments, but Government will never be much improved until we have some sort of Civil Service for elective positions, too.

One of the best methods, we have found in Seattle, is to have candidates attend open meetings where they can be asked questions. But this method does not affect the quality of men who file for office. The worst men are quite eager to get in the limelight, and enjoy the publicity they get in that way. The greatest difficulty lies in the class of men for whom we have to vote.

ANNE BIGONEY STEWART.

Seattle, Wash.

Children's Codes

(Continued from page 973)

ers successfully carry on their work. But the movement does, as an essential element, include the idea of interdependence of the related subjects; it assumes that in the consideration of children (the group) we should differentiate from the consideration of adults.

See the *Woman Citizen* of March 22 for an explanation of the Missouri Code.

Ownership Statement

Statement of the Ownership, Management, Circulation, Etc., Required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912.

OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN,
County of New York.. }
State of NEW YORK. } ss.:

Published Weekly at NEW YORK, N. Y.,
for April 1, 1919.

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the state and county aforesaid, personally appeared Rose Young, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the editor of the WOMAN CITIZEN, and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1918, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are:

Name of Publisher, Woman Citizen Corporation, Post Office address, 171 Madison avenue, New York, N. Y. Name of Editor, Rose Young, Post Office address, 171 Madison avenue, New York, N. Y. Name of Managing Editor, Rose Young, Post Office address, 171 Madison avenue, New York, N. Y. Name of Business Manager, Rose Young, Post Office address, 171 Madison avenue, New York, N. Y.

2. That the owners are:

Woman Citizen Corporation, Post Office address, 171 Madison avenue, New York, N. Y. (owner): Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Post Office address, 2 West 86th street, New York, N. Y.; Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Post Office address, 2 West 86th street, New York, N. Y.; Mrs. Harriet B. Wells, Post Office address, 46 West 9th street, New York, N. Y.; Miss A. S. Blackwell, Post Office address, Dorchester,

Mass.; Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore, Yonkers, N. Y.; Leslie Woman Suffrage Commission, Inc., Post Office address, 171 Madison avenue, New York, N. Y., the members of which are: Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, President, 2 West 86th street, New York City; Miss Mary Garrett Hay, First Vice-President, 2 West 86th street, New York City; Mrs. Raymond Robins, Chicago, Illinois; Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker, Austin, Texas; Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, Warren, Ohio; Mrs. Harriet B. Wells, 46 West 9th street, New York city; Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore, 144 Park avenue, Yonkers, N. Y.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company, but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by her.

ROSE YOUNG, Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 19th day of March, 1919.

MAY GUERIN.

(My commission expires March 30, 1919)

That Day Is Ended

EQUAL pay and equal opportunity for promotion will be accorded women in government service if the joint committee to investigate salaries in government service has its way.

"The women of the country deserve a fair chance" Congressman Keating, secretary of the committee, stated in a press interview. "It is cruelly unjust to compel a competent woman to receive less pay for the same kind of work than a man and to prevent her from promotion. The commission, I have no doubt, will recognize the principle of equal pay for equal work. The day has gone by when any other doctrine can be accepted. In the classification of government employees men and women will be treated alike."

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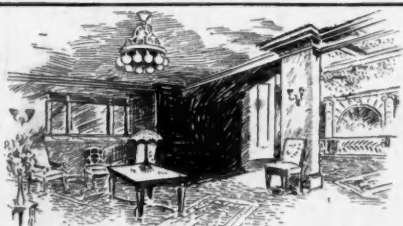
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Every Door of Opportunity

THE women of Hungary will exercise the right of franchise for the first time April 14. The Hungarian Government has decided upon that date for holding the election for Constituents Assembly.

The new government in Hungary has definitely promulgated a system of government by village, town, district and county councils and a national assembly of councils, a dispatch from Budapest says. The representatives to the National Assembly will be elected by the town and county councils.

All men and women who have reached the age of eighteen will be permitted to vote, with few exceptions, is the latest dispatch; but previous information was to the effect that every Hungarian male over 21, regardless of his capacity to read or write, was eligible to vote, while women voters must be 24 years of age or over, and able to read and write one language.

THE church in varying degree in its various sects has been grudging about opening its priesthood to women, but the Union Theological Seminary, which prepares students for ordination to the pulpits of many sects, has long furnished an example of hospitality to women, which might well have been emulated by schools of more modern sciences than theology. As long as a generation ago its courses were open to women, and when, in 1897, Miss Emilie Grace Briggs, daughter and collaborator with Dr. Charles S. Briggs, then president of the Seminary, was found to have passed all tests with honors, she was quietly graduated with a B. D. She is recognized today as a great scholar in her field, one of her specialties being the position of women in the early church. Since she graduated, sixty-five women have been made bachelors of the Seminary. A few have been ordained—one of them is now sharing a pastorate with her husband—others have college and Y. W. C. A., positions and the women bachelor of divinity is found to be in great demand.

The Seminary has this year gone farther still; it has awarded its Graduate Travelling Fellowship to a woman, Miss Mary Ely, who won it without favor and without prejudice, by the simple process of passing the competitive tests higher than any of the men.

THE Women's Engineers Society is a new organization in Great Britain composed of women who entered the field of munition making during the war period. The women engineers are putting up a good fight to retain the place they have established for themselves.

A BILL enabling women to practice both as barristers and solicitors will be introduced in the House of Lords by Lord Buckmaster, according to a London dispatch. In the House of Commons a bill admitting women as solicitors only will be balloted for introduction at an early date.

THE first woman to be appointed a member of the faculty of Harvard University is Dr. Alice Hamilton of Chicago, who has just been named as assistant professor of industrial medicine in the Medical School at Harvard. Dr. Hamilton is a graduate of the University of Michigan, and for three years was a member of the staff of the Women's Medical College at Northwestern University. During the last eight years she has been employed by the Department of Labor in the investigation of industrial poisons.

A NATIONAL association of business and professional women in the United States will be perfected at Saint Louis in July when delegates from the various state organizations will gather to form the national body. Following the meeting it is expected headquarters will be established in the larger cities, probably in New York, Chicago, Saint Louis and San Francisco. Some of the benefits that it is believed will result from such a federation will be better living and working conditions, a unanimity of effort and equal pay for equal work.

THE day of woman has dawned throughout the world in the opinion of Queen Marie of Rumania, who is planning a visit to the United States in the near future. In an interview with an Associated Press representative in Paris recently, Queen Marie spoke in high praise of the glorious work accomplished by the women of America and England during the war. She declared that it was the dauntless spirit of the women at home which had helped the soldiers of the Allied cause to win.

"Woman's day has come," the Queen continued, "and I believe that she will have an increasingly important part in the future life of the world."

Spring Styles in Suffrage From Foreign Lands

ON March 2nd, Italian woman suffragists in Rome held their first suffrage mass meeting, since the war, in the heart of the city at the Teatro Nazionale, according to a letter from Contessina Maria A. Loschi to the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

The Contessina is a member of the Comitato Romano Pro-Suffragio Femile which is pressing the subject of woman suffrage on the politicians before the general elections in June.

The date of the meeting in Rome fell on the day when Italy turned forward her clocks for daylight saving and on Carnival Sunday too. These events called out two other big meetings, but the Teatro was crowded from top to bottom with many women, naturally, but with men too.

The meeting according to Countess Loschi was a great success. One of its principal features was a message from American women, written by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in which 26 countries, including Italy, are represented.

When Countess Loschi read Mrs. Catt's message, the great audience cheered very heartily. "The cheering was for America too," said the letter from Rome.

Among the delegates present were representatives from the women teachers, the women clerks, employed women, one of whom with a baby in her arms, made a speech.

The Chairman of the League of the Fighting Soldiers' Mothers was another representative. Among the adherents of the woman suffrage cause present were members of all political parties, several secretaries, many congressmen, and members of the city government.

After Signora Zanini Valeri had addressed the meeting in behalf of the Italian National League for Votes for Women, the official speaker, a former Minister of the Italian Cabinet, His Excellency Hon. Comandini, made a strong appeal for the women's cause. Another firm supporter of woman's claims for the vote was Hon. Signor Luzatti—"one of our oldest and best politicians," said the Countess.

"As soon as possible we will have another big meeting, before election time—where all the political parties shall be obliged to explain their program and tell us clearly their opinions, their place in this women's movement.

"What I think is more important," said the Countess, "is for women not only to have the vote, but to have the possibility of being elected to office—otherwise it will always be rather difficult, especially in our country where traditions and prejudices are still so strong, to do something really good."

THE second reading of the Women's Emancipation bill was moved in the British House of Commons on April 4, by William Adamson, Chairman of the Labor Party and leader of the Opposition. Mr. Adamson explained that the object of the bill was to remove certain restrictions and disabilities still imposed upon women, to entitle them to hold certain civil and judicial appointments, and to remove the disqualifications which prevented women from sitting and voting in the House of Lords. The measure, he said, would give effect to the political and legal equality of men and women. The bill is fathered by the Labor Party.

The House unanimously adopted the second reading.

THE Chamber of Deputies in Paris considered the Electoral Reform bill on April 3, two woman suffrage amendments being submitted. The first was presented by Henry Rouleaux-Dugage, and provided that members of the Chamber of Deputies would be elected without distinction of sex. This was defeated when it was stricken out of the bill on the ground that there was insufficient time for discussion, the vote being 302 to 187.

The second amendment was submitted by Louis Andrieux, and provided for the transmission of the right to vote to the next relatives of heads of families without distinction of sex. It was pointed out that it would insure family representation, and was needed because many heads of families had been killed during the war. It was defeated by a vote of 335 to 134.

AUSTRIAN women who received the right of suffrage following the dissolution of the empire, participated in their first election as citizens on Sunday, February 16. Approximately 4,000,000 men and women were eligible to participate in the election of delegates to a Constituent Assembly, which will prepare a new constitution and adopt laws for the governing of the nation. Every woman who had completed her twentieth year on January 1, 1919, was entitled to vote.

ARGENTINE voters are being treated to an innovation in campaigning as the result of the entry of the first woman candidate for parliament into the campaign now under way in that country. Senora Julieta Lanteri de Renshaw, a prominent woman physician, is a candidate for a seat in the Chamber of Deputies from Buenos Ayres.

The South African Parliament is reported to have adopted a woman suffrage bill, 44 to 42.

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4. Tin Plate Ordinance.
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7. Increased penalty for pandering white slave traffic.

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(Continued from page 958)

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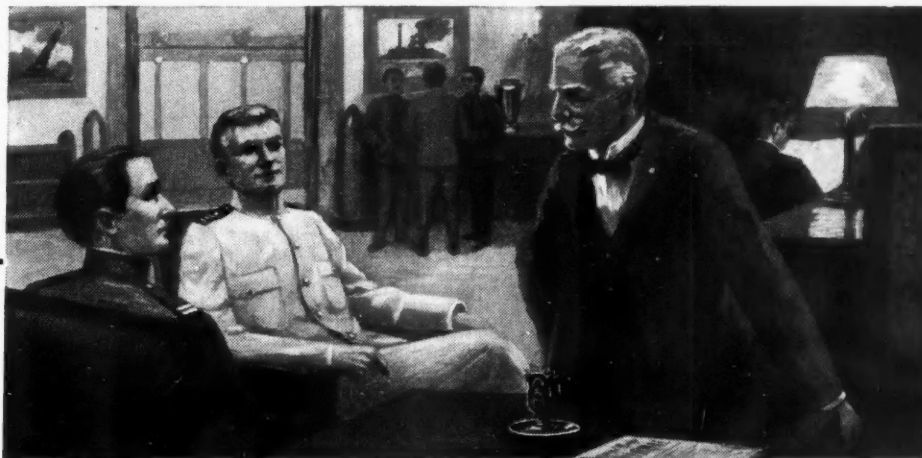
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And How Colonel Sibley Was Helped to Write It

SCENE: (Army and Navy Club, New York, where Commander Ellsworth, U. S. N., and Captain Trowbridge, U. S. A., are having a conference and an after-dinner cigar in the Club Library and are joined by Colonel Sibley, U. S. A., retired)

The Colonel: Well, comrades, I win!

The Commander: Been fighting again, Colonel? Who says you're retired?

Colonel: I was retired, but now I'm in action again or soon will be, and this time with the pen instead of the sword.

Captain: How's that?

Colonel (Drawing closer to the table and glancing around): Well, comrades, I don't mind telling you in confidence that I just signed up with the Editor-in-Chief of a big magazine (name censored for the present) to write a series of articles on the Great War.

Commander: Tell us about it.

Colonel: Well, it's going to be a long campaign. The Editor, whom I have just left, wants an extended series of articles, to begin with an exhaustive survey of the causes which led up to the War.

Captain: The causes? All of them? Well, you've sure got your work laid out for you.

Commander: I should say you had.

Colonel: The Editor feels that way

himself. He's now concerned chiefly about what has happened up-to-date and the authority upon which my statements will be based. The Editor's a big gun in the business, you know, and his rivals will be getting his range if he exposes himself. He wants to secure a strategic position so that he can't be successfully attacked on anything he prints.

Captain: Well, what did you suggest?

Colonel: I'll tell you. While he was talking I was thinking and I finally told him that what he wanted as a reserve-force was some late general reference work of recognized reliability that he could fall back on. "That's it," he said, and then asked: "Which one?"

Commander (Turning his head and glancing at a set of The New International Encyclopaedia in its special case): I'll bet I can tell which one you named.

Captain (Glancing at the set): Ours, of course.

Colonel: You're both good guessers. Of course I named The New

International and the Editor nodded his head and said: "That's the very work I had in mind, not only as an authority on the causes of the War and what has already happened, but when peace comes I hear the publishers are to bring the war-volume down to date at once and are to send it to all subscribers in exchange for the war-volume now in their possession so they'll know the last word about the conflict."

Commander: Well, that settled it, I suppose.

Colonel: Yes, I told the Editor that the selection of The New International as our authority simplified the problem and he added that it not only simplified the articles, but solidified them and made them so authoritative that he would be able to follow out with safety his plan to publish the series of articles in book form.

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It is our task to finish this work.

They showed us the way and passed on—perhaps to new worlds to conquer. And whether we will or not, the solemn obligation to finish their work has fallen upon us.

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In Flanders fields."

Your patriotism and mine was not buried in those graves in Flanders fields. There is still work to do—for our country, for ourselves, for our children. Else the war will have failed in its purpose—and millions of young lives will have gone out on a vain quest.

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APR 22

The Woman Citizen

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NEW STYLE VOL. III

APRIL 19, 1919

NUMBER 47

TENNESSEE WINS PRESIDENTIAL AND MUNICIPAL SUFFRAGE!

Twenty-seventh state in which women can vote for the next President. Half a million more women enfranchised. Twelve more electoral votes added to those in which women have voice.

Bill passed House 54 to 32 on April 3rd; passed Senate 17 to 14 on April 14th.

The old South comes over.

The magnificent victory is due to Mrs. Leslie Warner, and the workers in the Tennessee Suffrage Association.

Full story to follow in Woman Citizen of April 26th.

The Woman Voter in the 1920 Elections

WHAT about the woman vote in the 1920 presidential election?

This is the question that is keeping both great parties awake in these parlous days when preliminary plans for the launching of the next campaign are in the process of formation. For the second time in the history of the American government political parties are finding it necessary to take into consideration in a serious way the woman voter and her probable attitude on the occasion of her participation in a presidential campaign on a large scale.

Nearly 15,000,000 women 21 years of age and over reside in those states where women are eligible to vote for president and vice-president. This is more than double the number of women who were eligible to vote at the time of the 1916 election, and is more than one-half of the total number of women of voting age in the nation. The number of women who will be in a position to vote for president in 1920 is only 3,500,000 short of the total vote cast in the 1916 election, when 18,528,743 voters, the highest number in history, expressed their choice for president and vice-president.

The tremendous prestige which the women voters will enjoy in the coming election is further evidenced by a comparison with the total number of men and women voting in other presidential elections of recent date. In 1912 there were but 15,031,169 voters who visited the polls, less than 1,000,000 more than the total number of enfranchised women today. The total vote cast in 1908 was 14,887,133 and in 1904 was 13,523,519, the former about equalling the total strength of the women over voting age in the enfranchised states today. The 1900 presidential vote was 13,964,518. (World Almanac figures.)

THE woman voter was an important problem for the two political parties in 1916, but now that the number of women has been more than doubled, the politicians of the country are face to face with about as interesting a problem as the history of political organizations has ever evolved. As voters, free to join the parties of their choice, women will be the most courted body in the world.

For many months there have been frequent and spirited skirmishes between the Republican and Democratic leaders to align the great majority of women voters under their respective party standards, but the skirmishes and battles that are to follow in the months to come will overshadow these minor struggles.

The extra session of Congress which it is believed President Wilson will call soon after his return from Paris is expected to witness the firing of the opening guns of this great political battle

for the support of the women voters of the nation, representing the greatest political potentiality in history. Republican leaders have promised the women that one of the first measures to be introduced in the coming session of Congress will be the Federal Suffrage Amendment, which they assert will be passed by a record vote.

WHILE the national party leaders are setting the stage for the suffrage battle at Washington, state leaders in all sections of the country have been busy with campaigns of their own, designed to win over the support of the women. The recognition to be given women in the presidential campaign, which was launched in an informal way some weeks ago by conferences of the leaders of both parties, is evident from the strenuous effort being made to interest women in the non-suffrage states in the work of the political parties. This is what is known as a campaign of education, and is being planned on a large scale as a means of putting forth claims for the support of the other millions of prospective women voters.

In the 1920 campaign women delegates will no longer be strangers in the two great national party conventions. Their fullest possible participation in the work of the conventions is already on the program. Women will also participate in the deliberations of the state political conventions, as well as in the county and city and minor political gatherings. It is expected that much of the work of the women's campaign will be left to the women themselves. Mrs. Medill McCormick of Chicago is chairman of the Women's Executive Committee of the Republican National Committee, and her committee is already at work on plans for the next campaign. Mrs. George Bass of Chicago has been in charge of the women's work of the Democratic party and she, too, has been busy in organization work for weeks.

SINCE the 1916 presidential election the following states have granted full or presidential suffrage to women: New York, Michigan, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Indiana, Nebraska, North Dakota, Maine, Rhode Island, Missouri, Minnesota, Wisconsin and Tennessee. Arkansas and Texas have secured primary suffrage for women. In Vermont the question of women having secured the right of presidential suffrage is still an open one, with the odds yet to be decided.

Two hundred and ninety-three votes in the electoral college now come from states having full or presidential suffrage, if you include Vermont. If Vermont is subtracted 289 votes, or 23 more than half the total number of votes in the electoral college, come from full or presidential suffrage states.

Republican Women and the League of Women Voters

THERE are none so deaf as those predisposed against the League of Women Voters.

Over and over again has the League made clear the fact that it is not a woman's party.

That it is not organized in opposition to men.

That it is organized definitely to safeguard true Americanism, and to establish the principles of government proclaimed by the United States.

Yet at the meeting of the Women's Republican Club in West Fortieth Street, New York, on April 8th, the club swept aside the proclaimed principles of the League of Women Voters, substituted an imaginary set of its own manufacture and proceeded to denounce them. It was as though the Women's Republican Club couldn't or wouldn't, or, at least, didn't read the League's much-printed and often-quoted platform.

They passed the following resolutions against the man of straw they had created:

"The recent action of the woman suffrage party implies and encourages dissension between men and women voters whose interests as American citizens are identical. We protest against the action in forming a league of women voters to be a non-partisan party that will use its power regardless of party principles of government and regardless of safeguarding our republic.

"We further declare that it is a menace to our national life and un-American in principle, and we will send a copy of our resolution of disapproval to the Woman Suffrage Party leaders in the several voting states and to the National Committee of the Woman Suffrage Party."

To Mrs. James Griswold Wentz, the president of this club, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association replied, in explanation of the aims of the League, setting forth once more its motives, plan of operation and program. Mrs. Catt's letter read:

"My Dear Mrs. Wentz:

"I RECEIVED the remarkable resolution passed by the Women's Republican Club yesterday and in the evening newspaper representatives called up to get my opinion about it. I had none. They had, and perhaps they were right that the Women's Republican Club had taken action under the instruction of the anti-suffrage men of that party.

"The Woman Suffrage Party is the New York auxiliary of the National Suffrage Association. It won the vote for the women of New York—no one will contradict that statement. For a considerable period of years its leaders have been conspicuous in suffrage work in this city and state. They have worked without salary and without price; they have given to the funds of the movement their very all. That they won the victory they desired is proof of their dignity, sanity, good judgment and general ability. We believe that this is the estimate the average New Yorker puts upon the suffrage leaders of this city. There is only one class who would dispute that statement—the antis.

"I have had the pleasure of addressing your club and I recall

Non-Partisan Resolution Adopted

Jubilee Convention N. A. W. S. A. Held at Saint Louis, March 24-29

"Resolved, that the N. A. W. S. A. shall not affiliate with any political party, nor endorse the platform of any party, nor support or oppose any political candidates unless such action shall be recommended by the Board of Directors in order to achieve the ends and purposes of this organization as set forth in the constitution.

"Nothing in this resolution shall be construed to limit the liberty of action of any member or officer of this association to join or serve the party of her choice in any capacity whatsoever as an individual."

less true. Your Republican club must have some anti members, who under another cover find opportunity to strike at the women who won the political liberty they did not want, or they have misled the others. This conclusion is so clear that it needs no demonstration.

"If it did, it is found in the fact that any body of intelligent women desirous of making no false steps would certainly have gone to some trouble to learn what the League of Women Voters is before they pronounced against it. It happens to be everything you think it is not, and none of the things you think it is. You could easily have asked someone to come to your club who would have told you the truth. You avoided the opportunity of being correctly informed.

"All this is immaterial. What interests me is that your club is willing to announce to the world, as it has, that you are at war with the Woman Suffrage Party which won your vote. This is the inducement you offer to suffrage Republican voters to come into your club and into the Republican Party. Are you and the Republican men willing to stand for this policy?

"In order that you may know how far wrong you were, I enclose the aims of the League of Women Voters. He or she who advocates these aims cannot be accused of being 'a menace to our national life,' but he or she who opposes that program may justly stand charged with that accusation."

April 9, 1919.

First National Chairman of the League

MRS. CHARLES H. BROOKS of Wichita, Kansas, recently elected national chairman of the League of Women Voters, has been for the past two years one of the most active women in war work in the Middle West. She comes to her new position as leader of this powerful league of women from such a record of patriotic activities as the following: She was Vice-Chairman of the Kansas Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense, and of the Wichita Suffrage Association, which undertook the local Child Welfare Work under the Council of National Defense.

She was a member of the committee to provide for the care of tubercular soldiers; captain of one of the Wichita teams for the Liberty Loan and for all drives for money for war purposes, and chairman of the Parade of Women War Workers for the Fourth Liberty Loan. She has been the executive member of the Wichita Committee in charge of emergency home economics under the Department of Agriculture, the City Manager and the Superintendent of Schools being the other members of this Committee. She was chairman of the Kansas Division of the Women's

that I was told, by you I think that it contained many antis. Now your club charges the Woman Suffrage Party, which won the vote in this city, with advocating something which is 'a menace to our national life and un-American in principle.' These expressions are so exceedingly familiar to us, as they have appeared over and over in anti-suffrage literature, that we are driven to the conclusion that what the newspaper representatives have said is more or



MRS. CHARLES H. BROOKS

forth psychoanalytical judgments as to the reason for failure as fast as the linotypers could set them up.

That portion of the feminine world which has taken part in the collecting and distribution of news, or the writing of editorial comment, has been chucklingly interested in the amount of attention the incident has aroused.

One paper—an evening paper—invited its contributors to enter into an open discussion of the incident in its bearings upon woman's place in the industrial world after the war. A great morning paper assumes gratuitously that the *Evening Union* must have fallen short of success because of inefficiency in its personnel. But the comment most productive of feminine chuckles was written by the *New York Morning Telegraph*, which generously conceded that the *Evening Union's* failure was due, not to its being run by women, but by all-women. "A close corporation of men would have failed just as miserably," said the paper editorially. "A newspaper would be foredoomed to failure if announcement were made in advance that under no circumstances would women be employed in any department."

Perhaps the editor of the *Telegraph* is too young to remember the long, long years in which woman has gently reminded man that a one-sex policy can never be anything but disastrous. Newspapers and colleges and professions and state governments for centuries announced—perhaps not exactly "in advance," but yet in their daily practices—that no women need apply. And women have grown hoarse explaining all along the way that the old one-sex way wouldn't work and couldn't work.

And it didn't.

THIS issue of the *Women Citizen* announces an effort to get women's evaluations of women's projects into the news through the creation of a woman's publicity bureau. To judge from the confessions of this women's bureau staff, there may be some philosophies in a double-sexed civilization of which editorial Horatios have not hitherto dreamed.

In the meantime there is something more to be said about the light that men editors were so quick to interpret as having failed in Atlantic City; for, according to the new management of the paper, the *Evening Union* did not fail.

Albert J. Feil, president of the company which has purchased the newspaper, sanely explains what every office boy or printer's devil knows—that "six months is surely too short a period to demonstrate the success or failure of any such venture." "As a matter of fact," said he, "I was business manager of the paper under the ownership of Governor Edge and I can say that I found the editorial and reportorial work of the women staff most efficient and gratifying."

All but two of the old staff will remain on the new paper.

Its former editor, Mrs. Mary North Chenoweth of Swarthmore College and an Oxford Fellow, says that even in the short six months' trial "the circulation of the paper increased and the business end profited." She expressed herself as delighted with her experience as editor.

Out of the silences which always attend transactions of sale and exchange there has suddenly come an articulate whisper. It seems that the paper was sold in order to substitute a new policy for the one the woman's paper had adopted.

A significant fact is the kind of policy it has adopted.

Perhaps New Jersey could not longer stand the white light that beat upon the world from a paper which was out and out for the equal suffrage movement.

The new policy, it is stated, will wander about the no-man's-land of neutrality on the equal suffrage cause.

Oversea Hospitals—the hospitals supported by the National. Since the war ended Mrs. Brooks has taken part in forming a local organization to take the place of the Council of Defense. It is called the "Council of Reconstruction," and its business will be to help the returning soldier readjust himself and to consider the status of the women and girls who filled men's places during the war. This Council is composed of both men and women who are working in complete harmony of effort.

Mrs. Brooks is herself a soldier's mother, and so has entered into the world struggle for democracy to the fullest extent.

Besides being the president of the Kansas Equal Suffrage Association, she has several civilian duties which show a broad scope of interests. She is the historian of the Kansas Colonial Dames and a member of the Legislative Committee, Kansas Council of Women.

Although Mrs. Brooks has been mainly active within her own state, she has won an extra-territorial name for herself as a director of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and one of its Congressional Committee.

That Women's Newspaper

SEVERAL things have come to light in the announcement to the public that the *Atlantic City Evening Union* has again changed hands.

This paper, owned by Governor Walter E. Edge of New Jersey, was run for about six months as an all-woman's journal, staffed, manipulated, edited, linotyped and printed by women.

When Governor Edge recently sold it to three young men, a news story got about that it was because the paper had failed in the hands of its woman staff. The male-managed press took up the matter with much I-told-you-so lip smacking. It poured

As to "Dangerous Legislation"

IN a recent editorial, headed "Dangerous Legislation," there is expressed an attitude toward the effort of the Federal Government to control venereal diseases, through pending state legislation, which I am convinced the women of this country can ill afford to support.

By MABEL S. ULRICH
*Regional Consultant Director, Women's
Work, U. S. Public Health Service*

AND

ALICE STONE BLACKWELL

1. It is stated that the intention is to retain diseased women in custody until they are "cured." This is an unconscious misstatement of the facts. The effort of the Federal Government is to place the venereal diseases in the same category as are all the other communicable diseases. Individuals found to be in an infectious stage are to be kept only until they are no longer a menace to healthy persons. To "cure" a case of syphilis frequently requires three years; to render such a case non-infectious is often a matter of weeks only.

2. The statement is made that this present method of attack is the discarded one of the Napoleonic code. Here again a misunderstanding is evident. The old European method acknowledged the necessity of prostitution and sought to make it safe for men by means of the medical examination of prostitutes. The present program denied emphatically the necessity of sexual vice. In all pamphlets issued by the Federal Government, the absolute importance of doing away with all phases of commercialized vice is reiterated again and again. This, in fact, is the key note of much of the pending legislation. In view of the uncompromising stand taken by the Federal Government, there is not a Board of Health in the country which would dare suggest the wisdom of brothels or the giving of health certificates to prostitutes.

3. Far from trying to make vice safer for men, the Federal Government is doing all in its power to induce the states to wipe commercialized prostitution off the face of America; and it is advocating the holding of prostitutes for examination, *not* as you suggest that they may safely (to men) continue their profession, but because it is chiefly through these prostitutes that the venereal diseases are carried. It has been repeatedly proved that practically all prostitutes are infected with one or both of these diseases. It is likewise known that the average prostitute infects about ten men nightly. It is not strange, therefore, that the attack on venereal disease should be directed in large measure against the chief carriers of these diseases—the prostitutes, rather than primarily against the men.

4. The statement is made that the attempt to segregate infected persons is in reality directed at women alone. In Minnesota, the only state of which I can speak with entire knowledge, this is contrary to the facts. The State Board of Health is fighting syphilis and gonorrhea as public health problems and there is absolutely no discrimination made as to the sex of the individual infected.

5. Legislation cannot be perfect, particularly when, as in this instance, it is overriding the prejudices and traditions of centuries. In the past when a girl was brought to court for sexual offences the almost universal custom of judges was to inflict a fine or to release her on bail, which she usually "jumped"—with no regard whatever as to whether or not she was a public menace. Today, in all up to date communities the effort is being made to hold all sex offenders until an examination is made to determine the presence of disease. In cases of women, the intention is whenever possible, to have the examinations made by women physicians. It is obvious however that in many com-

munities women doctors are not always available. It is inevitable that there should be miscarriages of justice here as elsewhere. Such a case as that cited of the two Chicago girls, unjustly examined, is truly unfortunate, but it is well to remember that for two cases unjustly sus-

pected, there have been hundreds of innocent women and children spared from infection by means of this modern method. In England, where statistics are more carefully kept than here, it is estimated that 50 per cent of all persons with venereal diseases have contracted these infections innocently—are in other words, women and children.

The venereal diseases are today without doubt the world's greatest health problem. The United States is attempting through this campaign against them to bring about what women have struggled for for centuries—a single standard of morals for the sexes. Surely this is no time for sex suspicion and antagonism. Rather let us join the fight for healthy homes, for decent family life, for a clean race.

MABEL S. ULRICH.

DR. ULRICH of Minnesota defends the attempt to secure legislation for the compulsory medical examination and detention of prostitutes, and women suspected of being prostitutes. She says:

"The effort of the Federal government is to place the venereal diseases in the same category as are all the other communicable diseases." There is no other communicable disease which the authorities would think of trying to stamp out by segregating only the women who have it, at the same time permitting the men to go around freely and spread it.

Dr. Ulrich says the system which the Federal government is trying to introduce is not the Napoleonic system in part. The Federal Government is trying to do two things: (1) To induce people to keep straight; (2) To make vice as safe as possible for them if they do indulge in it.

THE first part of the program is wholly admirable; and all women owe gratitude to our government for the splendid educational work that it has done along this line. So far as regards the spirit and intention of the Federal authorities at the top, and their attitude towards the supposed necessity of vice, it is wholly different from Napoleon's. The omission of the health certificate is an unimportant detail. When the Government undertakes to shut up all diseased prostitutes till they cease to be infectious it in effect gives a blanket certificate that all such women who are allowed to be at large and to ply their trade have been lately examined and found to be "safe"; and customers interpret the situation accordingly.

Most of the State health boards, and a vast majority of the local health and police officials on whom the practical carrying out of these laws depends, do not share the view of the men at the top that prostitution can be eliminated. They do no educational work towards that end, their repressive work is sporadic or perfunctory, and the only part of the Federal program that they are prepared to carry out with any heartiness is the Napoleonic part—the effort to make vice safe.

Now, the attempt to make the social evil less dangerous by the compulsory medical examination of prostitutes has been thoroughly tried out in Europe for a long series of years and has proved to be both ineffective and demoralizing. Fifty years ago

most European doctors believed in it. Of late years great international congresses of medical specialists on these maladies have repeatedly condemned it as a gigantic sanitary failure. In Europe the suffragists and the social purity societies have been fighting it for half a century; and most of the progressive countries of Europe had repealed it, when the war broke out, and alarm for the health of the soldiers in some cases led to its reinstatement.

Dr. Ulrich says the prostitutes are "the chief carriers" of these troubles. More men than women are carriers. When a prostitute has a venereal disease, it is because some man has carried it to her. Let us assume, as Dr. Ulrich says, that she infects ten men every twenty-four hours for a week, and that at the end of that time she is arrested and shut up. These seventy men do not turn virtuous merely because she has been removed. They become the customers of other prostitutes, and carry the disease to them, as well as to the community at large. Is it not clear that the arrest and segregation of an occasional prostitute can do very little to benefit the public health while such large numbers of masculine carriers continue to spread the trouble? In Europe the authorities confess that with all their efforts they have never been able to bring more than a small fraction of the prostitutes under medical supervision—about one in five. But the knowledge that they have undertaken to remove all diseased women from the market breeds a false sense of security which increases vice, and the whole moral standard of the community is lowered.

Dr. Ulrich says that in Minnesota "there is absolutely no discrimination made as to sex." Then Minnesota is a shining exception to the general rule. At the Conference held in New York City last October at the Y. W. C. A. Headquarters, where experts on this subject from all over the country were present, Colonel Snow, the head of the army work in the Social Hygiene department, said he believed that these laws ought to be impartially enforced, but he frankly acknowledged that in most cases they were not.

In most states there is not even a pretence of enforcing them impartially. One of the women high up in the government health service said at the New York Conference that she and the other women were constantly trying to have them applied impartially, but were making very poor headway. And some of the men in official position who were present openly argued that men and women guilty of profligacy ought not to be treated alike.

Dr. Ulrich says: "In all up-to-date communities the effort is being made to hold all sex offenders until an examination is made to determine the presence of disease." Then there are very few up-to-date communities. When a disreputable resort is raided, how many states hold the men found there for examination as well as the women? Can Dr. Ulrich tell us? In Massachusetts the custom is to let the man go with a trifling fine, "with no regard whatever as to whether he is a public menace." Men convicted of theft or some other serious crime have to undergo a medical examination, but not those who are guilty only of profligacy. In the case of a woman, it is desired that the mere suspicion of profligacy should be sufficient ground for compelling her to undergo examination and detention. The attempt to give the health authorities power to examine on suspicion, however, has just been voted down in the Massachusetts Legislature.

Dr. Ulrich says that the case of the two Chicago girls who were forced to undergo examination unjustly is unfortunate, but "for two cases unjustly suspected, there have been hundreds of innocent women and children spared from infection." Anyone who imagines that innocent women escape infection through compulsory examination of prostitutes should read Dr. Abraham Flexner's book on "Prostitution in Europe." After a careful

and dispassionate scientific study of results in the European countries where the system has been longest in vogue, he comes to the same conclusion as the international congresses of experts, already alluded to—i. e., that it is a failure. He says that the illusion of security increases vice, and the increase of vice increases disease.

Dr. Ulrich seems to think that the case of the two Chicago girls unjustly examined is exceptional. Such cases have been frequent in every country where this legislation has been tried. An Illinois delegate to the recent National Suffrage Convention at St. Louis told me that there has already been a large number of such instances in her state.

Dr. Ulrich deprecates "sex suspicion and antagonism." The unequal treatment of men and women who are guilty of social offences is not a matter of suspicion, but of definite knowledge, and antagonism against injustice is one thing, antagonism against men quite another. Having had a most chivalrous father, and having been associated in the equal rights movement with some of the noblest men of our time, I should be inexcusable if guilty of so irrational a sentiment as sex antagonism. The Napoleonic feature of our health legislation—the effort to improve things by the compulsory examination of real or suspected courtesans—is a wrong to men as well as to women. In the words of Professor James Stuart, of London, it is "a lighthouse to draw men on rocks."

THE trouble is, those who champion this legislation have not background enough to realize how disastrously it has always worked out in the past. "Let us join the fight for healthy homes, for a clean race," but by right methods, not by methods which have been proved to do more harm than good. Let us give whole-hearted support to the educational campaign, to the effort to furnish abundant free treatment for sufferers from these troubles; to provide wholesome recreations for young people, to improve economic conditions, to punish those who organize vice for profit. Let us make these diseases notifiable, and require those afflicted with them to take treatment; but do not let us put on the statute book any law which will encourage vice, or any law which professes to apply to all citizens impartially, but which is really meant to be enforced (with insignificant exceptions) against women only.

A. S. B.

Worth Remembering

THE idea of the League of Nations is popular with the country at large, in the opinion of the editor of the *Boston Herald* (Republican), and he is concerned for fear the opposition to it on the part of certain prominent Republicans may endanger the success of the party in 1920. One-third of the incoming Senate have declared themselves against Mr. Wilson's plan. This Republican editor reminds them that although one-third of the members can block a treaty in the Senate, it will take only a majority vote in the Electoral College to determine the choice of President of the United States.

The wilful one-third who blocked the suffrage amendment in the last Congress will do well to remember the same thing. In the Electoral College the suffrage states now hold the balance of power.

A. S. B.

SUFFRAGE for women is a non-debatable subject, according to the New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association, therefore any antis seeking to adhere to archaic methods will be doomed to disappointment in that state. Debates are a sheer waste of time, the New Jersey suffragists believe, when all the English-speaking women of the world have been enfranchised with the exception of 45 per cent of the women of the United States.

Is There Room at The Top For Women Publicity Agents?

Building a Bridge Across from Sex to Sex



PAULINE E. MANDIGO



ROSEPHA P. CHISHOLM



RUTH BYERS

HERE are three girls. Look at them well, for they are—what do you guess? They look just like girls, but they are really a corporation—the only woman's national incorporated publicity bureau in the United States—the Phoenix News Publishing Bureau.

The title suggests—not minding a little mixing of metaphor—that this corporation expects to arise out of the ashes, where Cinderella once awaited her prince, to some kind of manless victory.

This publicity company has already two official headquarters, one at 299 Madison Avenue, New York city, and the other at 1606 Twentieth Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C. As to its personnel it is made up of three plucky girl journalists who have decided to make room at the top for themselves in publicity service.

Miss Ruth Byers is a well-known newspaper woman in New York city. She was formerly associate editor of "The World Outlook." She is a member of the New York Women's City Club and of several other well-known clubs in the East and Middle West. She has a wide acquaintance, not only in federated club circles, but in political and suffrage circles in the East. Miss Pauline E. Mandigo, who is the vice-president of the new corporation, is chairman of the Press Committee for the New York State Federation of Women's Clubs, a member of the Schenectady Women's Club and the Albany Colony of New England Women. Her position on an Albany paper—the *Knickerbocker Press*—made her one of the most helpful factors in the woman suffrage committees and conventions which met frequently at the state capital.

IN earlier days of the New York State campaign, when the biggest paper at the capital was not wholeheartedly for suffrage, Miss Mandigo's steady going faith in the woman's cause tempered many a news story so that it shielded long-patient suffragists from wintry legislative blasts.

Miss Rosepha P. Chisholm, the treasurer, hails from Chicago and is an expert pageantry and costume designer. Her studies

in this country and Europe have trained her in the dramatic and picturesque side of publicity as it is needed today.

THE Bureau has been under headway only since December, 1918. It has already signed five large contracts and has made a good financial start. It has met its pay-roll out of its own earnings ever since it began—a good record for any new business.

It is at present taking care of the feature work for the Salvation Army's big drive in May for \$10,000,000. It has just been managing some of the publicity for the New York State Land Army of which Mrs. Otto Eichel is executive director, and has done some of the work for the "Y." These women are in real business but in business with an altruistic aim.

Their record speaks well for a young and blithesome business enterprise but just how does it spell idealism and altruism?—one hears from the galleries.

Once upon a time it didn't do at all to bracket business and altruism. It suggested—you know what it suggested—Horace Stackpoolses and Mr. Micawbereses and the Cheeryble Brothers.

Idealism in those days was like Bohunkus's "old blue coat," all right for the commercial Bohunkus to wear on Sundays; but he should properly pass it over to the ecclesiastical Biancus to wear all the week.

FORTUNATELY nowadays it is the fashion to wear one's idealism on one's sleeve. Witness everywhere the oversea stripes and the wound stripes wherewith "all we are healed."

The Bureau has been formed to help women in the reconstruction work which they are now facing all over this country.

This is where the real innovation enters. It is not that women have not been journalists and editors for a long time. They have; but the publicity game as such has been a man's game. Men have made schedules and programs and women have carried them out.

All three of these women have worked on men's newspapers, under men's direction, and now they have the spunk to stand up and say that there are phases of public news which should very naturally come under women's direction.

TO go back an inch or so in the story, it is fair to say that all three incorporators gave up their newspaper positions in order to offer their services to the United War Work Campaign last fall. And Pauline Mandigo's position was an especially hard one to give up. She was one of the first women to become legislative correspondent at Albany in January, 1918, after New York women had become enfranchised. This was the sacrosanct position—hitherto unsullied by the competition of women. The men correspondents had come to respect her position, and ahead of her in the fall of 1918 lay an interesting tour of the state for political news of the women's first election for her paper. But, like any New York state loyal boy, she heard the call of the country and went out to do her bit.

The girls were all uniformed with the Y. M. C. A. and expected to go overseas; but the armistice stopped them.

When they went into the publicity bureau, it was with a definite ideal. It was not to prove that women can make a business success of a task in which men—some few men—have commanded big salaries. None of them had a grouch against men, nor believed that men want to keep women in small places.

But they had all come to the same conclusion. Men editors—even the best men editors—fail to get women's point of view. They find it funny, or sentimental. They take it too solemnly, or they don't take it at all.

"I wonder," said Miss Mandigo, "if in our lifetime they will ever get it at all." This is no voice of crabbed age. It is the voice of youth, of feminine youth, and it is spoken out of good fellowship with all the kindly group of men on reportorial and editorial staffs.

"For they are kindly and they are good fellows. But when a woman's organization has to be reported," Miss Mandigo amplified, "do you think the man editor ever sees below the surface or knows what dreams and aspirations and statesmanlike planning and constructive thinking lie behind that organization? Do you think the potentialities of those women, knit together for a common end, mean anything vital to him? Do you think he feels the force for social upbuilding in these groups of women whom he yawns into obscurity, or elbows gently out of the way?"

"MEN don't mean not to understand," explained Miss Mandigo patiently, "they just can't see. And that is the real thing we want to do, interpret women's own ideas about their own work."

All three of these girls are young and every woman in the new firm received her training as a suffrage recruit in the preliminary campaigns which led to New York's great victory in the fall of 1917. They made speeches, went on suffrage motor trips, edited suffrage papers and departments in big metropolitan dailies and syndicated suffrage articles which covered the country. They canvassed rural districts and were watchers at the polls.

"We learned a new independence and acquired a new faith in the future of service for women in this country." This is what Miss Ruth Byers, president of the new corporation, declared recently, in announcing the purposes as enumerated in the corporation papers. "The vote has given the women of New York a different status in civil and business affairs. Women are a vital part of this period of adjustment."

Read the confession of faith of this incorporated body of young and forward-looking business women:

"In the days ahead of us now, women are going to express themselves more definitely than they ever have before. Between the great movements which women are helping to inaugurate at the present time and the public, whose cooperation is so needed, there must be built a bridge of understanding. Women

who are trained writers, who understand politics and legislative procedure and who are professional newspaper women can offer a valuable service at this time in constructive publicity on a national scale. This service will build the bridge across from one side to the other; from one sex to the other."

The Woman's Journal

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL was started in Boston, in January, 1870, and appeared every week for more than 47 years—a life time almost unprecedented for a reform paper. It was announced as devoted to the interest of woman, to her educational, industrial, legal and political equality, and especially to her right of suffrage. Its first editorial board consisted of Mary A. Livermore, Julia Ward Howe, Lucy Stone, William Lloyd Garrison and Thomas Wentworth Higginson.

The Woman's Journal was closely connected with the pioneer efforts for women's equality and was imbued with their spirit. Most of the money with which the paper was started was raised by Lucy Stone, "the morning star of the woman's rights movement," who had already been lecturing for suffrage all up and down the country for five years when Susan B. Anthony began her life long work for the same cause.

Its earliest business manager was Henry B. Blackwell, whose sister Elizabeth Blackwell had been the first woman to take a medical degree, and his sister-in-law, Antoinette Brown Blackwell, the first ordained woman minister. He himself had begun his public work for woman suffrage in 1853. The first clerk of the Woman's Journal, Miss Sarah Grimké Weld, was the daughter of the brave Angelina Grimké of South Carolina who had helped to win for women the right to speak in public, in still earlier days.

In 1872 Mrs. Livermore resigned the editorship, and Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell took it up, and carried the burden until they died, assisted in later years by their daughters. They had the help also of a great galaxy of noble men and women, eminent in literature and in reform. The paper was a power in securing not only suffrage, but enlarged educational, industrial and property rights for women. Its ethical standards were high, and it lent a strong hand to many other good causes, while always true to its principal aim of equal rights for women.

It was the official organ of the American, the New England and the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Associations; and a large part of the suffrage work of the whole country radiated from its office.

When the National and American Woman Suffrage Associations united in 1889 as the National American, the Woman's Journal ceased to be an official organ, because the Woman's Tribune had been the organ of the old National Association, and it was thought that both papers ought to be treated alike. It continued, however, to do its good work.

Lucy Stone passed away in 1893. Henry B. Blackwell in 1909. Their daughter went on editing the paper. For a time, a double column in it, conducted by Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, was made the national organ. For a year or two (1910-12) the paper itself was adopted as the national organ. In June, 1917, it was consolidated with the *Woman Voter* and the *National Suffrage News* to form the *Woman Citizen*. Mrs. Catt wrote in the *Woman Citizen* of June 2, 1917:

"There can be no overestimating the value to the suffrage cause of the Woman's Journal in its long and vivid career. It has gone before and it has followed after; it has pointed the way and closed the gaps; it has been history-maker and history-recorder for the suffrage cause. The suffrage success of today is not conceivable without the Woman's Journal's part in it."

This Is That Future

AND I dreamed a dream.

I dreamed I saw a land. And on the hills walked brave women and brave men hand-in-hand. And they looked into each other's eyes and were not afraid.

And I saw the women also hold each other's hands.

And I said to him beside me, "What place is this?"

And he said, "This is heaven."

And I said, "Where is it?"

And he answered, "On earth."

And I said, "When shall these things be?"

And he answered, "In the future."

THIRTY years ago with prophetic vision, Olive Schreiner looked forward to a time when brave women and brave men should walk and work hand in hand. For her it was the Future. For us it is Today.

The needs of the world in the past four years have so welded together the man's part and the woman's part in the work of the world that they cannot any more be independent, one of the other, if they would give the fullest service.

The needs of the world in the past four years have graven upon the everlasting hills the truth that there is no sex in pity, in sympathy, in understanding—in service. Side by side on the hills of France, of Belgium, of Italy, brave women and brave men have walked and worked together to right the wrongs of the world, to relieve the sufferings of the world.

When man traveled a score of miles with his kit on his back to answer his call to service, woman traveled beside him with her comfort packets and her nursing outfit to say, "I, too, am here."

If an All-Wise Providence ordained that her own dooryard should mark the limit of her endeavors, she set herself the task of doing her share from there.

THE world has seen no finer thing than the self-control, the uncomplaining courage, with which the woman of today met the need of today and carried the staggering load laid by war upon her shoulders.

There can never again be asked the questions, "Where is woman's place in the economic world? What is her work?" Woman's place is everywhere and her work is what there is to be done.

Where a man's courage is spent and strength begins to falter, there a woman takes up the cause and bears his sinking hopes on the wings of her own uplifted spirit until his, too, soars again. All through the four years of war this has held true. And so it must hold true until the end of time.

Women of a new age, of a new thought and a new life, that is that Future of which far-visioned women only dreamed a quarter-century ago. Prove your right to your heritage. The time is with us *now* when courage is a little spent, faith a little shattered, and your help is needed. *The reaction from War to Peace*

has been sudden and strong, and a little of the enthusiasm for service has waned before our work is done.

The Victory Liberty Loan is coming. It must not fail because of this attitude of laxity on the part of the few.

THE paying of the country's honorable debts means so much more than just wiping a balance off one side of the ledger. It is an obligation to care for the sick and the wounded and the crippled. To lead them back to health, to encourage them with new hope, to train them to new usefulness, so that broken homes may be re-established and broken hearts comforted. Paying America's debts means all this as well as the plain business transaction of paying for goods contracted for.

Your example, your loyalty now, will turn the tide of thoughtless hesitation back into the old, safe channels of unfaltering patriotism, without which we can never enjoy our dream of Established Peace.

You have done so much; but you were never more needed than now. Support the Victory Loan with your money and your enthusiasm, to the uttermost.

You are on the very threshold of a new era for Womanhood. This is that Future. Bring your best to this final effort: so shall you come into your own with honor.

Woman in the Victory Liberty Loan

(Written exclusively for the "Woman Citizen")

By John Price Jones

THE "Woman Citizen" was established because woman is a citizen. The surest way to advance the cause is for women to show that they realize the duties and obligations of citizenship.

Two years of war enabled American women to prove themselves worthy of citizenship in a way that would not have been possible in fifty years of peace. Through their work for the Red Cross, their sacrifices, their response to every call of the Government, they won the respect and admiration of the world. They thought neither of time, nor of personal discomfort, nor of money. And now that peace has come they are entitled to enjoy a surcease from labor.

But there is one more Government call ringing in our ears—the call to the last of the Government Loans, the Victory Loan.

IT was easy to see, while the war was on, and the men were en-training for camp and seaport, that large sums of money would be required in backing up America's great crusade. But why is money necessary now?

First, to bring the Crusaders home.

Second, to care, lovingly and faithfully, for those who come back ill or maimed, to restore them to health, to re-educate them in vocations which they will be capable of following.

Third, to relieve the Government of the left-over war bills, that prosperity may be hastened throughout the land, flooding into every town, hamlet and home, for a busier and happier America.

And the woman citizen, we are confident, will again prove her right, although it is a call of peace and not of war!

Women and Politics

Do Women Want to Vote?

WOMEN voters of Milwaukee, participating in the regular school election recently, played a decisive part in the election of a non-partisan ticket and demonstrated again the fact that women will use the ballot when they have it. Approximately 42,000 women, or 47½ per cent of the total vote, was cast by the women in an election marked by what was said to be a strenuous attempt on the part of the Socialists to get control of the city schools.

For several weeks prior to the school election the suffragists conducted an educational campaign to acquaint the women with the use of the voting machines and to educate the voters on other matters in connection with the election. Nearly 6,000 sample ballots showing the arrangement of the names on the voting machines were distributed, as well as 12,000 badges carrying the words, "I am an American citizen. I vote when I can."

Two women, Miss Gertrude Sherman and Dr. Ida L. Schell, both members of the Milwaukee County Woman Suffrage Association, were elected members of the school board. The Milwaukee *Sentinel*, in paying tribute to the women voters and their interest in the welfare of the schools, said:

"We make bold to say that many a male opponent of woman suffrage in Milwaukee was forced to admit that the lesson of the election last Tuesday is that when the women of Wisconsin get the full right to the ballot, they will form a decisive force for the cause of good, straight, clean government on the American plan in this city, where such a force is notoriously and emphatically needed."

Voters at Seventy

A NUMBER of interesting features marked the day. Thirty women, all over seventy years of age, and residents of the Old Ladies' Home, were among the first to visit the polling booths in their district. "This is the first time I have been out for six months," said one of these ardent voters, "but I made an effort to come for my city," and she clasped her Good Government League ticket a little tighter. The sisters at St. Mary's Hospital and Sacred Heart Convent voted early. It was an unusual sight to see this group of voters at the polls. It indicates the tremendous interest by all the various groups of women in Milwaukee.

Promptly at 6 A. M. Mrs. A. Bergman was at her polling booth in the 18th ward, despite the fact that she has passed her eighty-fifth birthday. "I am pretty old to learn new tricks," she told the inspector, "but I want my vote to count." Neither housework nor beauty sleep deterred the women from voting early.

Woman Vote Deciding Factor

MICHIGAN women, participating in a state-wide election for the first time since they were granted the right of full citizenship, played an important part in deciding the issues at stake in the biennial spring election held April 7. It was the heaviest vote ever recorded at a similar election held in Michigan, the women's vote aiding materially in swelling the number. In a number of precincts in Detroit the women's vote outnumbered that of the men.

The chief feature of the election was a proposed amendment providing for the sale of light wine and beer. This was rejected by the voters by a substantial majority. A \$50,000,000 good roads program was adopted by the voters. In both instances the women's vote was held an important factor in determining the result.

Honor for Ohio Woman

CLEVELAND, Ohio, has its first woman office holder in the person of Miss Florence E. Allen, who has been appointed assistant prosecutor by County Prosecutor Samuel Doerfler. Miss Allen's appointment is the result of an active five years of practice as an attorney in Cleveland, in which she has made a reputation as a brilliant student of law. She was graduated from the College for Women in 1904 and from the New York University Law School in 1908. Miss Allen was employed for a time by the New York Board of Education as a member of its lecture staff.

As legal adviser to the Woman Suffrage Party of Cuyahoga County in 1916, Miss Allen won a decision in the Supreme Court which compelled the board of elections to permit the women of East Cleveland to vote in municipal elections. She had abandoned a speaking tour for Woodrow Wilson in the Northwest in order to appear before the Supreme Court in this suffrage case. Miss Allen also enjoys the distinction of being the first woman to appear before the War Labor Board, to whom she presented the case of the Cleveland women street car workers.

In announcing the appointment of Miss Allen, Prosecutor Doerfler declared: "I consider that Miss Allen will do a man's job in our office. I rate her as the equal of virtually any male attorney in Cleveland."

Suffrage an Issue

WOMAN suffrage promises to be one of the issues considered at the Nebraska constitutional convention, which will convene at Lincoln on December 2, according to reports coming from the Nebraska state capital. The proposed new constitution will be submitted to the voters next year, and a provision extending the right of full suffrage to women will be included in the draft of the constitution.

At the present Nebraska women have the right to vote for president and such offices as are not mentioned in the state constitution. Their first vote under the legislative act granting this measure of the franchise took place the first week in April, when municipal elections were held throughout the state. Approximately 40 per cent of the total vote cast was cast by women, and in many instances the vote of the women equalled or exceeded that of the men. The women's vote was a deciding factor in the election of city candidates in localities where law enforcement was the issue.

Discuss Reconstruction Problems

ASERIES of discussions on reconstruction problems will be opened at the Washington Headquarters of the National Suffrage Association on May 5. Secretary Franklin K. Lane of the Department of the Interior will be the speaker on that day. In a letter to Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Secretary Lane says: "I wish to thank you very much for the interest that your organization is taking in our problems of reconstruction. I find that the women are very definitely alive to the needs of the country especially along lines of education and that they are impatient that manifestly needed things are not done."

Both Republican and Democratic Senators will address the meetings. The subjects will follow closely the problems related to the Americanization program adopted by the League of Women Voters.



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Within the

Missouri's Jubilee Victory

MISSOURI became the twenty-sixth state to give to its women a voice in the election of the president of the United States on April 5, when Governor Gardner signed the presidential suffrage bill which had been passed by decisive majorities in both houses of the Legislature. The addition of Missouri to the long list of white states which now adorn the suffrage map adds eighteen votes to the suffrage representation in the electoral college, and enfranchises approximately 931,998 women, increasing the total number of women eligible to vote in the coming presidential election to nearly 15,000,000.

The Missouri victory is regarded as one of the most significant of the many recent suffrage triumphs because of the great political effect it will have upon other states. It was one of the most cleanly cut and decisive victories the suffrage cause has won in some time.

And also one of the most opportune.

The passage of the presidential suffrage bill in the Senate by a vote of 21 to 12 on March 29 provided the occasion for one of the greatest suffrage demonstrations held in many years during the course of the Jubilee Convention at St. Louis. Immediately after its passage the bill was rushed to the House, where it went through on April 4th by an overwhelming vote of 118 to 2.

The legislative campaign which carried Missouri into the suffrage list was a model of its kind, and the decisive victory in both branches of the Legislature was due largely to the efforts of two women, Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, the retiring president of the Missouri Equal Suffrage Association, and Mrs. David O'Neil of St. Louis, honorary vice-president of the state association and third vice-president of the Equal Suffrage League of St. Louis.

Mrs. Miller contributed the knowledge and experience gained by many years of suffrage campaigning to the work of bringing about the passage of the bill. The strong suffrage organizations formed throughout the state, under the leadership of Mrs. Miller, laid the foundations for the suffrage victory by contributing greatly to the election of legislative candidates favoring woman suffrage. Mrs. O'Neil has been one of the most faithful and active workers for the enfranchisement of the women of Missouri, and the passage of the measure follows hard on four winters of active campaigning by Mrs. O'Neil to obtain suffrage for the Missouri women.

THE suffrage bill was sponsored in the Senate by Senator McKnight, one of the most active of the suffrage supporters in the Legislature. On the day preceding the taking of the vote it was discovered that Senator Howard Gray of Carthage, and Senator Stark, both advocates of suffrage, were missing and that their votes were essential for the passage of the bill. Senator Gray was busy in the trial of a murder case at Carruthersville, and Senator Stark had been called home by illness in his family, but both hurriedly set out for the capital in response to the appeals of the suffragists. Senator Gray was met at St. Louis by a special train, which was obtained through the courtesy of Edward F. Goltra, National Democratic Committeeman from Missouri, by Mrs. O'Neil, who is member from Missouri of the Woman's Auxiliary of the National Democratic Committee. Senator Gray was rushed to Jefferson City, a distance of 120 miles, in 130 minutes, and arrived in time to cast his vote. As the result of the presence of these two men several other senators whose attitude had been doubtful quickly fell into line and voted for the bill.

The signing of the bill was made the occasion of an informal

the Organization

celebration in the offices of Governor Gardner, at which some of the suffrage leaders and several members of the Legislature were in attendance. Mrs. Gardner stood back of her husband as he placed his name upon the bill, while Mrs. Miller, Mrs. O'Neil, Mrs. W. R. Haight and Miss Marie Ames of St. Louis, four suffrage leaders who have devoted their time to the campaign, looked on. After signing the bill, Governor Gardner gave the pen to Mrs. Miller, who expects to present it to the State Historical Museum. The pen with which Lieutenant-Governor Crossley signed the bill as it came from the Senate was presented to Miss Ames. The pen used by Speaker O'Fallon was presented to Mrs. Haight. Both Governor Gardner and Mrs. Miller made short congratulatory talks, each expressing the hope that the women of Missouri will be able to be of great service to the state in their new capacity as voters.

The Missouri Equal Suffrage Association took advantage of the large number of women present at the Jubilee Convention and called the annual meeting. A feature of the meeting was the election of officers, which resulted in Mrs. George Gellhorn being unanimously elected president of the state suffrage body. Mrs. Gellhorn is that valiant leader who gave such efficient service to the National American Woman Suffrage Association as General Chairman of Arrangements for the convention. Mrs. Walter McNab Miller was made honorary president, and Mrs. David O'Neil honorary vice-president. Mrs. Gellhorn will have as her official board Mrs. W. K. James of St. Joseph, first vice-president; Mrs. W. R. Haight of St. Louis, second vice-president; Mrs. Claud Clark, third vice-president; Mrs. Ernest Stix of St. Louis, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Elmer McKay of Springfield, recording secretary; Mrs. Fred J. Taussig of St. Louis, treasurer; Mrs. B. F. Bush of St. Louis, director; Mrs. Alice Curtice Moyer-Wing Wills, director; Mrs. George Still, Kirksville, director; Mrs. Hugh Ward, Kansas City, director.

Indiana Convention

EVERY gathering of the suffrage clans in Indiana is a jubilee occasion and the eighth annual convention held at Indianapolis immediately following the Golden Jubilee at St. Louis proved no exception to the rule. Suffrage moves forward so rapidly in the Hoosier state and so much is accomplished there that it becomes a difficult matter to crowd all the jubilation into two days. Just why Indiana has reason to feel so elated was set forth in the annual address of Mrs. Richard E. Edwards of Peru, who, as president of the Indiana Woman's Franchise League, has conducted the suffrage forces on their victorious march. "Indiana was the first state to secure presidential suffrage this year and secure it by the biggest percentage of affirmative votes," said Mrs. Edwards. "Indiana was also the third state to secure the passage of a memorial to Congress calling for the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, and this memorial passed by the biggest percentage by which it was passed in any state, with only one negative vote. Indiana was the first state to report this action officially, and the only state which passed it before the houses were organized for business. It was the first state this year or last to pass this memorial when the state itself had no other form of suffrage. Indiana is the only state in the union which ever passed an amendment to the state constitution by unanimous vote of both houses."

Indiana has one big disappointment. It wanted to be the first
(Continued on page 997)



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DO YOU realize that the Russian problem at this moment is the fundamental European problem, and therefore the fundamental World problem of today? Peace in Europe is *impossible* without peace in Russia. The League of Nations is *impossible* without Russia becoming an orderly democracy and a participant in the League. The peace and happiness of the entire World depends upon the peace and happiness of Russia.

If You Realize This Do Not Fail to Read

STRUGGLING RUSSIA

A New Weekly Magazine Devoted to Russian Problems

The first four issues of the magazine contain articles by Catherine Breshkovsky, Alexander Kerensky, Nicholas Tchaikovsky, Paul Miliukov, Vladimir Bourtzev and others.

WHAT IS BOLSHEVISM ?

Writing on Bolshevism, Catherine Breshkovsky, "The Grandmother of the Russian Revolution," says: "Lenine's tyranny, just like the Tzar's tyranny, is the rule of a small minority over a great people, through armed force. The absurdity and criminality of the Bolshevik tyranny is evident. There is one hope for Russia, and a very strong one—that is our peasantry. This class cannot long endure the chaos brought about by Bolshevism. The existence of their families, of their husbandry, is at stake. Traditionally they are religious and they ask for justice and truth. And there is no doubt that under the general depression and anarchy which is ravaging Russia, there is a stratum of strong characters and honest souls that will finally tear off the crust of vice and depravity from the body of Russia and prove their ability to be good citizens of their country and true friends to their countrymen."

("Struggling Russia," March 22, 1919)

RUSSIA and the LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Discussing this subject in a recent issue of "Struggling Russia" Catherine Breshkovsky says: "Woe to the world if, at this moment, when the fate of mankind is in the balance, the Allies forget their moral and political obligations towards Russia! Her immense distances, her miscellaneous and enormous population, do not permit her to organize herself into a compact and solid force in a short time. She feels her way in the dark and seeks her salvation blindly. In her passionate efforts she can disturb the life of her peaceful neighbors. And, what

is worse, she can, in her anxiety, bring darkness and disturbances to other countries for a long time. Nations! Remember, the offending of even a small nation often evokes consequences that disrupt the order of international relations. And what is there to say about the rights of a country occupying one-sixth part of the globe, including in its boundaries not fewer than a hundred different races, a country which contains in its lap the most wonderful riches, which has bred a people of the highest spiritual type, a people prepared to die in the struggle for truth, for an honest life, founded on just principles!"

("Struggling Russia," April 5, 1919)

THE THREAT OF BOLSHEVISM

Discussing the spread of Bolshevism in Central Europe, and the relations between Russia and the Allies, "Struggling Russia" says editorially: "Russia's sacrifices and sufferings have been so enormous and her present situation is so pitiful that nothing can happen which can possibly make the situation in our country more grave. We have sounded the depths of all possible misfortunes long ago, and the situation grows worse not for us, but for our friends. Will the handwriting on the wall be properly and timely understood? Will the Allied nations understand, with the Bolshevik infection going deeper and deeper, nearer and nearer to their hearts, that the Russian problem is the problem and that it is necessary to take it up and solve it once for all time, engaging for its solution all the available moral and material resources!"

("Struggling Russia," March 29, 1919)

The Fifth Issue of April 19th, contains :

Russia Will Emerge, Free, Strong and United!	CATHERINE BRESHKOVSKY
The Case of Poland	PAUL MILIUKOV
The Bolshevik Economic Policy	M. K. EROSHKIN
The Ukrainian Problem	C. M. OBEROUCHEV
Lenine and Malinovsky	VLADIMIR BOURTZEV
Russia's Honor and the War	PROF. ALEXANDER ONOU
Possibilities and Problems of American-Russian Trade	A. J. SACK
Cables from the Russian Telegraphic Agency at Omsk	

Russian Documents:

1. Russian villages under the Bolshevik rule.
2. Maria Spiridonova and Lenine.
3. Bolshevism before the International Socialist Conference at Berne.
4. Additional Documents on civil liberties in Russia under the Bolshevik rule.
5. The housing problem in Soviet Russia.

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 Fine quality Scrim, bordered and block designs, regularly 50c to 65c..... Yard **.35**
 Filet Curtain Nets, durable quality; popular patterns, White, Cream or Ecru,
 regularly 65c..... Yard **.39**
 Scotch Madras, bordered and al-over designs. White or Ecru, regularly 85c..... Yard **.55**

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Within the Organization

(Continued from page 995)

state to ratify the Federal Amendment, but how could it when, as Governor James P. Goodrich said, "Moses refused to lead the women out of the wilderness."

Indiana is now an enthusiastic member of the League of Women Voters. The plan and purposes of the league were outlined by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, who was in attendance at the convention and immediately the heartiest endorsement was given this new organization.

On the convention program were speakers of national as well as state prominence, including Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Raymond Brown, Mrs. F. Louis Slade, Mrs. T. T. Cotnam and Miss Marjorie Shuler.

The Franchise League has co-operated in the war service work to a remarkable degree as the convention reports show, and the next work to receive immediate attention is the Victory Loan Drive. It was voted to call on the entire membership of the 310 branch leagues over the state to assist in the drive.

Miss Adah Bush, vice-president of the Franchise League, is serving with the Y. W. C. A. in France, and a letter was read from her telling of the Interallied Suffrage Conference in Paris, which she attended. Tribute was also paid by the convention to Dr. Adah McMahon, of Lafayette, who is with the Oversea Hospitals Unit.

The Jasper League received the prize of \$25 awarded by Mrs. Alice Foster McCulloch of Ft. Wayne, chairman of the membership and petition campaign committee, for obtaining the largest number of members from its organization, April 1, 1918, to November 28; Ft. Wayne the prize of \$25, for increasing its membership the most before November 28; Carroll County, a prize

of \$12.50, given to the county chairman, Mrs. Charles Quinn, for being the first county chairman to obtain the full quota of members and petitions.

MRS. EDWARDS, the outgoing president of the Franchise League, will still be one of the very active workers for the cause in the state as well as serving the National Suffrage Association as a member of its board of directors. Miss Helen Benbridge was unanimously elected president to succeed Mrs. Edwards.

Miss Benbridge has served as an officer in the League practically since its organization. For two years she served as chairman of the state organization committee, during a period of great activity in that department, and the past year served as fourth vice-president of the state league. Other officers were elected as follows: Mrs. John F. Barnhill, Indianapolis, first vice-president; Mrs. Alice Foster McCulloch, Ft. Wayne, second vice-president; Mrs. Charles J. Gill, Muncie, third vice-president; Mrs. A. Beardsley, Elkhart, fourth vice-president; Mrs. Chester Evans, Bloomington, fifth vice-president; Mrs. Richard Edwards, Peru, recording secretary; Miss Eldena Lauter, Indianapolis, treasurer; Miss Betsy Edwards, Shelbyville; Mrs. L. J. Cox, Terre Haute; Mrs. T. A. Stuart, Lafayette; Mrs. Joseph Shirk, Peru, and Mrs. J. P. Wason, Delphi, directors. Headquarters of the league will be moved to Terre Haute, the home of the newly-elected president.

The board will carry on its work along the line suggested by Mrs. Edwards in her report. She urged the branch leagues to return to regular programs and meetings, which were interrupted during the war; that leagues make a study of the best plans now in operation in various states for the public welfare; that the organization department be continued, and the press work enlarged and strengthened.

Women and Unemployment

UNEMPLOYMENT is appearing in the important centers, particularly at points of demobilization. Again it should be remembered that in normal times there is always some unemployment in January and February, when out-of-door pursuits are more or less inactive. Moreover, men have been drawn from the farms and small towns all over the country into the war industries and the naval and military services, and are not inclined to return immediately to their former homes, the more so as at this season there is little for them to do there.

Of course the large number of women recruited into the industries in the last two years affects the situation, although as a general rule men who have been in war service are given their old places when they apply for them. The women, however, like their experience as money-earners, and have no intention of retiring from the field. They have demonstrated their ability in many lines which they had never entered before, and it cannot be doubted that they will remain a larger factor in business life than ever before. Naturally this arouses some antagonism, originating with men who find themselves facing new competitors, but extending to the sympathetic but uninformed class who are always ready to interfere with the free play of natural forces. In the first place it would be impossible to maintain that women have not as good a right to earn their livelihood and develop their native talents in industry or business as men, or that they are not as competent to say what occupations are suited to them as men are to say for them. Women are full and equal partners

in American life, and policies which deny this fact will have to be abandoned.

But the theory that the employment of women in industry will reduce the opportunities for men or lower the average wages of men is unsound. It may have that effect in individual instances, just as the introduction of labor-saving machinery does, but on the whole the use of labor-saving machinery is of great benefit to the masses of the people, wage-earners included. Machinery makes labor more productive, and increases the supply of the comforts desired by all, without on the whole reducing the demand for labor at all.

THIS is fully recognized by the competent leaders of labor. It is a fundamental fact that there is no limit to the demand for the products of labor; indeed all our social unrest is because people want more things than they are able to buy. The problem is to increase the purchasing power of the people and at the same time increase the supply of the desired things, and to give women work in industry accomplishes both these desired ends. If a woman who has not been a money-earner becomes one, or if a woman is advanced to work of higher pay, she becomes a more potential buyer in the markets and creates a new demand for goods, which offsets her labors and her competitive influence in the wage-earning field.

The entrance of women into numerous occupations will also naturally remedy the injustice often complained of, to-wit, the lower wages of women as compared with men. The unfairness of this in the cases of many individuals is admitted, but it has been the natural result of women crowding into a few occupations. The law of supply and demand will not be denied and so long as women, for reasons imaginary or real, are held to be unsuited for many occupations and crowd into a few, wages in those few will be unfavorably affected by the excess supply over demand.—(From the National City Bank's Bulletin.)

A Survey

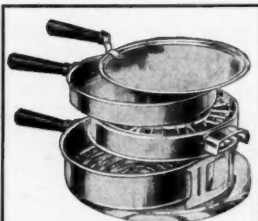
A SMALL scale British study, of less than one thousand cases, brings out the grounds on which the employment of pregnant women is commonly discouraged. By medical men the following injurious features of labor at this time were alleged: Continuous sitting or standing, lifting or stretching, jolting, treading, working in a bad atmosphere, overwork and nerve strain. These are, however, all generalizations, supported by no facts, and the results of the study are described by the Women's Industrial Council, under whose auspices it was made, as "unsatisfactory."

The following suggestions for further study are made by the report:

"The first fact which emerges very clearly, perhaps the most clearly of all, is that practically no real data exists. If this country really wanted to improve the health and well-being of its citizens, the first step should be to acquire accurate knowledge of those things which act adversely upon the health of the infants. And the first factor is that which begins to operate before birth, even before conception, through the mother's health. One can even go further and say the effect on infant mortality of the adolescent life of the mother is not one of the least important factors. Yet no records seem to exist which enable an inquiry to take account of such factors."

Side by side for contrast with these barren results may be placed the unique and careful study of maternity among home-

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**ELECTRICAL
DECORATIONS
& HOUSEHOLD
CONVENIENCES**

makers made by the Women's Co-operative Guild some years ago, the preface to which states the case for factory work against housework during pregnancy:

"Writers on infant mortality," it says, "and the decline of the birth rate never tire of justly pointing to the evils which come from the strain of manual labor in factories for expectant mothers. Very little is ever said about the same evils which come from the incessant drudgery of domestic labor. People forget that the unpaid labor of the working women at the stove, at scrubbing and cleaning, at the washtub, in lifting and carrying heavy weights, is just as severe manual labor as many industrial operations in factories. It is this labor which the mother performs often up to the very day on which the child is born, and she will be at it again perhaps six or eight days afterwards."

Representatives at Peace Conference

THE National Women's Trade Union League will be represented at the Peace Conference in Paris, as the result of a letter written by President Wilson giving his support to the idea. Two representatives, Miss Mary Anderson, vice-chairman of the Washington Committee of the Women's Trade Union League and assistant director of the Women-in-Industry Service of the Department of Labor, and Miss Rose Schneiderman, president of the Women's Trade Union League of New York, are being sent to France by the National Women's Trade Union League, of which Mrs. Raymond Robins is president.

When plans to send women representatives to the Peace Conference were first discussed by the Women's Trade Union League some weeks ago, it was determined to await the return of President Wilson before taking final action. Upon returning to America, President Wilson stated in a letter to the National Women's Trade Union League that "it is very desirable that the women workers should have at least one or two representatives in Paris to speak before the commissions that are considering labor matters." The appointment of representatives followed immediately.

The two delegates chosen to represent the women workers of America are prominent in trade union circles. Miss Anderson is a member of the executive board of the International Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, and Miss Schneidermann is a member of the executive board of the Cloth Cap and Hat Makers' Union.

The American delegates will urge that women be given ample representation on the proposed international labor commission, or any similar bureau that may be created during the Peace Conference. Before going to Paris the American delegates will visit England for a conference with the British women delegates to the conference.

The following labor standards for women workers, prepared by the Women's Trade Union League, will be urged upon the Peace Conference:

Compulsory education for children up to 16 years and part time education to 18 years.

Abolition of child labor.

An eight-hour day and forty-four hour week.

No night work for women.

Equal opportunity for men and women in trade and technical training.

Social insurance against sickness, accident, industrial disease and unemployment.

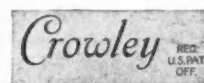
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Inc.

NEW YORK

Americanizing the United States

THE plan given below was proposed by Mrs. Catt for the Americanization of the United States at the St. Louis Suffrage Convention. It was adopted by the League of Women Voters on the last day of their conference, Saturday, March 29, and later in the morning was also adopted by the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

1. Compulsory education for all children between the ages of six and sixteen, with school attendance provided for nine months of each year.
2. Education of adults by extension courses of the public schools.
3. English made the national language by making it compulsory in all public and private schools where courses in general education are conducted.
4. Higher qualifications for citizenship and more sympathetic and impressive ceremonials for naturalization.
5. Direct citizenship for women, not citizenship through marriage, as a qualification for the vote.
6. Naturalization for married women to be made possible.
7. Compulsory publication of lessons in citizenship in foreign language papers.
8. Schools of citizenship to be established in every rural school district and city ward in conjunction with the public school.
9. An oath of allegiance to the United States as qualification of the vote for all citizens, native and foreign born.
10. An education qualification for every voter in the United States after a definite date to be determined.

"Heroes" and "Serpents"

THE North Carolina Senate by a substantial majority passed the municipal suffrage bill. However, the Senate vote of 35 to 12 was reversed in the House where, by a vote of 54 to 49, the bill went down to defeat. The result of the vote though technically a defeat is conceded to be virtually a triumph for suffrage. Out of a total of 150 votes cast on the measure in both houses 84 were in favor and 66 against. The vote of the House as viewed by the press was far from satisfactory.

The session in the House opened with the singing of old time Camp Meeting tunes and then followed one of the liveliest times the House has experienced. In describing the session the Raleigh Times, with true southern appreciation of the ludicrous, said in part:

"Heroes, He-Constitutionalists, Home-Lovers, Home-Savers, and Cradle-Rockers triumphed over the Serpents Wednesday night by 54 to 49.

"The Serpents, led by that King Snake W. N. Everett, of Richmond, and heartily seconded by the Pasquotank Rattler W. O. Saunders, Spreading Adder H. S. Williams, Boa Constrictor Herring, Big Python Gold, and Viperine Congo Grant, were attempting to crawl, as discovered Hallett Ward, on their tummies over the heroism of Bill Sawyer, the constitutionality of Mr. Redwine, the home of Harry Grier, into the cradle of Mr. Crisp. The Reptiles were making great headway. They had pizened nearly half the body im-

politic. Jim Hartness, representing Alston D. Watts, greatest of all evangelists, came here and with only 24 verses of the third chapter of Genesis sent them out of the Garden even as went the varmints a few thousand years ago.

"The Serpents were of course championing the municipal suffrage bill presented by Senator Joe Brown in the Senate and Mr. Everett in the House. The Snakes had charmed that foolish upper body until it tumbled even as Eve to the desire for knowledge. The bill came over, after days of delay was reported favorably and finally got to the floor of the House Wednesday night, where it remained nearly four hours before vote. When the roll-call came it was evident that the Snakes were outnumbered and few of the Serpents were surprised.

"THE debate was neither the worst nor the best of the session. It was long and weary but held captive much the biggest crowd of the year. The galleries filled with serpentine sympathizers stood without moving during the dozen arguments and negated the talk of heroes, home-lovers and savers, cradle-rockers and he-constitutionalists. Men-serpents were almost as numerous as maid-serpents and these cheered or hissed as the poison moved them.

"The more one heard of the heroes, home-lovers, home-savers, he-constitutionalists and

cradle-rockers, the more one admired the Snakes. The Snakes out-spoke, out-looked, out-did their adversaries in all the sinewy graces of speech and debate. The Reptiles were themselves outdone in generalship. The Reptiles, making a bid to popular favor, omitted to arrange their pairs and to provide for their own. Result Four of the Serpents lay coiled in their seats and did not count against the heroes, home-lovers, home-savers, he-constitutionalists and cradle-rockers who were away.

"BUT at that the Serpents could not have won. Hartness bringing the message from Evangelist Watts, had the retort sufficient to all the whispering Serpents distilling pizen into the ear of Eve. The Serpents had lobbied, begged, cajoled, 'coerced,' declared Yield-to-None-in-My-Love-For-Home Redwine. But these were as nothing to Proxy Evangelist Jim Hartness and his 24 verses of Genesis, Chapter Number Three. There it was, Proxy Evangelist Jim showed. It is written 'thy desire shall be unto thy husband and he shall rule over thee.' And because men were thereby kicked into work, Evangelist by Proxy Jim was again giving women more chances to mess men up.

"Representative Everett, of Richmond, took the floor at 8.15, and when he said he had come as a plain citizen, without any ambition, 'to do an act of elemental justice to the women of North Carolina,' the galleries broke into a great round of applause.

"He declared that the law of North Carolina is the opinion of the attorney general until some court or jurisdiction upsets him. Judge Manning believes in the constitutionality of the law, the speaker said. Other eminent attorneys agree with the attorney general.

"MR. Everett referred to the complacency of North Carolina over its treatment of the women. Hallett Ward had observed that when people are told that they are treated badly they will soon believe it. 'The trouble with us is that we compare our treatment of to-day with the attitude of men toward women when Rome ruled from the seven hills,' he said.

"Mr. Grier took a fling at the costumes of women. He admitted the infamous statute, man-made, that offers no protection to the girlhood, though he did not rail at them. 'Yes, that statute is there,' he said, 'but you reformers who want to reform something begin on your costumes that are doing more to drag men down to disgrace and hell, than any laws on the books.'

"The lights were going out and cutting capers all the while. Stanly Winborne rose to-



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oppose the bill. The women cheered every time it happened.

"THE flickering of the lights indicates a disposition to return to the Dark Ages,' he said, in a howl.

"Representative Saunders replied to the Grier argument as to clothes. 'The reason they dress like doll babies is because you treat them like doll babies,' he said; 'and it is about the only way she can get anything from a fool man.'

"He closed by appealing to the House to give the women a trial. 'If they do not make good in two years, take it away from them,' he said.

"Mr. Grant, of New Hanover, closed the debate. He had a few remarks to make on masculinity. Always man had jealously resisted the passing of his proprietorship. He gives up his monopolies without grace. Grant could not understand why men and women educated alike part company at the close of the schools, men to go into the work for which they are specially trained and women to ignore all that they had learned."

(EDITOR'S NOTE:—The action of the Legislature as recorded in the above story took place several weeks ago, but the rush of convention news delayed its publication in a previous issue of the magazine.)

Federation for Suffrage

THE Savannah, Georgia, Federation of Women's Organizations, at a recent session passed a resolution endorsing equal suffrage. Not a dissenting vote was cast against the resolution. Similar resolutions have been introduced at previous sessions of the Federation only to meet with disfavor.

This endorsement of the cause of equal suffrage is considered an important triumph by the suffragists of Savannah, who have labored diligently to obtain such an expression from this representative body of southern women. By this act the Savannah Federation places itself in line with the General Federation of Women's Clubs, which declared itself for suffrage for women several years ago, and also in line with the Atlanta City Federation which gave its endorsement to the suffrage cause two years ago. The executive committee of the Parent Teachers Association of Savannah recently declared itself not only in favor of the principle of suffrage but of the Federal Suffrage Amendment and wired the Georgia Senators to that effect—a point brought out by the supporters of the resolution at the federated club meeting.

The motion for the endorsement of suffrage was offered by Mrs. Paschal Strong. Although one or two slight objections were raised, the temper the meeting was practically unanimous for the passage of the resolution. Mrs. S. B. C. Morgan, a pioneer suffragist of Savannah, made a brief but witty talk citing the fact that the German women now have suffrage.

Germany can't be allowed to score on the South, so there were calls for the question, which was put by Mrs. J. S. Howkins, the presiding officer and herself a suffragist.

Savannah suffragists believe the action of the Federation will be of considerable influence when the question of suffrage is before the State Legislature.

In New Home

THE South Carolina Equal Suffrage League is now permanently housed in its own headquarters in one of the most desirable locations in Columbia. "On the ground floor of the most adorable brown stone house (no porch, just opening right on to the street), right next to our wonderful new post office and right under the very nose of the capitol" is the enthusiastic description of the new headquarters which comes from the equally new headquarters secretary, Mrs. John T. Slatter, who tendered her resignation to the State Board of Health so that she might take up work on behalf of suffrage.

Mrs. Julian B. Salley, state suffrage president, is planning an aggressive campaign of suffrage education during the coming year. The establishing of Columbia headquarters is sure to quicken the suffrage movement in all parts of the state.



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Women and the Law

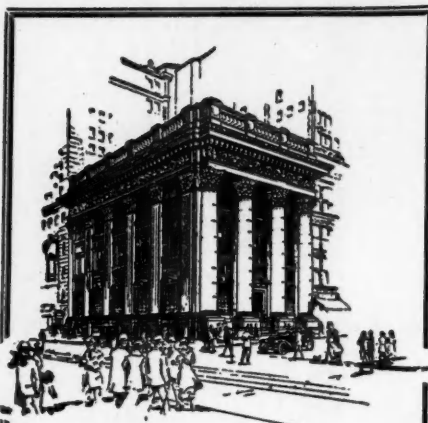
WHEN in 1917 Arkansas opened to women the practice of the law, it was thought that there was only one trench still to be won, and that in Virginia. But this was a mistake, for in 1918 the sessions laws of two states contain acts conferring the right to practice on women. One is Virginia, the other South Carolina, Act 441 of the sessions laws of the latter state reads:

"From and after the passage of this act, women shall be allowed to practice law within South Carolina under the same rules, regulations and conditions prescribed for men."

Saved 5,000 Garments

AFEW women over the washtub saved for the Red Cross some 5,000 garments destined for French refugees. A cargo of Red Cross supplies landed at St. Nazaire, much damaged by a fire in the hold of the vessel. The Mount Holyoke Unit, which was working at St. Nazaire, brought out their washtubs in the open on a frosty winter day, dumped the burned and water-soaked garments therein and worked so doughtily that they saved among hundreds of other things, 508 pairs of socks, 2,115 hospital shirts, 304 woolen waists, 540 heavy serge shirts, 800 winter dresses, 565 sets of pajamas and 125 blanket bathrobes.

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Correspondence

"Woman, Bolshevism and Home"

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

IT is not easy to decide whether the *North American** writer is using the Bolshevik "menace" to promote suffrage, or is making a barrage of the suffrage cause to conceal a frantic fight against Bolshevism. It is also difficult to figure out whether that writer has really never read the decrees of the Bolshevik government or whether he merely assumes that his readers are unacquainted with them. Unfortunately he is not alone in spreading abroad what is known from unquestionable authorities to be an unqualified falsehood; for Bolshevism in theory and application never has proposed, and does not now propose, the socialization of women and the destruction of the home.

Whatever may be the evils of Bolshevik administration in Russia—whether as a part of its program or forced upon those who are trying to carry out that program—nothing will be gained in the long run by misrepresentation and by a moral terrorizing of people outside of Russia. Yet there is so much falsehood and cultivation of fear on the part of the United States press that it bears the marks of conspiracy.

The *North American* writer's historical sociology is about one-third truth and two-thirds error—mixed and seasoned with a sentimentality that is curiously suggestive of anti-suffrage literature. As an appeal to prejudice and ignorance it ought to meet prompt repudiation on the part of the readers of the *WOMAN CITIZEN*.

Wellesley, Mass.

ELLEN HAYES.

*See *WOMAN CITIZEN*'s reprint in issue of March 15.

[The *WOMAN CITIZEN* is interested in presenting the question at issue as reflected by both sides and various shades of opinion. How varying these shades are is suggested by the fact that while opponents of woman suffrage, in line with their usual depreciation of women, are pointing out that "Bolshevism" is the inevitable consequence of woman suffrage, the editors of the *North American* are urging woman suffrage as an antidote to Bolshevism.

In order to insure that our readers may have the full range of opinion we append below a quotation from Dr. Harold Williams, the newspaper correspondent who has lived so long in Russia and who has written in terms of such fierce denunciation of Bolshevism. The quotation is from *New Europe* of March 13, and is being promulgated by S. Nuorteva, Director of the Bureau of Information of Soviet Russia.—Ed.].

Dr. Williams says:

"The statement has been frequently made of late in the press and in public speeches that the Bolsheviks have issued a monstrous decree for the nationalization of women, and a women's society in Paris is reported to have undertaken a campaign against the Bolsheviks on this particular ground. Personally, I cannot be accused of any prepossession in the Bolsheviks' favor, but, just because I feel so acutely the enormity of their real crimes and the iniquity of their whole regime, I consider it wrong to weaken the case against them by imputing to them crimes they have not committed.

"I have made particular inquiries among friends recently arrived from Russia as to the alleged nationalization of women, and they all assure me positively that they have never heard or read of such a decree. It is certain that the central Bolshevik government has issued no order of the kind, and if anarchists in Smolensk or school boys in some other provincial town have printed such abominable productions the central government cannot be held responsible. The position of women and of everybody else under the Bolshevik regime is far too tragical to be made the subject of such gross caricature as these reports of the nationalization of women really are."

Chivalry in Work

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

IAM awfully glad to be able to write that the women of the Tar Heel State do not need suffrage—we live in a hotbed of chivalry (?) and always get a square deal as the following will show:

In the Auditor's Office in North Carolina there is a woman clerk and a man clerk. The man clerk had been getting his regular salary and then \$10.00 per month entirely extra for keeping the Soldiers' Home books. This had NEVER been considered any part of the regular work of the Auditor's Office, just this extra \$10.00 for extra work. This man fled from the office in disgrace, and during his flight the Auditor gave this extra work to the woman in the office for which she received for a few months the \$10.00. Things cleared up a little, and the man got brave and came back and the Auditor gave him his job back. He was perfectly furious, that during his flight this woman should have been given this extra work and extra pay, so when the Legislature convened this law was made by men who defeated EVERY phase of suffrage:

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"The stenographer in the Auditor's Office shall also act as Pension Clerk, and as book-keeper for the Old Soldier's Home, and shall receive a total compensation of twelve hundred dollars per annum."

Made it a law that this woman should do this work for nothing while this man had gotten \$10.00 per month extra, besides a good salary, and a man who had disgraced himself and the office! This attitude is so absolutely primitive I know it is hard to believe, but I can prove every word of it. The woman had been getting \$100.00 per month, and then the \$10.00 extra for doing the Soldiers' Home bookkeeping. However, I know this is not a drop in the bucket to the many injustices that are done women who work. It simply goes to show that an utterly worthless man can have more influence with men than the best woman that ever lived—that is when it comes to pay for work. If ever any women on earth needed suffrage it is the women of North Carolina.

FANNIE W. SMITH.

Raleigh, N. C.

Hygiene Bulletin

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

I READ some time ago in your magazine a statement by Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, I believe, to the effect that the government program for the amelioration of vice conditions was planned not to put an end to vice, but to fasten upon America the European system of vice regulation. Since then an article in the Social Hygiene Bulletin has specifically denied the charge. As you probably know, the Social Hygiene Association numbers among its members men and women of national reputation, and it endorses and gives publicity to all important government activities in this connection.

In the last number of *The Woman Citizen*, nevertheless the former statement is repeated, but no proof given. Indeed, no fault is found with the law itself against which we are warned, the statement being simply that although it reads "persons" what it means is "women." How do you know? What it means is a matter for the courts to decide, and if the wording of a law is correct no court will condemn it because some of those entrusted with its enforcement have misinterpreted it.

Why does your magazine not urge the appointment of women police officers and women examiners, that the law may be fairly administered, instead of giving the lie to such a publication as the Social Hygiene Bulletin? Why does it never tell us of the splendid efforts being made toward securing humane treatment and reformation for prostitutes? The Federal Government took the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense into consultation in framing up this program and women are working with men everywhere in trying to carry it out.

Some of your readers feel that in view of the present awakening of the masculine conscience, it is time that your paper gave publicity to the constructive efforts that are being made by the local authorities in many places, instead of fostering such a suspicious attitude in reference to men's purposes as will discourage them in their efforts to bring about that co-operation between the sexes which is necessary for the righting of such age-old wrongs.

The fact that you propose nothing better than the law you oppose, to meet the present appalling emergency, suggests a desire for the old-fashioned masculine liberty on the part of women. Not that your writers mean it so, but that is the way it sounds. Some of the contents of the last issue of the Social Hygiene Bulletin would make good reading if quoted in your paper.

Columbus, Ohio. HARRIET B. BRADBURY.

[The writer is referred to 998 and 999 of this issue for a further presentation of this subject by Dr. Ulrich and Miss Blackwell.—ED.]

Responsible for Borah

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

IN addressing *The Woman Citizen*—a personal letter with a suggestion from a farm woman I must seem superfluous, but my apology is to relieve myself of a conviction, regarding Idaho's responsibility toward the Suffrage Amendment in Congress. Senator Borah merits the denunciation he has received, but should not the voters of Idaho be held responsible for their part in returning Borah to the Senate, knowing his attitude toward the Federal Suffrage Amendment before election. During a recent visit to Boise while the Idaho Legislature was in session, a woman of that city, who is distinguished for her public spirit and ability and whose name appears in the list of those designated by the National Suffrage Association to get the Suffrage Amendment ratified by the Idaho Legislature, said to me in substance that much as they desired it, Idaho could not afford to draw the line for the Federal Suffrage Amendment on Borah as he was so necessary to the state. She had told Senator Borah he was not giving the women a fair deal but she would vote for him. I heard the same sentiments expressed by good people less distinguished. Apparently these people in Idaho have moved into suffrage, not appreciating their responsibility to the nation. Now that the Suffrage Amendment is defeated they are ashamed of Borah's part, but their eyes are not opened to the consequences. They held the lever in their own hands—the ballot. Are they hypnotized by his fulsome verbosity and the oft-repeated suggestion that in him, Idaho has a possible candidate for the presidency?

(MRS.) E. L. ATKINS.

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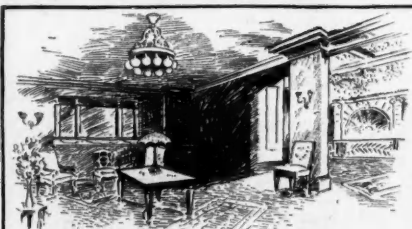
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Women In Industry

Permanent Place

ENGLISH women workers have found definite and permanent place in the industrial life of the nation as the result of the decisive part they played in the mobilization of the country's industrial resources for the work of winning the war, according to a report issued recently by the Home Office.

The report points out that the women workers performed highly creditable service in the greater number of industries into which they were called to substitute for the men. Women workers are said to have scored their greatest success in the boat and shoe industry, in which they had already gained a foothold before the war. They demonstrated an ability to do the highly skilled tasks which had heretofore been reserved for men.

"In light, semi-skilled work their value is frequently equal, and where operations called for fineness of touch and deftness of handling women are preferable to men," the Home Office report continues, in pointing out that in a number of the heavy manual trades women are placed at a disadvantage as compared to the men workers.

Increased output was reported by many factories which used women workers during the war. This was especially true in factories doing repetition work by machinery, the women taking more kindly to this work and showing greater patience and interest than the men, it is said. As the result of the large number of women who have taken up industrial work since the beginning of the war, women working in certain trades have encountered either passive or open opposition from the men, the report mentions.

Dignifying Domesticity

A PLAN to put domestic service on the same dignified plane as clerical work or any of the professions open to women has been instituted by the Y. W. C. A. of Chicago. A course of training for home assistants has been established which will cover such branches as plain cooking, waiting on table, care of children, plain sewing, planning of menus and similar activities. The graduate from this inten-

sive course of training will receive a diploma testifying to her accomplishments.

According to the promoters of this project the home assistant will expect to be addressed as "Miss" or "Mrs." She will work on a schedule of hours at fixed wages observing an eight hour day. The minimum wage will be \$15 a week. The assistant will not live in the home of her employer and will not take her meals there. On the contrary she will have a luncheon hour and will adjust her day the same as though employed in an office or factory.

It is said that a large number of women have already made application for the course.

Gain In Production

THE value of the eight-hour day from the standpoint of the women worker as well as that of the employer is attested in the report of the Illinois Industrial Survey Commission made recently. Employers themselves are strong supporters of the shorter day for women workers, the report indicates. It is found that in the shorter day the workers produce more than they did when longer hours were the rule in the establishment and that the output is steadier and much better maintained.

A loss in production early in the busy season usually is shown in the case of the factory maintaining the longer work-day, according to the findings of the commission, while in the short-day factory the output is often increased during the busy season. The commission recommends an eight-hour day and a 48-hour week for all women workers, based upon these findings. The investigation was made in compliance with a legislative act of 1917.

Eight-Hour Day

A N eight-hour law for all women workers except those in domestic service is proposed by the Missouri State Federation of Labor, as the leading feature of the legislative program it is urging upon the Missouri legislature. A nine-hour law is now in force for all occupations in which women are engaged except domestic service and telephone exchange work.

Middle - Aged Women

"THE middle-aged woman," says the head of the Philadelphia Division of the United States Employment Service, "was the salvation of industry during the war."

Suffrage Abroad

In India

THE movement to obtain suffrage for the women of India is definitely under way, according to reports which have reached this country in a recent issue of the Indian Social Reformer of Bombay, which is advocating important governmental reforms in the far eastern portion of the British Empire. Some time ago a number of highly educated women of India sent a requisition signed by many of their number to the Bombay Provincial Conference, asking representation for women. The conference was requested to "define the word 'people' in the Congress League Scheme of Reforms as meaning women as well as men."

Agitation for greater political freedom for Indian women has been carried on for many months, and represents the greatest advance yet made by the women of the country, who, until recently, were bound by the traditions of ignorance and superstition. The work of American Young Women's Christian Association missionaries in the larger centers of population has done much to improve the condition of the women of the country, by far the greater majority of whom are still unable to read or write.

In New Zealand

THE influence exercised on civic life by the women citizens of New Zealand, one of the first countries to enfranchise its women, is indicated by a review of the progress made in that country since the introduction of the suffrage law. More than thirty measures of a social nature, many of them of great importance, are directly traceable to the influence of women voters, according to Mrs. Clara Lill of Ashburton in a review of the accomplishments of the woman citizens before a district convention of the Women's Christian Temperance Union at Auckland recently.

Social legislation having a direct bearing of a highly beneficial nature upon almost every walk of life has been obtained as the result of the efforts of the women of New Zealand.

A few of the accomplishments in the way of reform legislation credited to women are as follows:

Establishment of juvenile courts, equal pay for equal work, shorter hours and better working conditions for women, a First Offenders' Probation Act, nursing and skilled attendance for mothers at a moderate cost, improvement of industrial schools, widows' pensions, sex equality under age pensions, married women's property law, workers' compensation, modern methods of treating and caring for criminals and offenders against the laws, abolishment of bar maids and the suppression of juvenile smoking.

The women of New Zealand are eligible for election as members of city councils, mayors and to all boards having jurisdiction over schools, hospitals, charitable and other institutions of a public nature. They have been admitted to the bar and women visitors are provided for all state institutions. Women also have municipal suffrage, and have equal opportunity with the men in technical schools established throughout the country.

Purchase Roosevelt Birthplace

THROUGH the influence of the Women's Roosevelt Memorial Committee, the site of the birthplace of Theodore Roosevelt, 28 East 20th st., New York City, has been purchased for utilization as a permanent memorial for the late president. The old home in which Theodore Roosevelt spent the first fifteen years of his life was torn down some time ago and a two-story building erected. Plans for the memorial will be made known in a short time by the committee, according to Mrs. William Curtiss Demorest, who is chairman of the committee.

The board of directors of the committee is composed of forty-eight members, among whom are Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Payne Whitney, Mrs. Francis Key Pendleton, Mrs. Robert Bacon, Mrs. William Church Osborn, Mrs. James A. Burden, Mrs. Jacob A. Riis, Miss Mabel Choate, Mrs. W. Bayard Cutting, Mrs. Frank Gray Griswold, Mrs. W. Fellows Morgan and Mrs. A. Barton Hepburn.

"WHETHER the national constitution is amended or not there will be women enough voting in 1920 to determine the national election, and no political party is going to allow itself to be put in the position of challenging the woman vote."—Des Moines, Iowa Register.

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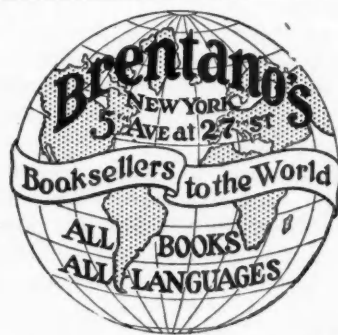
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Hundreds of teachers gave up their work to earn more money in war work, and they are now reluctant to return to their old occupations at the smaller salaries.

In Memoriam

THE ending of the great Golden Jubilee Convention with its perfectly adjusted schedule calls to mind one of the gracious hostesses of the last Convention but one, that held in Atlantic City in 1916.

Miss Lulu Hubbard Marvel, who was at that time chairman of local arrangements, died at the home of her brother last month.

Miss Marvel was a successful business woman and her tactfulness and efficiency contributed enormously to the suffrage convention of 1916, the one in which President Wilson appeared in person and made his memorable promise to "fight with us" for the full enfranchisement of women.

That was a difficult convention, with its packed audiences and the heavy local responsibilities for the proper entertainment of the President of the United States.

Miss Marvel's able management of all the problems and her fine physical presence make her a marked figure in the memory of all those who were present, while the few who had opportunity to come into personal contact with her will long remember the high integrity of her character and the soundness of her views, making her record in the business world an inspiration to other women.

IN the death of Mrs. W. C. Maclin, of Brooklyn, both the Woman Suffrage Party of Greater New York and the Republican Party sustain a real loss.

Mrs. Maclin was, first, corresponding secretary and then treasurer of the Brooklyn Woman Suffrage Party and leader of the 18th Assembly District.

After the vote was gained in New York state she became a member of the Republican General Committee of Kings County from the 18th district.

Her death, on March 31st, had its grimly tragic touches. She was one of the victims of the pneumonia epidemic and died in the same hospital where her 16-year-old son, also suffering from pneumonia, lay too ill to be told of his mother's death.

Mrs. Maclin's interests stretched into philanthropic and church circles. She will be missed from the Universalist Church of Our Father even as she will from the political and suffrage centers where she has given such devotion.

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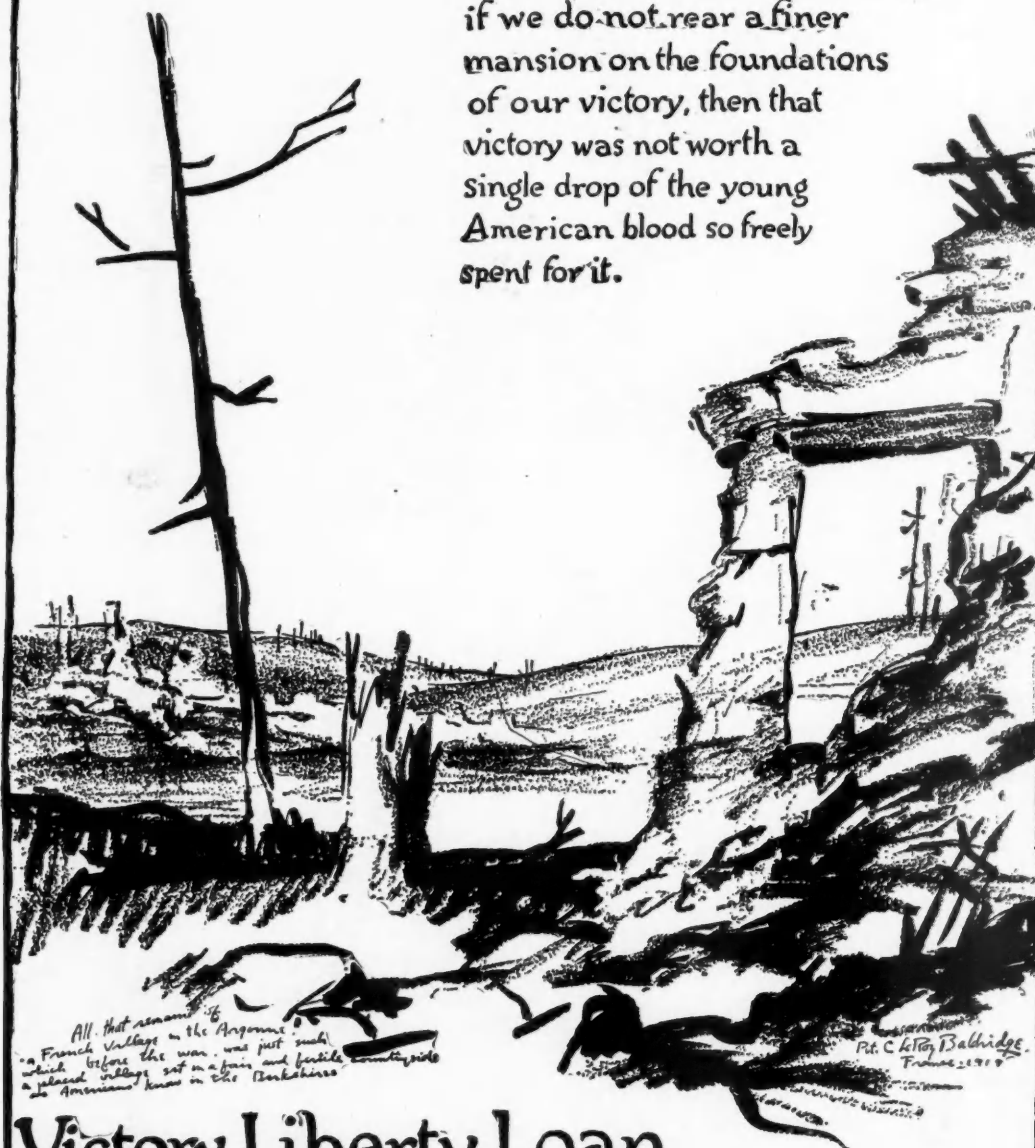
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In the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating
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The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie
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New Style. Vol. III, April 26, 1919. No. 48.
Old Style. Vol. XLIX

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The Woman's National Political Weekly

NEW STYLE VOL. III

APRIL 26, 1919

NUMBER 48

IOWA WOMEN WIN PRESIDENTIAL SUFFRAGE

"What's the matter with Iowa?"

"She's all right."

This was the question and that the answer received from Mrs. Frank W. Dodson, chairman of the Legislative Committee of the Iowa Equal Suffrage Association, following the passage of the Iowa Presidential Suffrage Bill by a record vote of 84 to 2 in the Iowa House, Saturday, April 19. The bill had already passed the Senate on April 4 by a vote of 38 to 3.

Six hundred thousand Iowa women thus come into the charmed suffrage circle. Thirteen more electoral votes are added to those in the selection of which women have voice—302 electoral votes in all, exclusive of Vermont. Number of women over 21 living in states where women are entitled to vote for next president now totals fifteen and a half million.

Hats off to the Iowa Legislature and the Iowa women!

The Iowa victory royally closes a great year of legislative victories, during which no less than eight state Legislatures have given women the presidential suffrage.

See next issue of Woman Citizen for complete story of Iowa's great victory.

The Wary and the Scary and the Informed

IN all the fifty years of its uninterrupted history, the National American Woman Suffrage Association has never sponsored a project of such tremendous significance as the League of Women Voters, nor one so promptly recognized by press and public alike at its full face value. Nothing better testifies to that value than the way in which the wary and the scary man has here and there tried to read into the League a potentiality full of menace—to men. And the way in which he has imposed his uneasy feeling upon a woman—the "man's woman" type—here and there.

As voiced, this fear is the fear of a womanhood segregated to its own purposes, as distinguished from the purposes of the common human family, and is at once a profound tribute to the power implicit in any vast banding together of women and a profound revelation of the scary man's ineptitude in realizing the compulsion in woman that makes social good, communal welfare, vital to her, even at the expense of her individual life.

Under that compulsion women, no more than men, shut their eyes to the community of interest between men and women. No more than men can they commit themselves to a successful exploitation of one sex for the benefit of the other. Indeed, men have made a far more dashing record along this line than women can ever hope to do. Women somehow seem able to admit that a man can be a man, and yet be a son, a father, a brother, a husband, and as such entitled to share in women's betterment plans.

MEN, the wary and the scary ones, seem unable to admit that a woman can be a woman and still remain in beautiful and affectionate relationship to man. Outside of her relationship to man they can't allow a woman to be at all. Outside of that relationship they can't take her in except as a worry and a menace. They forget, facing the "League of Women Voters," that these women of whom they grow afraid when leagued together as voters are the same women of whom they have been proud and to whom they have been grateful as war workers, for instance. They suspect these women of leaguing together in order to "put something over," for the ultimate benefit of women at the expense of men, of the race.

Let them go to the ant, the sluggards—and to the bees—and they will find in them the reassuring evidence of the inescapable

community sense of the female. Though dominated largely by the female element, ant life and bee life take small account of the female as such, ant energy and bee energy being directed toward improving the standard of the whole, not a part of it.

Women may be less communal than ants or bees, but their social sense, their sense of collective good, has not been entirely warped out of them. That is why they laugh at the wary and the scary who profess to find social menace in the banding together of women in a League to work for the social good.

Thoughtful men are not beguiled by fear in this connection. Hundreds of editorials, clipped from the leading papers of the country, festoon the bulletin boards of the press bureau rooms at the headquarters of the National American Woman Suffrage Association in proof that the reaction of the thinkers of the country has been and continues overwhelmingly hospitable to the new League of Women Voters. Conscious of the power in it, they see, as well, the social beneficence in it.

In evidence whereof we cite below a few extracts:

"THE new League of Women Voters starts out with a simple and direct program of good citizenship. It has skillfully avoided the pitfalls of partisan politics, without restricting the right of women voters to engage in such politics as individuals or members of other organizations, and has adopted a program in tune with progressive tendencies of the day and not tainted with fanatical extremism. The half-century mark of the organized 'woman's movement' in America is turned in a manner most promising for the future."—Springfield, Mass., *Republican*.

"THE organization of the new League of Women Voters, which is to be neutral as between political parties, indicates that women expect to play a part as women in the political future of the country.

"The women have started out to be independent voters, an example that men might very well follow. The more independence in voting the better. There should be and always will be political parties, but they should be the servants of the voters, not the masters.

"When partisanship rules a man's mind, he ceases to be an intelligent voter. The voter who adopts the 'show me' attitude, who scans the records and principles of candidates with an impartial eye, is the truest democrat and the most dependable citizen."—Milwaukee, Wis., *Journal*.

"IS such political effort put forth in the service of women's special interests or directed toward the ends of general good government? The question implies a distinction whose existence in any large degree women leaders would deny. The special interests pursued are incidentally the interests of all."—N. Y. *Evening Post*.

"THE demands formulated at the jubilee convention of the National Woman Suffrage Association in St. Louis are typical of woman's courage and thoroughness. They did not rest content with approving in general terms the 'Americanization movement,' they went deep into the question and hesitated at no action demanded by conditions.

"Woman's courage, as well as her intelligence, is going to mean much to politics. After the questioning of her qualifications for the ballot, she is in a position to go vigorously after the illiterate voters of both sexes."—Pittsburg *Post*.

"IT is an auspicious omen that, having obtained the ballot for themselves, the women of the new league should seek to safeguard the ballot box by working for a higher level of citizenship throughout the country. The stand taken for compulsory education, for stricter naturalization laws, for the elimination of adult illiteracy, for the universal use of English as a language of instruction in public and private schools, and for the establishment of good citizenship propaganda in schools and foreign language newspapers, represents an enlightened conservation movement which should appeal to every real American."—St. Louis *Star*.

"IT marks the transition from the old-time sphere of women, where they exercised that ancient prerogative of 'indirect influence,' to their new position in a powerful Woman's League, through which they will bring to bear on legislation and society in general the direct influence of their wish and will.

"The purpose of this new woman's organization is fairly well defined, even at this moment; but there is none, we believe, so bold as to dare predict its far-reaching potentialities, political, industrial, educational, social, national, international!

"It is like no other movement. There is no organization of the male voters to parallel it, either in this country or, so far as we know, in any other. It is utterly free, based as it is on non-partisan and non-sectarian principles. It welcomes the members of every creed and every class and every party. It welcomes both voters and those remaining non-voters among the women who live in states which have not yet seen the light of the dawning day of universal equal suffrage. It is just what its name implies, a Woman's League, to be constituted of all the women in this country, it is hoped."—Lewiston, Maine, *Evening Journal*.

Quoting Mrs. Catt as "that remarkable leader, sane, logical, far-sighted, infinitely patient, equally persistent in pursuance of justice and right," the *Journal* concludes a comprehensive presentation of the League's purposes by saying: "It will be a co-operating force with all those agencies which make for good citizenship and good government."

French Women and Suffrage

THE defeat of two suffrage bills in the French parliament as reported in the *Woman Citizen* of April 12, does not mean that equal suffrage is lost to France. Neither of these bills is the one which women have been encouraged to hope for.

One was for the right of women to sit in the Chamber of Deputies—a kind of cart-before-the-horse bill, since it would only permit man-elected women to represent women. It would have given women eligibility before it gave them the ballot, as in Holland.

While doubtless complete political freedom would follow, as the anachronism of keeping women in tutelage with Parliament open to them would become too absurd for the French sense of humor to endure, yet it expressed an imperfect conception of woman's freedom.

Women in Holland began at the same end—the Parliamentary end—and are creeping backward toward their complete political equality; but the normal way is that of England, where women gained the right to elect representatives before they achieved the right to be representatives.

The second French bill was based on a combination of sentimentalism and opportunism. It was a head-of-the-family bill and a war measure. It was first talked of as a means to protect the fallen soldier's place in his community. If the soldier could no longer vote for himself, why not let his nearest womankind take his place?

The bill had, at its best, only such advantage as an entering wedge gives. It was unfair to scores of women, just as the Canadian next-of-kin franchise measure was unfair.

In the fact that both of these bills came up for consideration at this session of parliament there is indication that the yeast of equal suffrage is leavening French politics.

Suffrage and the Poll Tax

A PROBLEM of suffrage legislation in many states is the relation of full or partial woman suffrage to the poll tax. Twenty-five states provide for a poll tax in their constitutions. In Texas, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Idaho, Wyoming, Kentucky, South Carolina, Florida and Georgia it is assessed on all adults and in Rhode Island on all electors. In these ten states only do women come under the tax by constitutional provision. In Oklahoma the constitution provides that the tax may be imposed on electors by statute, but no such statute has ever been passed. In Louisiana, Arkansas, Nevada, Alabama, West Virginia, Virginia, North Carolina, North Dakota, Mississippi, the poll tax is assessed by constitutional provision on males alone, and in Utah, Delaware, Pennsylvania and Tennessee on male citizens only. In Maine a curious situation exists, for by the constitution the poll tax should fall on all adults, but by statutory interpretation of the clause in the constitution it is actually imposed on male adults alone.

Only in the one state which specifies electors as subject to the poll tax is payment of the tax required of voters as such, for the word citizen has a wider meaning.

In practice, however, the tax is actually collected from voters alone in many states. The poll tax, being based on no tangible object but on the person himself, is easy to evade, and being unpopular on account of its undemocratic basis, it is notoriously evaded. In 1914, in spite of the many million adults throughout the Union subject to state poll taxes, a total of only two million dollars was collected.

For this reason all but six* of the states that impose such a tax, whether on adults, male adults or male citizens, have cannily provided that at least one section of the population shall prove that they have met their obligation to the state by showing their poll tax receipt before they vote.

This means simply that in the non-suffrage states where women are now liable for this tax under the constitution they will, when they are enfranchised, be held up at the polling booth to prove prepayment of a debt which they owe the state whether voters or not. It does not mean that in those states where males only are subject to the tax the fact that women become voting citizens will make them also subject, unless they incorporate a poll tax provision in the woman suffrage amendments to these state constitutions, or, when the Federal Amendment is ratified, extend the constitutional provision by amendment or by statutory interpretation.

* Utah, West Virginia, North Dakota, Maine, Idaho and Wyoming.

on so that it covers women. In a few Southern states where prepayment for men is rigidly required before voting this will probably be done. Already Arkansas women have accepted this extension by a statutory provision supplementary to the primary suffrage law.

It is improbable, however, that many states will extend this un-democratic head tax—historically a tax on the right to live—which is increasingly unpopular and has been forbidden by the constitutions of Ohio, Maryland, California and Oregon.

Some Japanese Questions

A S delightful a deputation as ever waited upon the *Woman Citizen* came to headquarters last Friday in the person of Mr. K. Adachi, M. P., Tokio, with an entourage consisting, among others, of his secretary and interpreter, Mr. Tsuneji Aidzu, and that lissome Japanese sprite of aspiration, Mme. Komako Kimura, actress and suffragist, and her husband, M. Kimura.

Mr. Adachi's questions, balanced and thoughtful, were of intrinsic interest as showing the mental reaction of a Japanese statesman to the program of woman suffrage in the Occident.

"Why was the South so slow in coming to suffrage?"

"Wasn't the real reason the race reason?"

"Why didn't more British women vote? Why didn't more run for office? Why didn't those who did run get elected?"

"Did we have any figures to show in what numbers wives vote as their husbands vote? Any figures to show in what numbers wives vote in opposition to their husbands?"

As for the South—ah, it's never possible to explain satisfactorily to a foreigner why any one part of this beloved country should lag behind the rest. We did the best we could by the southern tradition and the state rights bogey. Heaven knows what it sounded like in Japanese. It sounded fierce in English. It sounds fierce every time we hear it in Senatese.

So far as the British women's appreciation of their voting prerogatives was concerned, we adjured him that they *had* voted in astonishing proportion. And we hoped that in the fact that few had run for office, and fewer yet had been elected, our distinguished visitor would find reassurance as to women's ultimate concern in voting. It was, we begged him to believe, not to secure offices for women, but to secure good government for all.

And while we had no figures that lined up the votes of the wives who voted with their husbands, as distinguished from those who voted against them, we could point him to this country's uniform experience that in the former case the right to express her own choice with her own vote was as important to the wife as to the husband, even though one duplicated the other; and in the latter case a difference between husband and wife at the polling booths did not mean friction between them at home.

Later, when the *Woman Citizen* took a turn at questioning M. Adachi's answers were likewise revelatory:

"Did he believe in letting Japanese women vote?"

"When they were ready to carry a gun."

"Didn't he recall that Lloyd George had testified to the indispensable part the British women had played in the war? Didn't he consider that the French, the Italian, the American women had taken their fair share of the war burden?"

"They had done nobly, but they had not carried the gun."

Then would he answer us this riddle: For every man who was actually on the firing line with the gun it took—according to a popularly accepted estimate—five people to keep him there. People to feed him, people to clothe him, people to equip him with munitions, people to carry him away from the battlefield when he fell wounded, people to nurse him back to life when he lay half

dead in hospitals. None of those five people back of him, holding up his hands, supporting him, making it possible for him to hold the gun, were themselves holding the gun. Three of those people, it has been claimed, were men, two were women. If the two women are to be kept out of the suffrage because they didn't actually carry the gun, what of the three men? Shall they, too, be disfranchised?

And with that translated, led by M. Adachi himself, the quick-witted group found expression in the universal language of laughter. They rippled with merriment, they shook their heads, they said there wasn't any answer. And, laughing still, he admitted it. He was a delightful visitor.

We understand that his career is sure to reflect added credit on his country.

We hope that he will add still further to Japan's lustre as a sunrise land of progress by using his influence to bring her into line with the democracy of the hour on the question of woman suffrage. It is time for Japan to take her stand with the 20 European countries that have already enfranchised or are about to enfranchise women. With all the women of the world being enfranchised, Japan cannot afford to neglect the political recognition of her women. As little Mme. Kimura said plaintively, "We Japanese women—we have no vote at all."

The Opening Door

A WOMAN was elected Police Commissioner of Fargo, North Dakota, at the election held April 15. Mrs. F. H. Wilder who was chosen to fill this office will have entire direction of her department. The new commissioner was active in the suffrage campaigns in North Dakota.

B Y a plurality of 1,061 votes, the Democrats of Peekskill, N. Y., elected a woman village treasurer over a man Republican opponent. Mrs. Henrietta Lane Barmore was a successful candidate. The women's votes at the village election total more than one-half of the 5,000 votes cast.

M RS. W. G. BLEYER was elected a member of the school board of Madison, Wisconsin at the recent election held in that city. She was accorded the largest vote ever received by any candidate. Interest in the election was keen. Practically every woman of voting age went to the polls. It was a striking demonstration of woman's desire to participate in municipal government and won many converts for suffrage.

Mrs. Bleyer was formerly an officer of the Wisconsin Woman Suffrage Association.

THE Woman Citizen

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MRS. NEWMAN

Is There Room at the Top? For Women in International Relations?

IS there anything about the Department of State to justify this caption over the Ladies Entrance: "Abandon hope all ye who enter here"?

Of course this would refer to the hope of rising to the top like cream. At the bottom of the pan where rests the skim-milk of success there is always *place aux dames* even in the sacred places of the foreign relations department of the United States.

Some time ago a woman law clerk asked a position in the Solicitor's Office of the State Department at Washington. She was well qualified for this work, but fate or luck had recently placed in charge of that important bureau a young law clerk, who had never practiced law in his life. His knowledge of international legalities was merely academic. But he violently opposed the woman's entrance, on the ground that "he did not want a woman in that capacity in the solicitor's office."

He had that most potent of all arguments—possession of office—and his "nine points of the law" won out. The woman was refused.

Not being a patient Griselda she objected. Her objections brought no results for herself, but they achieved something for her sex.

Because of her struggles the next woman who applied was taken more seriously, and the next more seriously still, until after a while when masculine resistance was further worn down, a woman got that self-same job. She gained it because one woman had ceased to be patient under injustice.

"THAT'S what the non-skid sort of woman does for the woman who comes after her," says one Mrs. Edith Newman, who has had an interesting career as a link in Uncle Sam's Pan-American policies. "Just so long as your Griseldas let men push them off the highway they'll stay pushed off. It happens many times that man obstructs the entrance of a woman into what he feels to be his own field. Sometimes he deliberately bars her way; sometimes he does it subconsciously or unconsciously. He even fools himself into thinking he does it chivalrously.

"This is the Waterloo of the woman in foreign trade. She may be an accomplished linguist, a student of economics, a thorough saleswoman or an undeveloped financial genius, yet without opportunity and with the solid wall of man's prejudices to scale how can she get anywhere? Man says that were she to attempt to enter foreign fields she would meet with rebuff and annoyances and his respect for her forbids his participation in her embarrassment. I have been informed, however, by one very cultured and handsome woman of mature years, that she has gone into every country of Latin America with lines of samples and has been treated with the most absolute courtesy and respect; that she has entry into all the important commercial houses of Latin America. If one, why not more?"

Mrs. Newman went to Cuba during the second American occupation. She knew Spanish well and "carried on" for several years a successful bureau there, when she married and came back to the States. She had gained a wide knowledge, both political and commercial, of Latin-American affairs and this impelled her to Washington where she occupied a post in the Department of State when Mr. Bryan was still Secretary.

SHE had, in the meanwhile, graduated from the Woman's Law College in Washington, and become a member of the Bar of the District of Columbia.

After the project for opening the Mercantile Bank of the Americas ripened, Mrs. Newman was called from the State Department in Washington to install the Library and Statistical Department of this bank at 44 Pine Street, New York. The Bank's affiliated institutions are the American Bank of Brazil; the Banco Americano de Caracas; Banco Mercantil Americano de Colombia; Banco Mercantil Americano de Cuba; Banco Nacional de Nicaragua, and Banco Mercantil Americano del Peru.

A unique phase of Mrs. Newman's work is the editing of an official bulletin about trade and financial conditions in the countries where the banks are affiliated.

Out of her wide experience Mrs. Newman is a little inclined to believe, like most successful people, that getting to the top of any profession is a thing a woman, as well as a man, must settle individually. That is, success, generally speaking, is a thing one may buy in the open market, if one is willing to pay the price. Of course, society has put up the price on women in more ways than one. The high cost of climbing is not a mere affair of whether a woman is, or isn't willing to wear hobble-skirts and French heels and thus sit helpless and pouting on the bottom round, although it won't do, says Mrs. Newman, "to spend too much time on clothes, when the same amount of energy will carry a woman on to a reasonably full tide of success. She may see the snub-nosed office boy get to be President of the Corporation while she is still powdering her own Grecian feature before the elevator mirror. She will see men spend their time, if they are ambitious, along the line of their work and perfect themselves because of their concentration.

"ON the other hand there is altogether too much timidity on the part of women in demanding their due. Perhaps it is not timidity so much as shrinking from a rebuff. Many centuries of male domination have bred in woman a subconscious questioning of her own ability or deserving, except along those lines where man has decreed she shall reign supreme because he does not care to compete with her. There are many women in business life who are carrying the greater part of the load of work and receiving small salaries, while men enjoy the larger portion. Yet women hesitate, and hesitate indefinitely, before demanding their due.

"The greatest hindrance to a woman's progress is the paralyzing influence of the age-old custom of marriage. No woman can throw herself wholly into the hope of a limitless business career who takes the hope of marriage and children as an inhibition of effort. I have in mind a woman who has been identified with financial life on Wall Street for nearly 25 years and who was a well-paid secretary of a busy man in the days when those serving in that capacity were not so generously considered. She had an opportunity to learn the ins and outs of a great business at first-hand under able and willing tutors. She is a well-bred woman, graceful and agreeable, and would have been successful. She took her working days as but an interlude in her life and made no effort to go further, believing she would marry and leave it sooner or later. She did not marry, however, and today, past forty, she is still a secretary with very little more salary than in those former years; and she is inclined to be bitter because the men who worked with her have gone to the top. Yet she never made the slightest move to qualify for other grades of work, for which she was otherwise eminently fitted."

One might add just here that Mrs. Newman is, herself, happily and fortunately married to a man who sympathizes with all her business aims and whose interests and tastes are congenial.

"Undoubtedly the dubbing of woman's ineradicable instinct for self-sacrifice a foible would call forth a challenge from some, yet to such an extent is this tendency carried by many that it is nothing short of a glaring fault. If an elderly relative desires to visit the city some woman member of the family elects to meet and care for the traveller, even though the hour is an inconvenient one for her business interests, and important office duties are neglected thereby. If the children of a sister or brother need temporary overseeing, the woman will give up her sacred office duties to fill the need, even though she may chafe at the demand. Men, on the contrary, seldom respond to the call of family, when business interests require their attention. Often the reward of woman's self-sacrifice is the mediocre job on the ground that she 'is not interested in her work.'

"To be entirely just to my brother man I would hesitate to say that it is because he does not want woman to succeed, that he would begrudge her any degree of gratifying result, but it is none the less true that he does many, many times put in her way that stumbling block, the world's opinion and criticism if she goes out of the beaten path of woman's so-called sphere—that sphere which no man begrudges her because no man wants it. Much is said of the man behind the gun but no one ever worries over the poor woman behind the mop. Though privately she might greatly prefer the gun, man takes her gently by the hand, feeds her tremendous doses of how much more he respects her behind the mop, until she abandons her stand and goes back to her drudgery. She may rebel at the narrowness of her lot but she feels that some ragged ends of a Rock of Ages remain to her while she has man's respect.

"But the best intentioned woman is often a great simpleton. Like the crow in the fable she allows the flattery of fox-crafty man to sidetrack her. When the need arises for women to do charity work, hard though it may be, she is fed up by appeals to her sympathy and sense of duty until she takes the whole line, bait, hook and sinker.

"Recently the country needed service in its industries and women hastened to answer the call. They have worked intelligently and well, we are informed, but now a great fracas is caused because they want to keep their jobs and don't want to go back to their former life, having nothing and doing nothing. Really sensible people get up and howl about the unpatriotic women who want to keep the jobs the soldiers need—yet one individual is just as much entitled to the opportunity of earning his living as is another. There are dozens of opportunities for men, many more lines of labor open to them than to women. Again the old sacrifice comes to the fore. The woman must relinquish because her brother demands it.

"Is it not appropriate to say to women, 'Stand your ground,' when it is a case of equal right and equal ability?"

How We Voted in Chicago

HOW did the women vote in Chicago in the recent mayoralty election? "Analysis shows women and men voted the same" announced the headlines in one of the large newspapers. The citizens of Chicago were voting for a mayor, city clerk, city treasurer, an alderman from each of 35 wards, several bond issues and the question: "Shall Chicago become anti-saloon territory?"

The mayoralty situation was an exceedingly difficult one. There seemed to the intelligent thoughtful citizen, whether man or woman, little choice between the candidates on the two party

tickets. The Republican, William Hale Thompson, had been mayor for four years, and according to a writer in the *New Republic*, was "as bad as any mayor Chicago has ever had."

On the other hand, Robert Sweitzer, the Democratic nominee, brother-in-law of the party boss, was suspected of having the backing of the special interests and public utilities.

The situation was further complicated by the candidacies of two independents, Maclay Hoyne, with a not very convincing record as state's attorney, a candidate backed by one of the powerful newspapers, and John Fitzpatrick, the Labor candidate. There were in addition two Socialist candidates in the field.

Eighty-seven per cent of the registered men and 81 per cent of the women voted and the women's votes went in practically the identical ratios to the various candidates as did the men's. Mayor Thompson was elected by a small plurality.

Nor does an analysis of the votes for aldermen in the various wards show on the whole that the women did otherwise than strengthen the vote of the men for the winners.

An interesting phase of the election was the entrance of several women candidates. In an Italian ward of the city where Johnny Powers, a recognized gray wolf of the council, has held sway for many years, a young Italian girl had the courage to circulate a petition as candidate, although those who signed it were said to be threatened with arrest by the party boss. She did not, however, succeed in obtaining the required number of signatures.

There were two other women candidates for aldermen, Mrs. Ida L. M. Fursman on the Labor ticket in the 27th ward and Mrs. Laura Pierce Young on the Democratic ticket in the 33rd. Mrs. Fursman received a creditable number of women's votes, particularly when one considers that she had to overcome a certain prejudice of the conservatives against the new Labor party, and in addition a situation complicated by a promise of united support given the year before to the Democratic candidate in case he would withdraw in favor of the Republican.

A larger proportion of the women's votes than of the men's votes went to the woman candidate in the 33rd ward. She was defeated, however, as this ward is nominally Republican and in addition is the home of the mayor's special adviser and party boss, Mr. Lundin.

On the question "Shall Chicago become anti-saloon territory?" more women voted in its favor than men. It must be borne in mind that this question, illegally kept from the ballot a year ago, was submitted by order of the Supreme Court, and that while the brewing interests made every effort for its defeat those in favor of it made no organized attempt to have it carried. Since the city will become dry on July first, by federal enactment, many citizens were indifferent to the outcome.

Two arguments, directly opposed to each other, have long been used against granting women the vote, that women will vote exactly as the men and that they will bring about a political war of the sexes by voting against the men.

The recent election has at least disproved the latter assertion in Chicago.

On the whole it seems to show that men and women are human beings and in the main swayed by the same passions and prejudices. The same arguments for good or for evil appeal to both.

S. GRACE NICHOLAS,

Ex-Secretary of the Municipal Citizenship Committee of the Woman's City Club.

FIFTH VICTORY LOAN

BUY LIBERTY BONDS

The League of Women Voters

When Was It Organized?

THE League of Women Voters was organized in St. Louis, March 24-29, 1919, in connection with the 50th Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. This association invited women voters to attend, and urged them to organize in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the first grant of woman suffrage in the world on equal terms with men, and of the 50th anniversary of the organization of the first National Suffrage Association in the United States.

What Was Back of Its Organization?

In 1869 Wyoming led the United States and all the nations in the extension of suffrage to women. In 1869 two national suffrage associations were formed in the United States, the National and the American. For twenty years these two associations agitated, educated and organized on behalf of the enfranchisement of women. Their work frequently conflicted and the leaders, therefore, in 1890 called a common convention in Washington, D. C., where the two were merged into the National American Woman Suffrage Association. It was agreed that records, conventions and reports should be continuous and date from 1869, and that all the plans for forward work of both organizations be adopted by the resulting National American Woman Suffrage Association. The National Association had centered its attention chiefly on the amendment of the Federal Constitution, although not opposed to state action. The American had confined its efforts chiefly to state amendment campaigns and territorial legislative action, although not opposed to federal action. In order to carry out the combined purpose the National American Woman Suffrage Association pledged itself to "secure protection in their right to vote to the women citizens of the United States by appropriate national and state legislation."

The merger was followed by a campaign for school suffrage through Legislatures and a renewed attempt to secure the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. As a result, school suffrage was granted in nearly all states, where constitutions permitted amendment, except in the South. All state referenda campaigns and all legislative campaigns for partial suffrage have been supported by the National American Woman Suffrage Association, which has at the same time forwarded a federal campaign. As the success of suffrage in practice and the growth of suffrage sentiment, as demonstrated by successful referenda and legislative campaigns, have been the chief causes of the now assured promise of early submission of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, the wisdom of uniting the aims of the two component organizations has become increasingly evident.

What Was the Critical Question?

Women are now eligible to vote for President in twenty-eight states (not including Vermont); the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment is promised by the 66th Congress. Early ratification is assured and the objects for which the National American Woman Suffrage Association has labored through a half century of arduous sacrifice and toil are nearly secured. The natural question therefore arose: Shall the association make plans to dissolve immediately upon ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment or is there reason for continuance?

There seemed abundant reason for continuance. The women voters were therefore invited to attend the St. Louis Convention.

By Carrie Chapman Catt
and Jane M. Brooks

*Let us have your question,
We are ready with the answer.*

What Is the Organization Plan?

THE National American Woman Suffrage Association, for the present, retains the constitution under which it has worked for many years. All state associations auxiliary to the National American Woman Suffrage Association, in unenfranchised and in partial suffrage states, will continue their auxiliaryship on the same terms and conditions as before. The present name of these associations should not be changed. A state suffrage association that merges into a League of Women Voters may continue its organization on whatever plan it has previously followed. The membership may be dues-paying or non-dues-paying. Individual membership, with small dues, is recommended. A union of all intelligent forces within the state should be created, in order that the education concerning these subjects may be as far-reaching as possible. Clubs, literary, religious and political, Farmers' Institutes and Granges, Trade Union Leagues, groups of foreign-born, should be invited to become component parts of the League of Women Voters under such terms as the State League may determine. It is not the purpose to secure a hard and fast machinery governed by definite rules but a wide-spread constituency through which understanding of the nation's needs may be disseminated.

State suffrage organizations in fully enfranchised states will, for the sake of uniformity, be expected to change the name of the state, county, city, ward and election district organizations, to League of Women Voters. In states wherein the auxiliary to the National American Woman Suffrage Association has disintegrated, a new organization to be called the League of Women Voters is planned. The Ratification Committee organized by the National American Woman Suffrage Association in such states, has been appointed to organize the new League of Women Voters.

What Is the Relation of the League to the National?

The auxiliaries to the National American Woman Suffrage Association in the fifteen full suffrage states, will therefore be united in a section by themselves known as the League of Women Voters. This section has its own chairman and secretary elected by the League in St. Louis, and in its relation to the National it will be known as the House of Voters. The delegates of the fifteen states invited the state suffrage associations of the states wherein women have presidential suffrage to unite with the League of Women Voters.

These associations will not change their names or conditions of auxiliaryship to the National Association until such time as they become fully enfranchised.

The only difference in their relationship to the National Association is that they will be permitted to share in the new work undertaken by the fully enfranchised states, and their delegates at annual meetings will sit in the House of Voters. In other words, an organization within an organization has been formed, the subordinate group to replace entirely the dominating one when full suffrage for the entire country has been achieved.

Each state auxiliary of the League of Women Voters will conduct its work in its own way and is free to organize by any plan preferred, provided said auxiliary is always in agreement with the constitution of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

Since the League of Women Voters composes a section of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and is united

through the constitution, all state associations to be members of the League of Women Voters must be auxiliary to the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

Whenever a state is fully enfranchised, that state auxiliary automatically becomes a member of the League of Women Voters and will change its name.

It follows that the National American Woman Suffrage Association and all its state suffrage auxiliaries will cease to exist with the final grant of woman suffrage and will be replaced by the League of Women Voters which at that time or before will have an entirely new constitution adapted to its particular aims.*

House Suffrage Committee

ADDED importance is given the Woman Suffrage Committee in the new House of Representatives as the result of the appointment of Representative James R. Mann, minority leader in the last session, as chairman of the committee. Although defeated for the Speakership, Congressman Mann has demonstrated that he will practically control the next House through his supporters, unless the Republican program for the next Congress is upset, which the wise say is unlikely. Representative Mann's leadership of the suffrage committee is taken as an indication that the Republicans intend forcing the Suffrage Amendment through the Sixty-sixth Congress, which will be in their control. The House will have a large Republican majority, and in the Senate the Republicans will have a majority of two. The presence of a number of new Senators who favor the amendment, and the retirement of a number of opponents of suffrage, assures the passage of the amendment in the Senate by a comfortable majority.

The appointment of Representative Mann as chairman of the Woman Suffrage Committee marks the first time the seniority rule has been broken in the selection of committee chairmen for the new Congress. Had the usual rule been followed Congressman Mondell of Wyoming would have been chairman of the committee, but as he has been named for the floor leader the seniority rule was broken and another chairman selected.

When?

*I see you, my America, young, strong, and unafraid,
Gathered with all the nations of the world
To brew the cup of Freedom.*

*And, watching you, I wonder, land of mine,
When you will think of me.*

Will it be after all the world has drunk?

When the parched lips and the aspiring hands

That had forgotten hope

Have touched the sacred chalice?

Will it be even after other hands,

Reeking with blood and innocence defiled,

Have clutched the holy cup?

Will it be after other lips,

Those bestial lips that still drive sleep from woman's eyes,

Have drunk their fill;

Will it be then that you will hold the cup to me?

And yet, I am your daughter

And have made no moan, though for your brewing you required

My son's young blood.

EDITH B. ALLEN.

(* Continued in issue of May 3)

Count Our Victories Again

THE Tennessee and Iowa victories bring the number of states where women have full suffrage, presidential and municipal, or presidential alone, to 28. These states are:

FIFTEEN FULL SUFFRAGE STATES

State	Won	Women 21 years and over	Elec- toral vote	No. of Congress- men	Area in sq. miles
1. Arizona.....	1912	48,419	3	1	113,956
2. California....	1911	872,802	13	11	158,297
3. Colorado.....	1893	264,647	6	4	103,948
4. Idaho.....	1896	105,146	4	2	83,888
5. Kansas.....	1912	471,854	10	8	82,158
6. Michigan.....	1918	848,916	15	13	57,980
7. Montana.....	1914	103,975	4	2	146,997
8. Nevada.....	1914	26,611	3	1	110,690
9. New York.....	1917	3,125,999	45	43	49,204
10. Oklahoma.....	1918	470,176	10	8	70,057
11. Oregon.....	1912	221,008	5	3	96,699
12. South Dakota..	1918	161,024	5	3	77,615
13. Utah.....	1896	100,646	4	2	84,990
14. Washington....	1910	444,919	7	5	69,127
15. Wyoming.....	1869	37,146	3	1	97,914
		7,303,288	137	107	1,403,520

ELEVEN PRESIDENTIAL, OR PRESIDENTIAL PLUS MUNICIPAL SUFFRAGE STATES

(Those starred have both. Women do not vote for Congressmen in any of these eleven states)

State	Won	Women 21 years and over	Elec- toral vote	Area in sq. miles
16. *Illinois.....	1913	1,699,160	29	56,665
17. Indiana.....	1919	800,484	15	36,654
18. Iowa.....	1919	603,644	13	56,147
19. Maine.....	1919	234,765	6	33,040
20. Minnesota.....	1919	558,528	12	83,365
21. Missouri.....	1919	931,998	18	69,420
22. *Nebraska.....	1917	318,903	8	77,520
23. *North Dakota..	1917	157,903	5	70,837
24. Rhode Island..	1917	183,030	5	1,248
25. *Tennessee.....	1919	564,104	12	42,000
26. Wisconsin.....	1919	653,936	13	54,450
		6,706,455	136	581,046

TWO PRIMARY SUFFRAGE STATES

(Women vote for Congressmen in the Primaries in these one-party states. The chance to help choose the Democratic candidates at the Primary is the only choice any voter can effectively exercise in a one-party state. Republican candidates have no chance at the elections.)

27. Arkansas.....	1917	355,514	9	7	53,335
28. Texas.....	1917	999,166	20	18	265,896
		1,354,680	29	25	319,231

MAKING A GRAND TOTAL FOR THE 28 STATES

Women 21 years and over	Elec- toral vote	No. of Congress- men	Area in sq. miles
15,364,423	302	132	2,303,797

Vermont was granted Presidential Suffrage by 1919 Legislature, vetoed by Governor. Governor's veto under challenge as unconstitutional. If Vermont is added to the above list we have:

29. Vermont..	1919	128,328	4		9,564
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MAKING A TOTAL FOR THE 29 STATES

Women 21 years and over	Elec- toral vote	Area in sq. miles
15,492,751	306	2,313,361

(Area figures from World Almanac.)

Everybody's Business*

THE United States Health Service has declared a warfare of publicity on venereal disease through widely distributed literature for young and old. Pamphlets and bibliographies on sex education are prepared for use by educators for the adolescent, and for the young man exact information on the symptoms of disease and earnest recommendations to take his case to the doctor. From the community at large the government asks aid in its publicity work through individuals and organizations. It asks the community also to provide wholesome recreation, and to make the red light district and commercial prostitution a thing of the past. The importance of this campaign on a war-and-peace problem is shown by the proportions of venereal and other communicable diseases in our army during September, 1917—May, 1918, when venereal diseases stood 102.3; other communicable diseases, 29.4.

The bringing men together in the army has warned us of the magnitude of the problem and made it possible to take the first step toward solving it. The Secretary of the Navy says: "One of the compensations for the tragedy of war is the fact that an enlightened opinion is behind the organized campaign to protect the youth against venereal disease. The campaign begun in war to insure the military fitness of men for fighting is quite as necessary to save men for civil efficiency."

Medical journals have been enlisted and a specific program for legislation has been presented for officials in thirty-five states.

MISSOURI, whose children's code was outlined in the *Woman Citizen* of March 22, is not the only state which is planning a new sort of legislation for the protection of illegitimate children. In a recent issue of the *Survey* Dr. Lydia Allen De Vilbiss, head of the Division of Child Hygiene of the Kansas State Board of Health, tells of proposed legislation in that state. Under the old bastardy laws if evidence was furnished that more than one man had had improper relations with the mother during the time the child might have been conceived the case against the man accused of paternity was thrown out of court. Under the laws proposed in both Kansas and Missouri all these possible fathers testifying would be held jointly responsible for the financial support of the child.

Reversing the Napoleonic law forbidding the search for the father—"La recherche de la paternité est interdite"—the Kansas law would make the search for the father mandatory, the physician or nurse being required to report to the juvenile court, which is to institute the inquiry.

The child's right to two responsible parents is thus expressed in the first paragraph of the Kansas law: "The father and mother of every child shall be deemed the lawful parents of such child whether the child is born in or out of wedlock, and the relation of parent shall attach."

There is a certain cynicism in our present laws, which generously offer the guardianship of an illegitimate child to the mother and provide that such a child shall "inherit" from her poverty and disgrace. Under the new law of two parents, guardianship, succession and inheritance for the illegitimate are the same as for the children of lawful wedlock.

Dr. De Vilbiss comments on the antiquity of most of our illegitimacy laws: "The present statutes of Kansas," says she, "are almost as they were enacted in 1868, the New York law is virtually the law of 1828. In Ohio there has been no radical change since 1824, in Florida since 1828, in Iowa since 1840, in Illinois since 1845, in Alabama and Kentucky since 1852. New legislation was passed in Massachusetts in 1913, and radical laws were enacted in Minnesota, North Dakota and Missouri in 1917."

"HOW the World Votes," by Charles Seymour and Donald Paige Frary, 2 vols. C. A. Nichols, Springfield, Mass., 1918. Price \$6.50.

This "study of democratic development in elections" gives an historical review of the development of the elective systems of all European countries, of the United States, South America and Japan. As it was completed on the eve of peace, its chapters on Germany, Austria-Hungary, Prussia and the Balkan States do not cover present conditions, but they state in brief and accessible form the historical developments which laid the foundation for the changes of today. In the other countries the historical statement is brought up to date, the last of the six chapters on Great Britain, for example, being an analysis of the Representation of the People Act of 1918.

In the study of various countries the distinctive character of the history of their franchise is well brought out. The Low Countries are shown as the "electoral laboratory" of Europe, Spain and Portugal as consistent examples of "boss rule"; and Switzerland as the great example of "pure" or direct democracy with the minimum of representative government. The party system of the United States, with its by-product of political corruption, and the machinery of its elections, receives considerable space.

The book starts with a general chapter on the four philosophic bases recognized in the history of the franchise—i. e., (1) Membership in the state as an automatic basis, as in the Greek City State; (2) Land or some hereditary qualifications, as in Europe and America up to the end of the eighteenth century; (3) Natural right, as expressed by the political philosophers of France and England in the eighteenth century and exemplified by the Declaration of Independence and the Bills of Rights of some state constitutions drawn up before the United States Constitution, and (4) Political expediency.

ASSUMING the utilitarian theory of political expediency as the one whose basis is most sound, the study yet shows a tendency, developing faster or slower in the various countries, toward a universal franchise, which looks to the general reader like the twin sister of suffrage based on natural right. This universality the authors believe in, for they say in their conclusion: "The powers which still tend to restrain the franchise are ever loosening their grip, and the war has dealt almost irresistible blows against the chief citadels of autocracy. It is both futile and foolish to strive to retard the progress of democracy in elections, for there is no tenable argument wherefore any part of society, with the exception of criminals and the mentally deficient, should be entirely segregated from political life, and, further than that, the classes hitherto excluded are well aware of that fact."

One of these classes is women, whose efforts to get the vote the authors outline under each country and of whom they say in general: "As for woman suffrage, no doubts as to its practicability or its justice can be raised. The day is past when the right of women to vote with men can be questioned. The opposition of the anti-suffragists, so far as it is serious, has shifted to the ground of state expediency. Here there was something once to be said; but the increasing invasion by women of economic fields hitherto exclusively masculine, is rapidly breaking down the wall of political division. The services of women in the present crisis will sweep away the few remaining barriers."

The study suggests the possibility, through the League of Nations, of "an international franchise, limited, no doubt, to matters of general interest."

*[In this department the reader will, it is hoped, from time to time, find information and stimulation in the art of citizenship.]

Tennessee Leads

TO the inspiring leadership of Mrs. Leslie Warner, of Nashville, head of the Tennessee Equal Suffrage Association, is attributed the rousing victory whereby Tennessee becomes the first southern state east of the Mississippi to enter the suffrage fold, as a result of the passage of the presidential and municipal suffrage bill. As announced in last week's *Woman Citizen*, the Presidential Suffrage Bill was passed in the Tennessee Senate on April 14 by a vote of 17 to 14. It had been passed by the House on April 3 by a vote of 54 to 32.

Governor A. H. Roberts signed the suffrage bill on April 17, thus completing the process by which the women of Tennessee will be enabled to enjoy the right of presidential and municipal suffrage. The gold pen used by the Governor in signing is closely linked with Tennessee's history. It was this pen that Dr. John Westers used when drafting the first anti-liquor bill ever introduced in the Senate of Tennessee in 1841. Two years ago it was used by Governor Rye to sign the bill granting municipal suffrage to the women on Lookout Mountain. The pen belongs to Mrs. Margaret Ervin Ford, granddaughter of Dr. Westers.

The women of Chattanooga will be the first to cast their vote under the bill just passed by the Legislature.

The Tennessee victory is one of the most notable of the year, not only because it made the twenty-seventh* state in which women are entitled to vote for president, but because it marks the first inroad into the solid Southeast. Tennessee will now join Oklahoma, which has full suffrage, and Texas and Arkansas, which have primary suffrage. The passage of the bill ends an active eight-year fight for suffrage conducted by the women of Tennessee, and it is expected that it will have a tremendous influence in bringing other Southern states into line with the suffrage states of the nation.

With this victory, twelve electoral votes are added to the number now elected by the full and presidential suffrage states, increasing the total suffrage electoral vote to 289. Tennessee has, according to the last census, more than one-half million women twenty-one years and over, which increased the total number of women over voting age in the 1920 election to approximately 15,000,000. Iowa adds a half million more.

The passage of the Presidential Suffrage Bill in the House on April 3 was an event of unusual interest in the political life of the state. The galleries were crowded as the bill was called up for consideration and applause frequently marked the spirited discussion that followed.

One of the most dramatic incidents of the debate came when Speaker Seth Walker left his chair to announce his conversion to the suffrage cause. He declared that he had become convinced that his former stand in opposition to woman suffrage was wrong, and that he was now convinced of the justice of the movement to enfranchise the women. Continuing his address from the floor, Speaker Walker declared that any man who opposed the bill would do so because he had not given careful study and consideration to it. He told

the legislators that suffrage had been granted to Negroes, and that it should not be withheld from women.

"The original thirteen colonies fought England because of taxation without representation," declared the speaker. "The same principle is involved in the suffrage issue. The women of Tennessee are taxed and they are amenable to our laws. I declare to you that this is not right, and that they should have a voice in our government."

The speaker's remarks were greeted with cheers. Another of the members who addressed the House on the subject of suffrage was Representative L. D. Miller of Hamilton County, the author of the Presidential Suffrage Bill. When the Judiciary Committee reported out that bill with a unanimous recommendation for its passage, Representative Miller asked for unanimous consent to have it placed upon the calendar for immediate consideration. An objection was entered, but by a vote of 59 to 24 the House granted the request, and entered immediately upon debate.

Tennessee's campaign was admirably conducted from every point of view. Quietly and persistently the suffrage leaders, to whom was entrusted the important task of lobbying on the presidential bill, have worked under the direction of Mrs. Leslie Warner.

Members of the official staff of the Tennessee Equal Suffrage Association who have so ably aided their president and to whom much credit is due for the victory, were the Legislative Chairman, Mrs. A. G. Buckner; the Organization Chairman, Miss Matilda Porter, and the Press Chairman, Mrs. Margaret Ervin Ford.

Mrs. Guilford Dudley, third vice-president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and formerly president of the Tennessee Woman Suffrage Association, was another prominent Tennessee woman who gave effectively of her political experience in winning the victory.

Miss Josephine Miller of Arkansas, an organizer for the National American Woman Suffrage Association, was still another who did much to bring about the Tennessee triumph.

The *Tennessean*, in an editorial previous to the passage of the presidential bill, urged the Legislature to take this stand, saying, "In the South today there are hundreds of thousands of women who would vote. There are thousands in Tennessee who have asked the Legislature to pass the Miller Bill enfranchising them. They have wished to vote. What legislator will deny them? * * * Suffrage within the last few years, especially under trying conditions of war, has gained miraculously because equal rights for women is logically natural and a matter of common sense. The suffragists have had the advantage of having a case which on its face is so right as to make friends without conscious effort."

* Not including Vermont, Iowa makes the twenty-eighth.



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Within the

Michigan's League

THE Michigan Equal Suffrage Association is now the Michigan League of Women Voters, the change in name taking place at the time of the state convention in Grand Rapids, April 4, at the Hotel Pantlind. The newly organized league called upon the Sixty-sixth Congress to submit the constitutional amendment for nation-wide suffrage to the states at the earliest possible moment. Other resolutions adopted by the convention urged the enactment of legislation providing for physical education of children; endorsed the educational campaign for social morality; endorsed the good roads bond issue; disapproved of the beer and wine amendment; favored censorship of moving pictures; asked establishment at Washington of a national department of education, with a secretary of education in the cabinet, and petitioned for the enactment of the vocational bill before the legislature.

The service rendered the women of Michigan by Mrs. Percy J. Farrell, who was president of the state suffrage association during its victorious campaign, and Mrs. Ida Porter-Boyer, who worked valiantly for that success, was brought out in resolutions passed by the convention.

Mrs. Wilbur J. Brotherton of Detroit was elected president of the Michigan League of Women Voters. Her staff includes Mrs. Frank Kelton, Bay City, vice-president; Mrs. Henry C. Clark, Coldwater, recording secretary; Mrs. William F. Blake, Grand Rapids, treasurer; Mrs. Alberta Droelle, Detroit, corresponding secretary; Dr. Blanche Haines, Three Rivers, member of National Executive Council.

West Virginia Convention

THE West Virginia Equal Suffrage Association met in annual session at the Kanawah Hotel, Charleston, the first week in April and outlined an intensive program for the coming year.

A considerable portion of the convention program was devoted to talks and a discussion of methods and organizing to win. Mrs. Frank J. Shuler, Corresponding Secretary of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, leading the way on this feature of the program. Some of the addresses during the business session were: Women in the Professions and the Ballot by Rev. Clara Cook; Women in Industry and the Ballot by S. B. Montgomery, State Commissioner of Labor; Prospecting to Organize in Rural Communities by Miss Edna Annette Beveridge, Field Director, National American Woman Suffrage Association; Women with Votes as an Aid in Conservation of Children by Miss F. Rica Straeffer; Women with Votes as an Aid to Social Morality and Hygiene by Dr. Irene B. Bullard. "Finish the Fight," an address by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, was the feature of the mass meeting. Congressman M. M. Neely was also a speaker on this evening.

"Democracy—Uncle Sam Will See It Through," was the general title of the toasts on the evening of the dinner. Mrs. Woodson T. Wills, Vice-President of the West Virginia Federation of Women's Clubs, presided. Starting with "We Sought to Have It," a toast by Mrs. J. Gale Ebert, former state president, and closing with "Eventually! Why Not Now?" by Mrs. Frank J. Shuler, and running through all the phases of why suffrage is coming, the program of toasts included the following speakers: Morris P. Shawkey, of Charleston, State Superintendent of

Organization

Schools; Mrs. Edward W. Hazlett, of Wheeling; Edwin M. Keatley, of Charleston, President Chamber of Commerce; Major John C. Bond, of Charleston; Mrs. Charles E. Hogg, Pt. Pleasant; Harold W. Houston, of Charleston; Hon. Wm. E. Chilton, former U. S. Senator; Mrs. Frank S. Mann, of Huntington; Mrs. Geo. Poffenbarger; Mrs. John L. Ruhl, of Clarksburg.

THE Convention passed a comprehensive resolution favoring equal work, expressing appreciation for the passage of a Child Labor Law and a Juvenile Court Law which "places West Virginia in the front rank of the states," favoring the passage of a Mother's Pension Law with a mandatory clause, urging the passage of a bill raising the age of consent to 16 years, taking the stand that women should be given the constitutional right to serve as probation officers, members of school boards and as notary publics, and favoring the creation by the county commissioners of committees of women to serve public institutions in an advisory capacity.

The convention also went on record as endorsing the League of Women Voters, favoring the League of Nations and approving of nation-wide prohibition.

Mrs. John L. Ruhl who has led the suffragists in West Virginia throughout the past year was unanimously re-elected president of her board for the coming year. The board includes, Mrs. E. W. Hazlett, of Wheeling, Mrs. J. Gale Ebert, of Parkersburg, Mrs. H. D. Rummel, of Charleston, Vice-Presidents; Mrs. Thomas Peadro, of Parkersburg, Recording Secretary; Miss Margaret McKinney, Fairmont, Treasurer; Mrs. Kemble White, Fairmont, Miss Elsie Murphy, Charleston, and Mrs. Ellis A. Yost, Morgantown, Auditors; Mrs. Henrietta Arbenz Romine, Wheeling, Chairman of the Congressional Committee.

Woman's Efficiency

A STRIKING tribute to woman's efficiency in governmental affairs was paid by the Texas Senate during the closing days of the last session when by formal resolution Mrs. Hortense Ward, of Houston, president of the Harris County Equal Suffrage Association, was invited to address the Senate. Mrs. Ward, who is not only an ardent suffragist but also a practicing attorney, has been instrumental in securing the passage of such progressive legislation as the married woman's bill, which materially extends the right of married women in that state, the minimum wage bill, the prohibition and equal suffrage resolutions and other measures. The Senate resolution said in part: "Mrs. Hortense Ward has by her industry, ability, and patriotism rendered great service to the people of this state, and demonstrated the fitness of women to participate in governmental affairs by the passage and existence of laws with the enactment of which she has been connected."

A Republican Woman

MISS BETSY EDWARDS, of Shelbyville, one of the most prominent suffrage workers in Indiana and chairman of the legislative committee of the Woman's Franchise League during the 1919 session has been appointed an organizer for the National Woman's Republican Committee. Miss Edwards was appointed by Mrs. Medill McCormick, chairman of the National Woman's Republican Committee, and assigned the states of Indiana, Wisconsin and Minnesota as her territory.

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The New England Conference

By Alice Stone Blackwell

THE recent New England Suffrage Conference in Boston, called by Mrs. Charles Summer Bird, was both useful and enjoyable. Eighteen women came from Connecticut, sixteen from New Hampshire, and good delegations from Maine, Rhode Island and Vermont.

New England, so far as suffrage is concerned, is now in the condition which Lincoln said could not last: it is half slave and half free. Maine, Vermont and Rhode Island have presidential suffrage, while New Hampshire, Connecticut and Massachusetts have only the school vote.

The delegates from Maine and Vermont were gleeful, because their states had just become white on the suffrage map. The Rhode Islanders were proud because they represented the first New England state to grant presidential suffrage, and the only New England state whose Senators and Representatives in Congress all voted for the Federal Amendment.

Massachusetts and Connecticut were described as the "black sheep" among the New England states, from the point of view of their Senators' record in Congress. The Federal Amendment was defeated by an alliance between New England and the South; and New England actually made a worse showing, proportionally, than the South did. The Conference was determined that this should be changed.

An important feature of the Conference was the report of the fine educational work which the Connecticut suffragists have

been doing for more than a year, to prepare women in advance for the responsibility of suffrage. A like work has been started in Massachusetts, and it bids fair to spread to all New England. It is in line with Mrs. Catt's advice upon the importance of "looking forward."

WOMEN are more and more going before Legislatures, in recent years, to ask for improved legislation along various lines. Some good rules to be observed in working with the solons were given at the Conference.

Mrs. Maud Wood Park, chairman of the Congressional Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, laid down "Six Don't's" for legislative workers, State or National.

1. Don't tell all you know.

2. Don't tell anything you do not know ("Our women would not coin falsehoods, of course, but sometimes they listen to rumors and repeat them," said Mrs. Park, in explanation of this rule.)

3. Do not repeat even a slight remark that has been made to you in confidence.

4. Don't lose your temper.

5. Don't nag.

6. Never give up.

Two more bits of advice were added by another Massachusetts woman who has had marked success in political work, Mrs. Teresa A. Crowley. She was chairman of the legislative committee when the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association defeated eight members of the State Legislature for re-election, a few years ago; and said she was an active member of the Non-Partisan Committee of suffragists who lately defeated U. S. Senator Weeks.

"It is not wise to talk much before hand about what you are going to do," said Mrs. Crowley. Threatened men live long. And when you have succeeded in defeating an obnoxious candidate, it is not good manners to talk much about it afterwards. Do the job, and then forget it. So I will add two more rules to Mrs. Park's six: Don't threaten; and Don't boast."

"ONE live baby is worth a whole graveyard of dead ancestors," said Mrs. Antoinette Funk of Illinois, in her address before the New England Woman Suffrage Conference. She reminded the women who were soon to become voters that they would then be faced with the responsibility of choosing a political party; and she advised them to judge each party not by what it had done in the past, but by what it is actually doing and standing for today.

WOMEN ought to read the official Government reports more generally than they do. They would find there a great deal of valuable information on subjects that bear direct upon their daily life.

One of the topics of burning interest to the average family just now is the high cost of living. People want to know how far it is due to unavoidable causes, and how far to plain profiteering. A widespread and systematic campaign has been carried on to persuade the consumer that the increased price of goods is due mainly to the demand of the workers for higher pay.

An official report lately published by the U. S. Department of Labor announces that the total labor cost of producing a pair of

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Napkins 14 x 14 inches square. \$18.00 to 50.00 dozen

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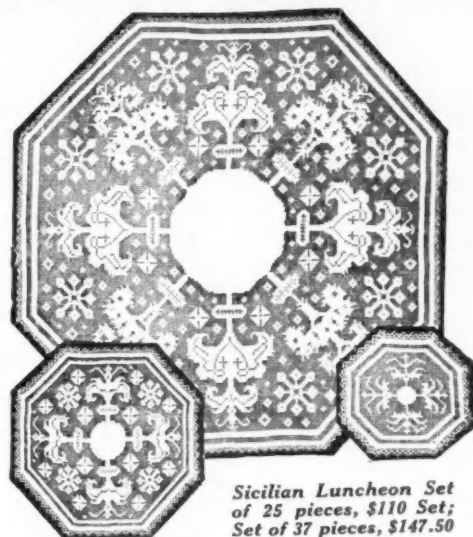
Luncheon Sets in square and oblong shapes in a beautiful range of patterns. 25 piece square sets, \$23.50 to 95.00 Set. Oblong Sets, 12 mats and table runner. \$31.50 to 86.50 Set.

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Sicilian Sets, 1 Doz. Mats and 20 x 60 in. Runner, \$167.50

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Scarfs, 20 x 36 in., \$3.75; 20 x 45 in., \$4.25; 20 x 54 in., \$4.75; 20 x 63 in., \$5.25.

Tea Cloths, 36 x 36 in., two designs, \$5.50.

Napkins, 14 x 14 in., to match, \$7.50 doz.

shoes is 36 cents. This covers not only the pay of the workers who make the shoes, but the pay of all the other employes, from the superintendent down to the watchman and the fireman. When shoes are turned out in vast quantities by the help of machinery, the actual labor cost of making each pair becomes very small.

THIS is a typical case. The same is undoubtedly true in regard to many other goods, the price of which has been put up enormously, and the advance excused on the ground of the necessity of higher wages for the workers.

When a widow with six children to support finds it hard to keep them in shoes, she does not assume that the high price represents wholly profiteering on the part of the shoe manufacturers. It is well known that the "Beef Trust" also has been profiteering on the price of leather; and profiteering probably enters into the cost of most of the other materials used in manufactured goods. In the matter of shoes, the WOMAN CITIZEN some time ago called attention to the revelations regarding the practice (confessed by a number of manufacturers) of treating the leather with chemicals in order to make the shoes wear out sooner so that customers would have to come back for more. While women were patriotically scrimping and saving, this huge wastage of leather was going on, and there was no law to prevent it.

Women, happily, have been protected from the danger of German invasion; but they have not yet been protected from the enemies right here at home—the unscrupulous profiteers. In a civilized country the best weapon of self-protection is the ballot. It is peaceful, but potent. Women will soon have it. In the meantime, let them read the Government reports, and be learning how to use it when they get it.

New York State League of Women Voters

THE New York State Woman Suffrage Party is now the New York State League of Women Voters, being the first of the branches of the National American Woman Suffrage Association to take the new title. When the State Party was in annual session at Albany in December the proposed plan of a League of Women Voters was discussed and approved. It was decided that should the plan be adopted the State Party would immediately change its name. With the formation of the League at St. Louis the New York association automatically took its place at the first of the list of full suffrage states to be known by the new title. Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw is president of this important group of voting women.

A Possibility

THE possibility that Louisiana women may yet obtain full suffrage by means of a state referendum is being entertained in political and suffrage circles of that state.

The New Orleans *Item*, speaking editorially says, "If the need of legislation to protect the Louisiana oil industry moves Governor Pleasant to call an extra session of the legislature, this state may still have a chance to give the vote to women as its own act," provided "the Governor will include the re-submission of the suffrage amendment at next year's state election among the subjects of the call."—"There is no mistaking the temper of Louisiana on the subject of woman suffrage. In an election in which the vote of the country parishes was much lighter proportionately than the city vote, the amendment carried almost unanimously in the country parishes and came within a few thousand votes of carrying over the organized opposition of New Orleans."

Because She is a Woman

FOR three years women in the civil service have been agitating for equal opportunity without discrimination, to make the verbal acknowledgment of the principle of equality in the commission's regulations a reality. Representative Keating, secretary of the recently established Commission on Reclassification of the Federal Civil Service, has thus stated the condition of affairs which his commission proposes to correct:

"We have received much information as to the inequalities in pay, in opportunity, and in promotion of the women workers as compared with the men in Government service. In most bureaus there has been an unwritten law fixing a limit upon a woman's salary or promotion just because she is a woman, and many positions have been closed to her for no other reason.

"I hope that we shall be able to effect a reclassification in the Civil Service which will right these historic wrongs to women workers, and establish the principle of equality on a lasting basis. Women must be paid the same as men for the same or equivalent work, and there must be no discrimination as to opportunity."

Yet the United States Civil Service Commission in its last report would have the reader think that "All's well with the Civil Service." Like the eastern monkey triad, it sees not, hears not, speaks not. The passage about women employees, however, contains besides disingenuous statements about equality between the sexes, some interesting figures on women in the service during the war.

"The proportion of women in the service," says the report, "has greatly increased. The examinations are open to them upon the same requirements and with the same compensations

as are prescribed for men. No discrimination on account of sex is made in the Civil Service act and rules. Whatever inequalities arise are occasioned by the requirements of the service in the judgment of appointing officers and not from any restrictive action by the commission. Women are occupying not only a much larger proportion of positions in the service but have secured increased recognition in promotion to higher positions which formerly were largely filled by men. In the last fiscal year 137,620 women were examined, as compared with 25,457 in the year previous, an increase of 441 per cent; whereas the increase of men was only 122 per cent."

IN an attempt to take cognizance of all the elements that enter into the reconstruction problem of the woman worker, the *Monthly Labor Review* summarizes the pronouncements during 1918 on this subject of thirteen state Conventions of Labor in Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, Maine, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New York, Pennsylvania, Texas, West Virginia and Wisconsin. Colorado, Minnesota, Missouri, New Hampshire, New York, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin recommended equal pay. Colorado, New York and Missouri urged also minimum wage for women, and Idaho and Minnesota stood for the latter principle but made no mention of equal pay. The Missouri resolution is particularly interesting. It called for: "The adoption of a minimum wage scale in all industries, with absolute equality of the sexes, said wage scale to be ample to guarantee to the workers such necessities and comforts as will assure them decent American standards of living and with due allowance for such contingencies as sickness and old age." New York, New Hampshire, Missouri, Colorado, Idaho and Pennsylvania recommend the 8-hour day. Seven Federations declared for woman suffrage and more than half urged special efforts to organize women workers. In few was opposition to the entrance of women into new industries expressed, Missouri, New Hampshire and Wisconsin being among the few. New Hampshire urged that every effort be made to keep young mothers out of industry and Missouri passed a resolution definitely urging the ousting of women at the end of the war:

"Resolved, That preferment be given to soldiers returning from service, and that the period of employment of women occupying positions formerly filled by men, or doing what is generally recognized as men's work, be made contingent on, or terminate on, the return of said soldiers."

New York, more farsighted, recommended demobilization plans after the war which should include re-employment in peaceful industries of demobilized soldiers and millions of men and women engaged in the production of munitions and supplies.

Concerning Candidates

THE women of New York won a distinct victory by the favorable report of the "Campaign Pamphlet Bill" from the judiciary committee of the Assembly. The bill provides that reliable political information concerning all parties, candidates, and constitutional amendments (arguments for and against), be sent by the Secretary of State to every voter before the primaries and the elections, so that voters may not be forced to the alternative of voting in ignorance or spending time, energy and money to obtain information which should be furnished by the state. The bill is backed by the Woman's Practical Law Association, the New York State Federation of Women's Clubs, the Woman Suffrage Party of both the state and Greater New York, the Women Lawyers' Association, the Women's City Club, the Woman's Municipal League, the Woman's Plenty Food League, and by such other well-known organizations as the Citizens' Union and Men's City Club, both of Greater New York.

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**ELECTRICAL
DECORATIONS
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CONVENIENCES**

At the hearing before the Judiciary Committee four women lawyers were the chief advocates in favor of the proposed law, Mrs. E. Jean Nelson Penfield, who drafted the bill; Miss Mary Wood, legislative chairman of the National, State and New York City Federations of Women's Clubs, Mrs. Alice Parker Hutchins of the Woman Suffrage Party of Greater New York, and Miss May Patterson; Mrs. Colburn of Schenectady and Mrs. Bidwell of Albany also spoke for the club women of the state, Mrs. McCready for the Woman's Practical Law Association, Mrs. Frank J. Tone for the New York State Woman Suffrage Party, and Mr. Arndt for the Citizens' Union.

It was a spirited hearing, and the men, pencils in hand, wanted to be shown how the state would escape bankruptcy if such an enormous proposition was to be put into operation, but the women had figures to show that the proposed law would be a step forward from the standpoint of business efficiency, as well as political efficiency. To be explicit, that the law would not only carry itself financially, but would perhaps bring to the state a revenue, while at the same time it would save each county the substantial sum now expended for the printing of constitutional amendments. The income would be secured from payments by candidates and political parties for space in the proposed pamphlets, while the charges for such space would be nominal compared to present expenditures. A letter from Mrs. Trumbull, legislative chairman of the Oregon State Federation of Women's Clubs, endorsing the proposed law, interested the men greatly. Such a law has been in successful operation in the state of Oregon since 1909.

The women pleaded for the bill as a great piece of basic constructive legislation—legislation which, if enacted, will tend to actually produce an informed and thinking electorate, give the present primary law a fighting chance to function normally, and aid materially in the big problem of Americanization.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The Handbook "The League of Nations," should be in the hands of every man and woman who is alive to the epoch-making days through which the world is now passing.

A comparison of the different principles and plans suggested should be helpful to those who try to keep informed on this topic, and to those people our latest handbook, "The League of Nations," will be a welcome aid. It gives a short resumé of the development of the idea from the time of Sully's "Grand Design" through the war-ridden centuries that have passed since Henry IV was on the French throne. This is followed by a collection of writings and speeches of the leading organizations and publicists that have appeared in newspapers, magazines, pamphlets and books, grouped according to the plan they advocate. And, for those who wish to go into the subject still further, there is a selected bibliography of about 70 books and pamphlets and 200 articles in magazines covering recent material.

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IN other words, the women pleaded for the bill as a "non-partisan," "all-around-fair," "common sense," "tried-and-found-workable," measure, and it would seem that the judiciary committee thought they were right.

The judiciary committee of the Assembly showed itself enterprising enough to send this progressive bill to the Assembly with its endorsement.

Legislation Wanted by New York Women

THE New York City Woman Suffrage Party endorsed the food bill which was before the state Legislature. This bill provides that cities in the state of New York shall have the power to produce, manufacture, purchase, store, distribute and sell food to their inhabitants; to harvest natural ice or manufacture artificial ice, store and sell it; and to purchase, own, mine, manufacture and sell fuel. The resolution as passed by the City Suffrage Party cited the fact that the high cost of food products has brought great hardship to the people, that the mild winter weather portends a scarcity of ice this summer and that the present cost of fuel gives no hope of relief to meet a possible cold winter in the coming year.

The City Party through its legislative chairman, Mrs. Rosalie L. Whitney, was on the alert as regards the action of the Legislature on the Fertig Campaign Literature bill, the bill which provides for the issuance by the Secretary of State, previous to the primary, of a leaflet to the voters concerned, setting forth the various candidates and their photographs.

Stage Reflections

39 East

If one should speak out of the impressionistic judgments of daily peregrinations upon Broadway and Fifth Avenue, one might hazard the remark that one would not have believed there were so many, refined, intelligent, and plainly wealthy persons in New York as continue to foregather nightly in the Broadhurst, to enjoy Rachel Crothers' latest dramatic venture, "39 East." It becomes more and more evident that Miss Crothers, like Maude Adams, has a dramatic following.

The reason is not far to seek. Whatever minor faults and discrepancies may be found in her work, its essential best feature is its fidelity to human nature of a well-intentioned sort. Miss Crothers believes in her fellow beings and delineates them with a generous and loving spirit even when she caricatures them. Of bubbling, light-hearted humor, or of clever analytic satire, Miss Crothers has not a jot. Her touch is that of the "highbrow" cartoonist. She has an unerring eye for "types" which she exaggerates just sufficiently to invite us to consider critically the idiosyncrasies with which we have been long familiar but upon which we have wasted no thought. Her plots are hardly complex enough to merit the name. But she understands, to a nicety, just how to take two individuals and to carry them through a dramatic narrative with a background of characters which really add not one complication to her story, but which relieve the

tension when it draws too fine. The result is an "atmosphere" which accounts easily enough for the full houses drawn by her plays.

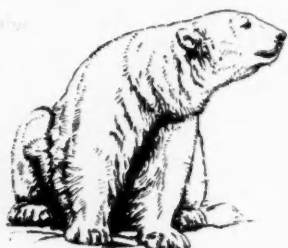
With her, the tired business man who craves something more than the musical comedy but who has grown tired of the triangle, and is not particularly mystified by the mysteries of the mystery play is sure of something that will please him without making a demand upon his credulity or stretching his imagination to the breaking point. Men are exceedingly well represented in her audiences, too. In fact they predominate. Almost as much as William Collier, she calls out the masculine element. But, whereas Collier appeals to men along lines of practicality, Miss Crothers plays discreetly upon the romantic and sentimental chords of their natures, and she flatters them. And they like it.

In "39 East" she has shown a decided advance over "Old Lady 31" and "A Little Journey," not only in the subject matter but in the fitting of personalities to their parts. She has taken the love story of two ordinary and lovable young people and has woven it into a drama which is a straight appeal to the sympathies of that world which loves a lover. The dialogue between them is not high strung, nor is it clever, but it is profoundly and essentially human—the sort of talk that the elderly men and women and the gayly dressed young persons who constitute her audiences conceive as right and proper love talk. It never lapses into mawkishness, nor does it draw too tense

without the saving grace of a humorous reaction. A glance round the house at those eminently respectable captains of industry who affect Miss Crothers' plays is enough to prove that every man there is going back with delight to the days of his own great romance.

MISS BINNEY is the best success in one of Miss Crothers' leading roles that the writer has yet seen. There is no demand upon her for emotional work of the tragic variety, but she has a decidedly difficult role just because of its necessary moderation. Furthermore, she is young and pretty and—a lady. We are not submitted to the trial of beholding a seasoned Broadway campaigner trying to affect an innocence and an ingenuousness so long past that even her memory has failed her of them. Harry Hull as Napoleon Gibbs has a role which is more circumscribed than that somewhat energetic brandisher of horsewhips had in "The Man Who Came Back," but which has much more appeal to our sympathies. His part is not an easy one, because it puts a test of naturalness that a more heroic role may shuffle over. He has given just the right degree of whimsicality, of modern American comradeship, and of budding fervor to his part. His smile is contagious, his little mockeries of his sweetheart's ingenuous earnestness are both sane and tender.

BUT the thing for which a vote of recognition should be returned to Miss Crothers is that she has had the temerity to break loose from the late fashion models in girlish innocence. "Old Dad," "Molly Make-Believe," and various other novels and plays have been setting us the model of the girl whose innocence and faith in human nature had always to be demonstrated by her sins of commission rather than of omission. Her peculiar ability to violate the standards which are a part of every well-brought up girl's education, whether or no she understands what they mean or why they are, is the sign manual of her fine character. But Penelope Penn has a clear respect for the conventionalities. She respects them and violates them only under the pressure of necessity, and she makes it perfectly clear to the man that she does not enjoy violating them. The meeting in the park is not to be compared to the usual steps which mark innocence on the stage, such as invading a young man's bedroom or permitting him to invade hers. She shows plenty of plain common sense in the things which any young girl ought to be sensible about—a quality so rare in a stage heroine as to put a mark of distinction on the play which exploits one who possesses it. And it is to be noted that, while her lover is thrown into an anguished anxiety as to what may happen to her or may have happened to her, nobody in the audience is the least worked up about it. One is certain that what-



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ever Penelope Penn does will be right. Her ignorance of the pitfalls of Broadway and New York may get her into a false position, but common sense and strength of character will get her out. Her trials call out our sympathy, but we are never in doubt that she will rise above them. It is to be hoped that others will not fail to mark Miss Crothers' departure from the rut and to follow it. We really have had a sufficiency of the good bad little devil—or the bad good little devil, whichever you prefer.

ALISON SKIPWORTH as Mrs. De Maily has a hard task in the time-honored role of the stony-hearted boarding-house keeper, but does her stoniness and her melting with first class art—particularly the melting. Unfortunately, the similarity of make-up and the identity of "type" character which her role as Mrs. Smith in "39 East" bears to her former role in "Old Lady Thirty-One" puts Lucia Moore at a disadvantage, in what would otherwise be a telling part. It leaves the spectator with a sense of the resurrection of the dead. Then she was a blonde, now she is a brunette. But the curls shake in the same way, the head ducks, and the little personal peculiarities repeat themselves so often that one feels an unreality in the recent role.

The staging is fine, the twins are just like twins that we know, the count is a dreadful prig, Miss McMasters is truthfully presented as the sourest person in the place and the one with the most brains, and all the details are looked after with the careful attention that Miss Crothers knows how to give. It is a splendid dramatic narrative, though it is not a play in the old-time sense of that word. But it is the forerunner of what must eventually rule the stage. Miss Crothers is pressing close to a dramatic revelation that has not yet dawned upon her. The question is whether some one else will beat her to it.

M. H. F.

Three Faces East

BEFORE I went to "Three Faces East" an enthusiastic friend stated—presumably honestly—"And up to the very last minute you don't know how it will end. It is a regular mystery play." She did not enlighten me as to what the mystery consisted in or how it came out, but—without any desire on my part to pose as a Sherlock Holmes—one phase of that mystery disappeared for me before the curtain even rose on the prologue. I glanced over the program. There, third on the list, stood "Helene, of the German Intelligence Bureau." Lagging along toward the end came "Mrs. George Bennett," "Dorothy, her daughter," "Miss Risdon," and "Nurse." It was the immortal Sherlock himself who said somewhere, "Eliminate the impossible from your calculations and whatever remains, no matter how improbable it may seem, must contain the truth." (Or words to that effect.) Now, with the war fever that is

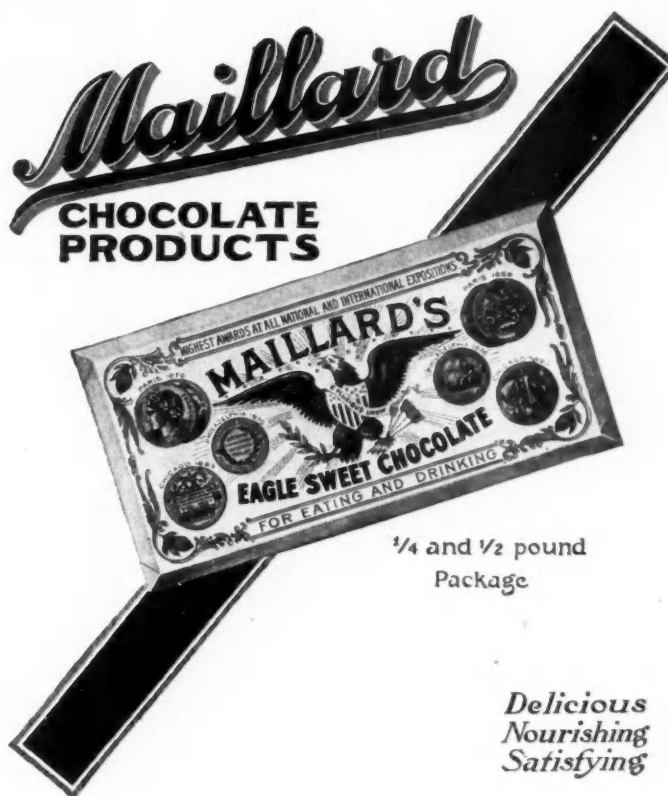
upon us, a play in which a civilian character is more important than a woman in the intelligence department is out of the question. By the simple process of elimination, "Helene of the German Intelligence Department" becomes the leading woman of the play. But a leading woman in a spy play must come off best unless we expect to have a tragedy and have her shot on the stage. The sympathies of the audience must be on her side when the play ends, no matter where they are at other periods. Ergo, Helene is of the English service in reality though billed for the German. One mystery disappears then and there. Before the prologue is finished, the dialogue makes it plain that some body named something of the German Secret Service is the big character on the masculine side of the house. As his name is not on the program, it becomes a matter of determining which one of the persons bearing other names is he. The very large part played by a character named Valdar, a butler, quickly determines that. Butlers do not occupy the stage the greater part of the time unless they are criminals in disguise or secret service men. The mystery is not long lived. We know before the end of the first act that Valdar is the missing German secret service agent, that Helene is an English secret service agent who has deceived the Ger-

mans and is pitting herself against him. The question as to the various steps by which the denouncement is to be brought about is all the mystery that is left, but it is sufficiently interesting and thrilling to hold the attention fascinated through the play.

THERE is little to discuss in "Three Faces East." It points no morals, adorns no tales, presents no problems, exploits no theory. It has nothing unclean in it from start to finish, it gives you your money's worth for every minute of its duration. With the exception of the prosiness of the German talk in the prologue, and of the bad taste in boasting of our troops and of our influence on the war in the first act (because however true it may be we should not be the ones to crow over it) there is nothing in it to justify a word of adverse criticism. If anybody does not like it, the reason must be that the person is not interested in mystery plays or detective stories.

There are not so many thrills in "Three Faces East" as there is a sustained intense interest. The fact that, at the end of the season, the play is holding out as if it were the beginning, is proof positive that a great many people both in and outside of New York delight in it.

M. H. F.



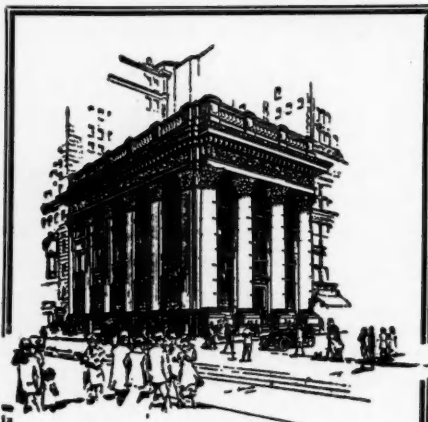
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Struggling Russia

BRESHKOVSKY, Kerensky, Miliukov, Tchaikovsky—Russian leaders of conservative tendencies—are among the contributors to Mr. A. J. Sack's *Struggling Russia*, a periodical published by the Russian Information Bureau and appearing weekly in the United States.

What interests the reader immediately is the fact that here are lucid, coherent statements of the present status of Russia as these writers have seen it. As a relief from much stormy controversy here is direct testimony in sequential and orderly presentation.

For example, in the issue of April 5th, there is an account of the "Soviets in Russia" by M. C. Eroshkin. Mr. Eroshkin is the chairman of the Perm Committee of the Socialists-Revolutionists. He was the representative of the Minister of Agriculture in the Perm District under the Provisional Government and, later, a member of the Provisional Government of the Ural. He came to this country with Madame Breshkovsky.

In this article of April 5th, he attempts to explain to American readers the history of these Soviets, called by some writers the "most democratic form of government."

The idea of calling together a Soviet of workers' deputies began in Petrograd in the 1905 revolution, says Mr. Eroshkin.

IT began with the Mensheviki faction of the Social-Democrats and was supported by the Socialists-Revolutionists, but was bitterly opposed by the Bolsheviks who called it, at that time, "an invention of the semi-bourgeois parties to enthrall the proletariat in a party-less swamp."

In spite of this the Petrograd Soviet met with success among the masses of Petrograd and the Bolsheviks had no choice but to join it. At that time the Soviet made no pretence to plenary powers. It was driven out of existence when the autocracy—the Czar—gained strength and its leaders were exiled to Siberia.

When the 1917 Revolution occurred, the Socialist factions of the State Duma organized on March 23rd the Petrograd Soviet of Work-

men and Soldiers' Deputies, with Tchaidze, Kerensky, etc., at its head.

Other Soviets grew up and in May, 1917, the first All-Russian Soviet of Peasants Deputies, led by Breshkovsky, Chernov and others came into existence.

The program of all of the Soviets was directed to the end of organizing the revolutionary forces of the Russian people; to give expression to their political and social demands in connection with the Revolution. It was also expected to give support and aid to the Provisional Government in its task of coordinating the state machinery of the liberated country, and to concentrate the forces of the working masses.

After the Soviets had achieved the machinery of the Government Zemstvos in township, village and province, and (centrally) for all Russia the Constituent Assembly, based on the fundamental practice of democracy—universal, direct equal and secret suffrage—it is the opinion of Mr. Eroshkin that the Soviets should have "retired in favor of the new governmental institutions."

HE charges against the present control of the country by the Bolshevik Soviets that there is no secret, direct and equal vote of the working masses anywhere. Elections are held in factories or other open meeting places, he claims, and by the raising of hands and always "under the knowing eye of the chairmen."

The majority of the workers frequently take no part in the elections at all. Proportional representation having been voted down, the rights of minorities are not listened to.

Other charges against the Bolshevik Soviets as brought by the Russian Information Bureau are that all those who do not sympathize with the Bolsheviks are gradually, and often by force and violence, excluded from the Soviets altogether.

Madame Breshkovsky's constant and impassioned plea is that universal secret and direct suffrage shall be restored in Russia. She believes that the Constituent Assembly must be established and supported if there is to be a stable government.

An effective article by Alexander Kerensky—

"Russia and the Allies"—illuminates Russia's tremendous sacrifice to the allied cause. In point of numbers Russia's casualties have made those of every other country—almost of all other countries—seem insignificant.

The most dramatic feature *Struggling Russia* presents is the brief, yet terrible, appeal of the great novelist, Leonid Andrieev, to the writers of all nations to "save sinking Russia." The cry of it rings in one's ears. It appeared in the French press in March. "I appeal to you, Frenchmen, Englishmen and Americans. I appeal to all of you individually," he writes. "I appeal to you, Americans who yearn that the torch of your liberty should cast light on Europe. I appeal to those who write with their blood and nerves—Help Russia!"

The Village as the Hero

MR. WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE'S "*The Heart of a Fool*" (The Macmillan Company) is a picture painted on a big canvas. Mr. White likes big canvases. His heroes and his villains are not individuals; they are corporations and towns. Witness "A Certain Rich Man," whose most unforgettable incidents are those in which the battles of the Civil War are described.

Mr. White possesses a Zolaesque faculty of describing crowds of people and their reactions upon each other—an extremely difficult literary, or artistic, achievement. Excellence in it marks a writer as in the front rank.

It is the village of Harvey, emerging from a flat prairie background and a casteless group of pioneers, that is the hero of the latest novel by the Kansas editor. Dr. Nesbit is the Greek chorus explaining the process by which Harvey came out of a toneless social unanimity to a seething class struggle. The doctor, known politically as "Old Linen Pants," had precipitated some of this battle of Armageddon himself by conscienceless cleverness in manipulating political state machinery. But he had, at least, held fast to human sympathies, and was thus somewhat differentiated from the fool "in whose heart there is NO God."

It is not so easy to locate the fool of the story because several of Mr. White's characters qualify for the position. One fixes on Tom Van Dorn for the part, at last, because he redeems himself least of all. But the author fails to visualize him to the reader, as he fails to visualize most of the individuals of his huge drama.

One grasps the sweating labor with which Mr. White hacks away at Grant Adams—who ought to be the pivotal figure, but isn't. As soon as his creator stops whittling at him, Grant slides back into the indistinguishable obscurity of the crowded canvas.

As to women, Mr. White seems never to have met any real ones. He certainly has portrayed

none. He has possibly suggested one in Mary Adams, but she is never actually there. All of his "good" women are aphorisms dressed up in feminine garments. His bad woman is like nothing that ever was on sea or land. There is really but one of her and—perhaps—a half-one. The author is too kindly and patronizing to women to speak ill of them. They all "mean well," he is sure.

HAVING said so much, it is but fair to add, that, however clumsily and jerkily his scenery moves, the writer of the "*Heart of a Fool*" has achieved a real and living drama—the drama of the class struggle in America—that Titanic struggle, which is not between Labor and Capital alone, but between sodden, godless materialism and the undying hope of human brotherhood.

Crude and scarred and shapeless it may be, marred by a lack of technician's skill, yet it must be owned that against this murky background Mr. Allen has created an arresting picture.

The struggle of Justice against Greed is there in a tormented etching. It is even possible that its formlessness enhances its power. Anyhow this was a story that had to be written. It is written. It is even worth the rather slow and laborious process of reading it.

Over W. O. H. Ground

SUFFRAGISTS working for the Women's Oversea Hospitals, U. S. A., will read with some interest Mrs. Edith O'Shaughnessy's *My Lorraine Journey* (Harper and Brothers). It is a description of the very places to which were sent the Units of the suffrage hospitals after the armistice was signed.

Nancy, Lunéville, Chalons are names familiar to readers of the *Woman Citizen* who have been kept in touch with the movements of the hospitals since the war ended.

Mrs. O'Shaughnessy's Lorraine trip was made while active hostilities were still going on; but her account only sharpens the picture of the devastation found by the suffrage units in their post war visits of mercy.

The journal has lively photographic illustrations taken during Mrs. O'Shaughnessy's trip.

Her account is very light. It oftentimes betrays a regard for the comforts and delights of life which are astonishingly out of place from one who has visited a section of the war zone out of what appears to be mere curiosity. The narrative is punctuated with sentiments of regret at the more mordant incidents of the desolations of war. It is also regardful of rank and circumstance; but it is, nevertheless, an eye witness' account of scenes of heroism, danger and unselfishness. M. O. W.

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Suffrage Abroad

National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship

IN response to the new order of things the National Union of Women Suffrage Societies, one of the foremost organizations of Great Britain, has changed its name and is now known as the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship. The change came practically simultaneously with the determination of the National American Woman Suffrage Association to form the League of Women Voters, the new name having been adopted at a council meeting held early in March. The Council is composed of representatives of all societies included in the Union.

The great success of the Representation of the People Bill and the changed conditions and new demands attendant upon the world war were largely responsible for the new step taken by the Union. To meet this transition period and the feeling that the cause has outgrown old methods, it was determined to strike out with a broader, more comprehensive formation and a more inclusive general policy.

Under the plan adopted by the N. U. S. E. C. it will include all organizations, all persons, who are vitally interested in gaining the full franchise for women—an age limit of 30 years' restriction being imposed at present—and in gaining full civil rights for the women of Great Britain. Many organizations have as one of their objects the gaining of the franchise, while including in their policy other objects. These associations, under the new plan, may become full members of the National Union and together work for the speedy enactment of those laws which will make for a greater citizenship.

The object of the National Union is as follows: To obtain all such reforms as are necessary to secure a real equality of liberties, status and opportunities between men and women. To achieve the object two courses will be followed, one the binding together in close union the various organizations working for and interested in gaining the franchise, and by forming special committees to work for specific "equality" reforms, inviting persons to join who are experts in such reforms as particularly interest the committees. The Council adopted three reforms to place on the program of the Union, it being determined to concentrate on six reforms in the immediate program. Widows'

pensions, equal guardianship of children and the opening of the legal profession to women will receive the first attention, the remainder to be determined later.

The program of the Union includes four main divisions: The extension of the franchise, equal moral standards, women and the law and election policy. Under these four headings, as outlined, the Union takes a firm stand for progressive legislation which will eliminate all inequalities, political and civil.

Miss Eleanor Rathbone was elected president of the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship to succeed Mrs. Millicent Garrett Fawcett. The new president is acquainted with government affairs at first hand, being a Councillor of her native city, Liverpool. From the time she was a student at Oxford Miss Rathbone has been an ardent advocate of the suffrage cause, throwing herself wholeheartedly into her work for the franchise for women. Miss Rathbone has done much for the solution of local government problems and has given untiring service to the soldiers' and sailors' families who were stricken by the war.

Suffrage in the Argentine

WOMEN of the Argentine are demanding equal political rights with men, under the present Argentine constitution. The Woman's Party recently organized by Senora Julieta Lantride Renshaw has published its platform, the principal plank being a demand for equality with men in national and provincial government offices, as well as in voting. The platform further declares that under the constitution of Argentine women possess the same voting and legislative qualities as men and that any interpretation to the contrary is "unworthy of the present state of civilization."

Fills Diplomatic Position

CONSIDERABLE interest has been aroused in Washington diplomatic circles over the arrival of a woman diplomat, who comes as secretary of the Danish Legation. Miss Gerda Anderson, who is filling this important post, is described as "good-looking, an accomplished pianiste and an expert in five languages." Miss Anderson was formerly secretary of the Danish Legation at Petrograd and later held a similar position in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Educational

"Feminized Schools"

IN the first issue of the *Quarterly Bulletin* of the Women's City Club of New York, club members active in varied fields tell how the club may aid various social movements. Among the most interesting is a brief article under the caption "That 'Feminized Schools' Bugaboo," in which Katherine Devereux Blake urges that City Club women help to gain for women teachers and girl pupils an equal footing with men and boys in the schools.

"What our schools at the East really suffer from is masculinization. They are almost entirely officered by men. No woman's voice is heard in the upper councils which decide the fate of both women teachers and girl pupils. Only two women sit on the Board of Education of Seven. Only 77 on the local board, which totals 230 members. There is no woman on the Board of Superintendents. As a result there are twenty-seven District Superintendents; only two are women. There are twenty-five high schools; only one has a woman principal, although several are for girls alone. There are twenty-one high school annexes, each with a teacher in charge, receiving an extra compensation of \$500. Fourteen of the twenty-one are supervised by men, seven by women, but only six of the women receive this higher pay. The Superintendent who has charge of the high schools has two principals assigned to assist him in this work of supervision with extra compensation of \$1,000 each. Both these assistants are men, though more than half the high school pupils are girls.

"DURING the past year bonuses ranging from \$300 to \$1000 have been given to forty-two persons, only thirteen of whom were women. The policy of eliminating women as far as possible from administrative positions was begun early in the term of the last City Superintendent and has been pushed steadily ever since.

"In 1901 there were two hundred and fifty-two women principals and one hundred and ninety-five men principals of Elementary Schools. The latest figures available July, 1918, show there were one hundred and eighty-nine women principals and two hundred and ten men principals. Father Knickerbocker, like Uncle Sam, thinks that \$3,500 is too much money for most women to have, and that it is quite preposterous for one to ask anything beyond that. Members of the former Board of Education did not hesitate to say that \$5,000 is a man's salary.

"So much for the women teachers, but how does this condition affect the girl pupils? No boys' high school has been obliged to wage a publicity campaign in order to secure a proper

building such as had to be conducted first by the Washington Irving High School, and later by Julia Richman High School, both schools for girls. When it was found that science equipment was so costly that our rich city could not afford it for all schools it was discovered that science teaching was not suitable for girls, —that sewing was feminine, and science, masculine. So all the science equipment that had been given to girls' schools was removed to boys' schools. The little children who live in dark tenements, too often attend school in dark class rooms, in which artificial light must be burned all day even when the summer sun shines outside. The Board of Health gives shocking statistics of the loss of eyesight during the eight years of the elementary schools.

"Women know that little children need much individual attention, yet fifty little ones are permitted in the kindergarten and all the lower classes. In the days of chivalry, boys were kept in the women's apartments and under entirely feminine guidance until they were twelve years old. Today, masculine control begins for girls as well as boys at the age of five."

In England

"THE English Education Act, 1918," says the *Monthly Labor Review*, "effecting, as it does, a complete change of principle and method in the national system of education, is more than a mere educational enactment—it is a practical embodiment of the spirit of reconstruction." The act repeals, in whole or in part, twenty-two earlier acts. Its main proposals, which apply to England and Wales only, are:

(1) Preparation by local education authorities of schemes for all forms of education within their area.

(2) Raising the age limit for compulsory full-time attendance at school from 12 to 14 years of age, with no exemption and power given to the authorities to extend the limit to 16 years.

(3) Establishment of continuation schools for compulsory part-time education up to 18 years of age for 320 hours, classes to be held before 7 p. m.

(4) Restriction of the employment of children, 12 years being the lower limit, and the

(Continued on Page 1034)

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(Continued from page 1033)

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Superintendent of Schools

IN the December 28 issue of the *Woman Citizen* the statement is made that Miss Edith K. O. Clark is Superintendent of Public Instruction in Wyoming. This is incorrect. Miss Clark's term of office expired January 6, and Mrs. Katherine A. Morton was elected to succeed her. Mrs. Morton, who until her marriage was a teacher in the public schools of Cheyenne, was for four years president of the Federation of Women's Clubs. She was secretary of the State Council of Defense and has held other state offices. As State Superintendent of Public Instruction she becomes ex-officio member of several boards.

"The people of Wyoming," writes Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard, of the University of Wyoming, "feel very fortunate in having a woman of Mrs. Morton's capability, with her wide executive experience and her special interest in charity, penal and reform measures."

Personal

MISS MARY McARTHUR, secretary of the British Women's Trade Union League, arrived in America recently. She will represent the organized working women of Great Britain at the national convention of the National Women's Trade Union League of America, in Philadelphia, in June. Meantime she will visit a number of the local branches of the League during the next several weeks.

Miss McArthur in private life is the widow of W. C. Anderson, Labor member of Parliament, whose death a short time ago deprived the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain of one of its ablest and most trusted leaders. Mrs. Anderson, or Miss McArthur, was herself also a candidate for Parliament at the last general election, and ran second highest among the several women candidates. For many years she has been secretary of the British Women's Trade Union League, which organization has maintained close relations with the National Women's Trade Union League of America.

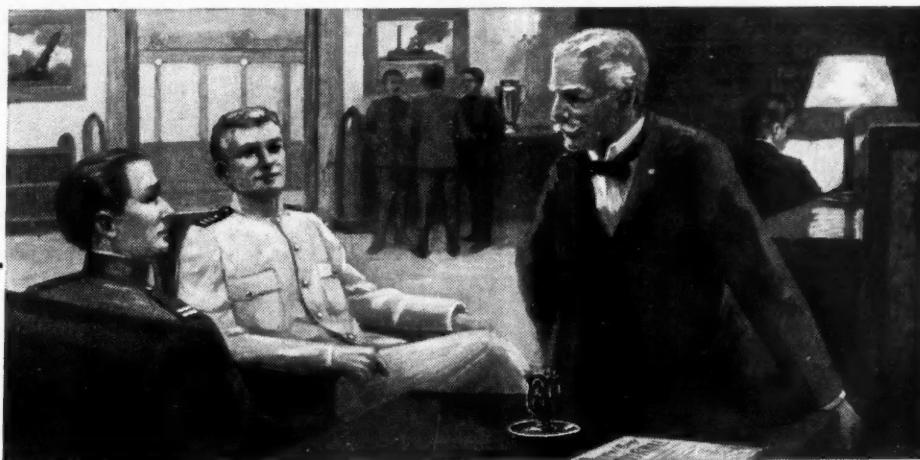
Besides a stay in New York for conference with officers of the Women's Trade Union League of New York City, Miss McArthur's itinerary includes Washington, Boston, and the other eastern branches of the League. She is to be one of the principal speakers at the Mass Meeting which will be held during the national convention of the League in Philadelphia.

THE State of Wyoming has created a new office—that of state historian—and has appointed a woman to fill the position. The first state historian is Miss Eunice G. Anderson, of Cheyenne, who has been employed in state service for the last nine years. The new office was created by the Legislature as a means of preserving in adequate form the history of the state's pioneers, and it will be Miss Anderson's duty to visit the homes of the pioneer residents of the state and make a record of their reminiscences.

For nine years Miss Anderson has been deputy state treasurer, and during the last three years she has served as director of the state workmen's compensation bureau. Her appointment by Governor Cary is regarded as recognition of the valuable services rendered the state by women office holders.

THE death of Jane A. Delano, Director of the Department of Nursing of the American Red Cross, which occurred at Paris on April 15, was a loss not only to the Red Cross but to the American public at large. Miss Delano had achieved remarkable success and undisputed leadership in her profession. It was while making a survey of Red Cross nursing in France that she contracted the illness which proved fatal.

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The Last Word About the War

And How Colonel Sibley Was Helped to Write It

SCENE: (Army and Navy Club, New York, where Commander Ellsworth, U. S. N., and Captain Trowbridge, U. S. A., are having a conference and an after-dinner cigar in the Club Library and are joined by Colonel Sibley, U. S. A., retired)

The Colonel: Well, comrades, I win!

The Commander: Been fighting again, Colonel? Who says you're retired?

Colonel: I was retired, but now I'm in action again or soon will be, and this time with the pen instead of the sword.

Captain: How's that?

Colonel (Drawing closer to the table and glancing around): Well, comrades, I don't mind telling you in confidence that I just signed up with the Editor-in-Chief of a big magazine (name censored for the present) to write a series of articles on the Great War.

Commander: Tell us about it.

Colonel: Well, it's going to be a long campaign. The Editor, whom I have just left, wants an extended series of articles, to begin with an exhaustive survey of the causes which led up to the War.

Captain: The causes? All of them? Well, you've sure got your work laid out for you.

Commander: I should say you had.

Colonel: The Editor feels that way

himself. He's now concerned chiefly about what has happened up-to-date and the authority upon which my statements will be based. The Editor's a big gun in the business, you know, and his rivals will be getting his range if he exposes himself. He wants to secure a strategic position so that he can't be successfully attacked on anything he prints.

Captain: Well, what did you suggest?

Colonel: I'll tell you. While he was talking I was thinking and I finally told him that what he wanted as a reserve-force was some late general reference work of recognized reliability that he could fall back on. "That's it," he said, and then asked: "Which one?"

Commander (Turning his head and glancing at a set of The New International Encyclopaedia in its special case): I'll bet I can tell which one you named.

Captain (Glancing at the set): Ours, of course.

Colonel: You're both good guessers. Of course I named The New

International and the Editor nodded his head and said: "That's the very work I had in mind, not only as an authority on the causes of the War and what has already happened, but when peace comes I hear the publishers are to bring the war-volume down to date at once and are to send it to all subscribers in exchange for the war-volume now in their possession so they'll know the last word about the conflict."

Commander: Well, that settled it, I suppose.

Colonel: Yes, I told the Editor that the selection of The New International as our authority simplified the problem and he added that it not only simplified the articles, but solidified them and made them so authoritative that he would be able to follow out with safety his plan to publish the series of articles in book form.

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It is our task to finish this work

They showed us the way and passed on—perhaps to new worlds to conquer. And whether we will or not, the solemn obligation to finish their work has fallen upon us.

"If ye break faith with us who die,
We shall not sleep—though
poppies blow
In Flanders fields."

Your patriotism and mine was not buried in those graves in Flanders fields. There is still work to do—for our country, for ourselves, for our children. Else the war will have failed in its purpose—and millions of young lives will have gone out on a vain quest.

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Old Style. Vol. XLIX

Do not fail to read the Aims of
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The Woman Citizen

The Woman's National Political Weekly

NEW STYLE VOL. III

MAY 3, 1919

NUMBER 49

Does America Need Women's Votes?

FROM time to time, the *Woman Citizen* publishes a "Wheel of Progress" which takes account of the social legislation achieved by the different states in the Union. Each publication of it affords an interesting comparison between the states where women vote and where they do not. Classifying socially protective legislation under ten heads, the wheel indicates the states where "good legislation" obtains by white spaces, and where "poor or no legislation" obtains by black spaces. The ten heads are:

- 1 Industrial Welfare Commission to regulate hours, wages and working conditions of women and children.
- 2 Child Labor—14 year limit. Guarded exemptions during vacations are allowed and poverty exemptions, when these are neutralized by Mothers' Pensions laws.
- 3 Compulsory education—state-wide.
- 4 Eight- or nine-hour day for women.
- 5 Minimum wage.
- 6 Mothers' pensions.
- 7 Equal guardianship.
- 8 Age of consent, 18 years—chaste or unchaste.
- 9 Red light abatement.
- 10 Prohibition.

Leaving out Michigan, South Dakota, and Oklahoma, where women won the vote in the autumn of 1918, too recently to have affected legislation, there are twelve full suffrage states to be compared with thirty-six man-suffrage states.

Of these twelve suffrage states, two, Colorado and Kansas, 16.67 per cent of the whole, score white on all ten counts.

Not one of the man-suffrage states makes a similarly clean record.

1. Of the woman suffrage states five, 41.6 per cent, have "good" industrial legislation for women and children. Of the 36 man-suffrage states, two, 5.2 per cent, have good industrial legislation.

2. Child labor is satisfactorily legislated against in nine, 75 per cent, of the twelve full suffrage states. Wyoming, Utah and Nevada having virtually no child labor, have no protective child labor legislation.

Eighty-three and one-third per cent of the man suffrage states have handled this question on an advanced platform—the man suffrage states being those in which the child labor problem has been acute and its abuses so extreme as to necessitate drastic action.

3. Woman suffrage states score 100 per cent on compulsory education.

Man suffrage states score 88.8 per cent.

4. On the eight- or nine-hour day for women, woman suffrage states furnish a record "for good legislation" in eleven of their number, 91 per cent of the whole.

The man suffrage states show only ten states, 27 per cent, with correspondingly advanced legislation.

5. Seven of the woman suffrage states, 58 per cent, have adequate minimum wage legislation.

Five of the thirty-six man suffrage states, less than 14 per cent, have as good a record.

6. On mothers' pensions the woman suffrage states score 100%.

The man suffrage states score in twenty-four states, 66 2/3 per cent of the whole.

7. Equal guardianship of children is insured to mothers in eleven out of the twelve woman suffrage states, 91 per cent.

This is true in only ten out of the thirty-six man suffrage states, 27.7 per cent.

8. Age of consent legislation is adequate in nine, 75 per cent, of the woman suffrage states.

The same holds good in only six, 16.67 per cent, of the man-suffrage states.

9. Ten of the twelve woman suffrage states, 83 1/3 per cent, score on red light abatement legislation.

Twenty of the thirty-six man suffrage states, 55.5 per cent, make a similar record.

10. Ten out of twelve (83 1/3 per cent) of the woman suffrage states had lined up for prohibition even before the passage of the federal prohibition amendment.

Twenty-two (61 per cent) of the thirty-six man-suffrage states had a similar record.

From all which it may well be argued that women as voters stay more keenly interested in social legislation than men do. Ergo, if America needs social legislation, it needs the votes of women.

All which builds on the ground of expediency, but the truth is there is far more advanced ground on which to build. Whether it is expedient or inexpedient from the viewpoint of immediate results, America needs women's votes. She needs them because with her women unenfranchised every day of her national existence she is outraging the fundamental concept of democracy, outraging the fundamental law of the individual's growth, the right of self-government. Everybody has some sense of that right. In women, even in the most rudimentary women, it is evolving rapidly. They may not as yet give it the political name of woman suffrage, but they accept names already given it in earlier crises—such names as the right to gainful occupations, the right to an education, the right to own property, the right to their own persons, the right to their children. All these are but rights of self-government. Self-government is the right that comprehends all others and all progress. Women cannot be held back from that right without developing a spirit of resentment toward America that America cannot afford to have. America cannot have in its communal life any body of citizens smarting under the injustice involved in denying them political recognition while requiring of them that they support a government in which they are excluded from voice.

Under Masculine Management

THE war now drawing to its close has been stained by crimes innumerable against women and against humanity. Worst of all, standing out among the others like a great tower on a plain, has been the treatment of the Armenians by the Turks. Never before in human history, so far as we know it, have the men of a whole civilized nationality been deliberately given over to slaughter and the women to outrage. When a Red Cross nurse begged the Mohammedan commander in one city to spare at least the children, he answered angrily. "Women have no business to meddle in politics!"

The Armenian women have always been famous for their chastity. These women have been subjected to the extremity of license. Hundreds of thousands have been sent up in Turkish harems; thousands more have been sold as chattels, and after the massacres all the brothels of the Orient were reported to be overflowing with Armenian girls.

Now that the Armenian relief expedition is demanding the release of the Christian women who have been imprisoned in the harems, the Turks have turned them out into the streets in multitudes, with no means of support. The relief funds are not half enough to feed them. The remnant of this ancient Christian nation is starving.

Like conditions prevail throughout a large part of the East. From widely-separated districts, the reports cabled by the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief are heart-rending:

Mesopotamia: "Great multitudes of deported Armenians herded here in droves; struggled with the street dogs for a living."

Tiflis: "People starving, dying by thousands, and are down to using dead bodies for food."

Mount Ararat: "In Erivan 45,000 without bread; saw today refugee women stripping flesh from dead horses with bare hands and eating it."

Nazareth: "We are caring for 2400 children in the orphanage, but there are still 500 homeless."

Bethlehem: "Every way we turn the question arises of how many more orphans we can accommodate."

Jerusalem: "Everywhere children, starving children, sick children who had tramped all the way from Asia Minor through the desert, naked children shivering with malaria and burning with typhus."

Lebanon: "Nearly one-half the total population of 127 villages is dead."

Armenia: "Refugees slowly starving on animal corpses, slaughter-house blood, chaff; 3,950,000 human beings perishing from hunger and exposure; of this number 400,000 are little children whose parents were slaughtered by the Turks; there are also 1,900,000 widowed mothers and children."

"Women have no business to meddle in politics!" This is the state to which an exclusively masculine management of world-politics has reduced some of the fairest and most fertile regions of the earth. And now another Armenian massacre is said to be impending. Are the so-called civilized powers going to let it take place?

Years ago Elizabeth Barrett Browning wrote a great poem, "A Curse for a Nation." An angel comes to her and commands her to write this curse. She begs to be spared the task; she loves the guilty nation.

"Therefore," the voice said, "shalt thou write my curse tonight. From the summits of love is driven a curse. As lightning is from the tops of heaven."

She pleads that her heart is sore for the sins of her country and she names over a list of England's crimes:

"What curse to motherland assign

When heavy-souled for the sins of mine?"

"Therefore," the voice said, "shalt thou write my curse tonight;

Because thou hast strength to see and hate

A four thing done *within* thy gate."

"Not so," I answered once again.

"To curse, choose men;

For I, a woman, have only known

How the heart melts and the tears run down."

"Therefore," the voice said, "shalt thou write my curse tonight.

Some women weep and curse, I say,

(And no one marvels), night and day.

"And thou shalt take their part tonight,

Weep and write.

A curse from the depths of womanhood

Is very salt, and bitter, and good."

Then follows the curse. Many a time its tremendous lines have come back to memory during the past few years, and long before that. The atrocities committed in Armenia during this war were only the culmination of what had been going on there for more than a generation, before the eyes of the European powers, which were pledged by treaty to protect the Armenians, but were too much split up among themselves by selfish jealousies to do it.

And the terrible conditions now existing in Asia Minor are only a few shades worse than those that prevail in several countries of Europe. The women of all nations have their eyes on the Peace Conference. Woe to the statesmen gathered there, if they do not find means to give us a new world in place of the old!

A. S. B.

Quite an Inducement

ON April 8th the Women's Republican Club of New York City passed a resolution of protest against the formation of the League of Women Voters. On April 19th Mrs. Catt pointed out the similarity between the very phrasing of the Club's protest and the pet phrasings of the antis. That similarity was so glaring as to warrant the conclusion that anti-suffragists were finding opportunity to strike at woman suffrage through this Republican Club.

Never has Mrs. Catt's ability to read the handwriting on the wall been more promptly and certainly sustained by the event. Immediately following the action of the Women's Republican Club the anti-suffragists issued a statement which airily took credit for the action of the club in the following language:

"Our publicity has had the distinct result of arousing the wariness of the politicians. The Women's Republican Club of New York City followed the stand taken by us by passing resolutions protesting against the action of the Woman Suffrage Party in forming a League of Women Voters, to be a non-partisan party."

It is a matter of complicated interest to women voters to find a women's Republican club, whose reason for being is to seek the votes of women, "following the stand" taken by those who oppose votes for women.

Is this—as Mrs. Catt pointedly asks—"is this the inducement you offer to suffrage Republican voters to come into your club and into the Republican party? Are you and the Republican men willing to stand for this policy?"

"Equally"

ALL positions under or in connection with the League, including the Secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women.

The above quotation is from Article VII of the revised Covenant of the League of Nations, made public this week.

It is, in purport, a recognition of the principle of woman suffrage by the most important deliberative body in the world.

It can do no less than clear the way for women's world-wide political equality with men.

It is the sign and the covenant of a future in which there can be no making of wars and unmaking of the world without woman's joint responsibility.

So is it written now in the Covenant.

To women the writing stands forth in letters of flame from the black background of the unfair past.

It is for the nations of the world to redeem that past in fulfilling the Covenant.

General Wood's View

THE following letter was received by Mrs. George Gellhorn, of St. Louis, under date of April 11, from General Wood:

"I feel that the women of Missouri will take a very keen and active part in state, municipal and town affairs, and from what I have seen in Kansas, where I have been for the past two years, their interest is going to be always on the side of public and private morality.

"The responsibility of citizenship rests upon both men and women. In fact, without the full support of women we could not have played our part in the great war.

"I shall emphasize their beneficial and helpful influence whenever I have the opportunity.

Sincerely yours,
(Signed) LEONARD WOOD.

The Municipal Vote

THE women of Orlando, Florida, were granted the right of municipal suffrage on April 21 when Governor Sidney J. Catts affixed his signature to the bill granting this measure of the franchise. Orlando, the home of the state suffrage president, Dr. Mary A. Safford, is the tenth town in the state of Florida to take this progressive step.

In 1915 Fellsmere, on the eastern coast of the state, incorporated the right of municipal suffrage for women in its town charter and immediately set a fashion which has found favor in many points throughout the state. The towns now including municipal suffrage for women in their charters are, Fellsmere, Aurentia, Orange County, Deland, West Palm Beach, Florence Villa, Moore Haven, Clearwater, Delray, and Orlando.

Since gaining their right of franchise women have played an important part in the municipal life of their respective home towns. Florence Villa, immediately following the incorporation of the town, elected Dr. Mary B. Jewett and Mrs. J. A. Snively councilwomen. To Moore Haven goes the honor of being the first town in the state to have a woman mayor, Mrs. George Horwitz having been elected to that office. The bill presented by Senator Hughlett for the incorporation of the town of Aurentia in May, 1917, not only included municipal suffrage for women in its provisions, but also provided that women compose the first board of City Commissioners. The commissioners named were Mrs. E. J. Wright, Mrs. B. W. Pratt, Mrs. R. von Plinsky, Mrs. J. Estelle Draa and Mrs. Jennie J. Weiss.

For Your Information

MRS. C. H. SIMONDS, chairman of the enrollment committee of the Ohio Woman Suffrage Association, reported at the recent state convention that the enrollment figures had reached a total of 290,000 and were still climbing.

MRS. NONIE B. MAHONEY, formerly a director of the National Suffrage Association, was elected president of the Dallas Equal Suffrage Association at its recent gathering. Mrs. Mahoney succeeds Mrs. E. B. Reppert, another of the well-known suffrage leaders of the Lone Star state. Forty new members were elected to the association, which is one of the strong units in the state organization.

"NOW is the time to begin to prepare for that initial plunge into the deep waters of national politics," is the way Mrs. Henry W. Youmans, President of the Wisconsin Woman Suffrage Association, is calling the attention of Wisconsin women to the fact that they must prepare for their new franchise privilege. In a message to the women Mrs. Youmans reminds them they should be studying the League of Nations and the great national problems and should in every way be preparing themselves to vote with intelligence in the 1920 presidential elections.

NEBRASKA women throughout the entire state gave a conclusive answer to the old query, "Will the women use the vote when they get it?" during the recent municipal elections in the state. The press is practically a unit in praising the way the women took hold of their new privilege. Consider the Falls City women as an illustration of the general rule. Not only did the women represent the majority in numbers at the polls, but they also succeeded in electing five women to office. The successful candidates were Miss Florence Cleaver, city clerk; Mrs. Lillian Dorrington Fisher, member of school board; Mrs. Oliver Miller Custer, member of school board; Mrs. Hattie Crow Manger, member of council, and Miss Grace Reavis, city treasurer. The Falls City News says editorially:

"While the women of Falls City are naturally elated over the success of the ticket they sponsored, yet there is no evidence that they have lost their heads in the matter, or are inclined to assume the attitude of arrogance sometimes displayed by men when their efforts have met with success.

"Every citizen feels that we are entering into a new era of city affairs, and we can surely term it 'A reconstruction period for Falls City.' So let us not fall short of these expectations but make this a historical year for Falls City."

THE Woman Citizen

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The League of Women Voters

What Are the League's Aims?

THE *First Aim* of the League of Women Voters is naturally to complete the full enfranchisement of the women of this country. In several states where the Legislatures stand ready to ratify and where the entire delegation in Congress is willing at all times to support the passage of the Federal Amendment, there is comparatively little for the League of Women Voters to do upon the direct suffrage program. In such states, the proposed new work may be undertaken at once.

The *Second Aim* of the League of Women Voters is the support of a program of legislation which aims to improve the American electorate and consequently our entire political system of government. The preparations for war revealed the fact that an appalling proportion of the electorate is illiterate. Because of this the preparations for war among the drafted men and in civilian work throughout the country were tremendously handicapped. To clear our country from the menace which inevitably threatens a democracy, including so large an ignorant vote, is one of the aims of the League of Women Voters. The direction of this work has been placed under the first of eight committees authorized by the League of Women Voters and is known as the *Committee on American Citizenship*. The following constitutes its program:

1. Compulsory education in every state for all children between six and sixteen, nine months of each year.
2. Education of adults by extension classes of the public schools.
3. English made the national language by making it compulsory in all public and private schools where courses in general education are conducted.
4. Higher qualifications for citizenship and more sympathetic and impressive ceremonials for naturalization.
5. Direct citizenship for women, not citizenship through marriage, as a qualification for the vote.
6. Naturalization for married women to be made possible.
7. Compulsory publication in foreign language newspapers of lessons in citizenship.
8. Schools of citizenship in conjunction with the public schools, a certificate from such schools to be a qualification for naturalization and for the vote.
9. An oath of allegiance to the United States for every native and foreign born to be a qualification for the vote.
10. An educational qualification for the vote in all states after a definite date to be determined.

The *Third Aim* recognizes the necessity for protecting the health of women in industry and insuring right conditions under which they work. This recognition has led to the establishment of a second committee to be known as the *Committee for the Protection of Women in Industry*. The following program of general principles for this committee has been adopted:

1. Abolition of child labor and compulsory education of all children to the age 6 to 16 years.
2. Eight-hour day and 44-hour week and a weekly day of rest.
3. Abolition of night work for women and minors.
4. The establishment of minimum wage commissions in every state, with representation of employers and employees and both men and women commissioners.
5. Equal pay for equal work and wages based on occupations and not upon sex.
6. Rights of workers to organize and to bargain collectively through their chosen representatives.
7. The establishment of state and federal employment systems and the establishment upon a permanent basis of the Women-in-Industry Service of the United States Department of Labor.

By Carrie Chapman Catt
and Jane M. Brooks

*Continuing the catechism begun in the
last issue of the Woman Citizen*

It is further recommended that in every State Department of Labor there be appointed men and women commissioners, and in every State Department of Labor there be also established women's bureaus for the protection and welfare of women workers.

8. Adequate appropriation and inspection force in each state department of labor, and a special bureau of women in industry in each.

9. Inclusion of women as duly constituted members of any National or International Labor Commission.

The total number of committees authorized by the League of Women Voters, as said before, was eight. No program of legislation was adopted under any of these committees with the exception of that on American Citizenship and on the Protection of Women in Industry as above given. The eight committees are:

1. American Citizenship.
2. Protection of Women in Industry.
3. Child Welfare.
4. Social Hygiene.
5. Improvements in Election Laws and Methods.
6. Study of Food Problems.
7. Unification of Laws Concerning Women.
8. Research.

These committees composed of expert students and workers will investigate, educate and prepare work for the next annual meeting (February, 1920), at which time each will present a legislative program which will be adopted, amended or rejected by the League of Women Voters.

How Will the Work Be Done?

The work divides itself, naturally, into three parts:

RESEARCH: Which has been placed under the Data Department of the National American Woman Suffrage Association with Mrs. Mary Sumner Boyd as chairman. All the information available concerning the status of the subject treated by each committee will be collected by this Department. Existing laws, testimony as to the operation of those laws, their strength and their weaknesses, success and failure, will be the facts collected. A code of laws will be formulated which will include the program for the improvement of American citizenship and protection to women in industry, together with such other recommendations arising out of the investigations of the additional committees as may be adopted eventually by the League of Women Voters. To each State League of Women Voters will then be assigned the legislation necessary to bring its state's code of laws up to the standard.

EDUCATION: As rapidly as possible, information will be furnished concerning these subjects and the results of investigation. Clubs of every variety, forums, churches, social centers, settlements and every group with a "ready-made audience" should be urged to make place upon their programs during the coming year for a presentation of the needs of study and action under each of the departments.

ORGANIZATION: The League of Women Voters in St. Louis elected chairman for some of the eight national committees and arranged for the appointment of the remainder. Each State League of Women Voters and the suffrage associations in the presidential suffrage states are requested to appoint a member for each committee from their state who possesses expert knowledge and keen interest in the subject of the committee on which she is to serve. All national committees will consist of a chairman and eventually forty-eight members, each of the forty-eight

members being the chairman of the same committee in her own state. The state committees will collect data and co-operate with the national committee in the plan of securing full and complete information concerning that state for the entire nation.

Through each of the national committees, in co-operation with the state committees, programs for education should be presented to groups of people willing to study and investigate, and thus, by continual activity, interest in the need of legislation should be stirred in every community.

From the presentation of the several committees, such additional subjects of legislation as may be agreed upon by the League of Women Voters will be adopted, and thus a code of laws will be evolved dealing with the main demands created by existing problems.

When the National League of Women Voters has adopted its code of proposed laws, it will assign to all states their program of legislation, whereupon the state Leagues of Women Voters may accept, amend or reject it. A Legislative Committee for each state must be formed to take up the program agreed upon and attempt to secure its passage by the state Legislature. A federal committee will also be needed, as some forms of legislation are national in character.

What About Non-Partisanship?

THE League of Women Voters is pledged to non-partisanship, and this expression has, curiously, aroused some antagonism from party workers who have failed to comprehend the meaning of the word. The League of Women Voters is also non-sectarian, but that would not be interpreted as meaning that none of its members could join the church of her choice; just so non-partisan does not mean that the members of the League are to be denied the freedom to join the party of their choice.

The League of Women Voters, being a section of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, like all its auxiliaries, must agree to the constitution and rules of that association. The following resolution was passed at the recent convention held in St. Louis, for the purpose of defining the term "non-partisan":

"Resolved, that the National American Woman Suffrage Association shall not affiliate with any political party, nor endorse the platform of any party nor support or oppose any political candidates unless such action shall be recommended by the Board of Directors in order to achieve the ends and purposes of this organization as set forth in the Constitution. Nothing in this resolution shall be construed to limit the liberty of action of any member or officer of this association to join or serve the party of her choice in any capacity whatsoever as an individual."

Is the League "Going Into Politics?"

It is not the intention of the League of Women Voters, as such, to take part in elections, to endorse or oppose candidates or parties. It is believed that such action will never be necessary. While some may consider a portion of the program controversial, it is as a whole so obviously necessary that all political parties and all patriotic citizens should willingly rally to its support. The very fact that the League, however, is composed of voters, gives to it the same authority and influence which in times past attached to the names of men, as distinguished from those of women, when signed to petitions or letters appealing for political action.

Why Not Leave These Questions to the Political Parties?

Political parties in this and all other countries are necessarily forced to adapt their platforms to an appeal for votes, and in consequence they are rendered conservative and slow-moving. An outside group, non-partisan, unpartisan and all partisan, will be able to agitate and educate, without fear or favor, on behalf of the needed changes in our fundamental system, and when the sentiment has grown sufficiently strong in expression to warrant

it, it is hoped and believed that all political parties will adopt the program of the League of Women Voters as their own.

When Will the League Complete Its Work?

IT is earnestly believed that the League of Women Voters will have secured the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment and the enactment into law of the greater part of its proposed code of laws within the coming five years. The League of Women Voters, which at that time will have supplanted the National American Woman Suffrage Association, may then consider whether or not its work is completed. Many of its proposals will have been written into law or adopted by other agencies, and it is quite possible that it will disband with the gratifying conviction that it has accomplished its purpose.

Why Are Suffragists Interested?

There is no class of people in this country who have been forced to learn as completely as have suffragists the dangers arising from an ignorant electorate. They have seen their suffrage amendments voted down and counted out through the influence of men who did not know how to read their ballots. They have seen men flippantly boast of their control over an election through the control of these illiterate votes. They have seen intelligent, educated men grow conservative and reactionary because they were unable to find the means of counteracting the perpetual influence of ignorance in American politics and who, therefore, have arrived at the conviction that the whole country is "going to the dogs anyway." What has been true of the suffrage struggle is true every year of the contest between political parties, and will be true in the years to come of every issue that goes to an ignorant electorate. Propaganda during the war, propaganda of so incredible a character as to seem utterly impossible of attention, found ready hearers and consequent action among these classes. Suffragists know that this condition is a perpetual menace to the safety of this country; therefore, it is suffragists who must take up the burden, at whatever cost, to eliminate the menace before disaster falls. A country redeemed from ignorance; an electorate which speaks English, reads its own ballots and honors the American flag—these are our slogans.

Needless Alarm

"SOME of the journalistic exponents and apologists of personal liberty, prostitution, patent medicine, and oceans of liquor, express apprehension that the members of the National Woman Suffrage Association are about to degenerate into a 'bossed political party.'"

"They derive their fears from the fact that the Association's recent convention endorsed the organization of a national voters' league. The proposed scheme provides that this League shall not affiliate with any other political organization, or support any other, without the recommendation of its board of directors. This, it seems, is a dreadful device to destroy liberty of action among the ladies who vote, and make them vassals of the bosses in their board of directors."

"It may all be true, though we doubt it. We never saw a bevy of ladies that could be lined up like convicts and misled in flocks like sheep, by other ladies. But look at the average crowd of gentlemen, when other gentlemen are working on them, and that is what you will see almost every time."

"If the worst, indeed, shall come to pass, however, and the women of the country actually sink themselves beneath a political bossdom whose bosses take their example from the men, even that will not present the terrifying picture to the healthy mind that some have conjured out of their dread. We don't imagine the women as bosses would do worse here in New Orleans and Louisiana than the men as bosses have done. The same could apply to the other cities and states we know."

"The women might in many ways do vastly better."—New Orleans, Louisiana, *Item*.

With the W. O. H. at Nancy

"TWO Godfathers, please, both Catholics, and wanted at once."

This was the S. O. S. call that the Women's Oversea Hospitals, U. S. A., stationed at Nancy, sent over the telephone to the American provost marshal, also at Nancy.

"Anything to oblige," came back the answer as soon as the marshal's office had caught its breath. And two strapping M. P.'s obliged. This is an incident told by Miss Leslie Cameron, nurse in the Jeanne d'Arc Hospital at Nancy, one of the hospitals supported by American suffragists, in a recent letter to N. A. W. S. A. headquarters.

At the head of all the work of the hospitals in Lorraine is Dr. Marie Louise Lefort, a New York woman. Dr. Marie Formad of Philadelphia, who was director of the refugee hospital at Labouheyre—another unit of the Women's Oversea Hospitals—was called to Nancy after the armistice to do surgical work among the repatriated who were pouring back from Germany into France, through Lorraine.

Miss Mary Quain, another young New York woman, has made a remarkable record as head of the children's ward.

Miss Cameron's latest report of the work done by the Women's Oversea Hospitals in Nancy tells of the close of its special service there to the women and children victims of German invasion. It reads:

"The time of closing our small hospital is fast approaching, and while we all see the wisdom of leaving this field to the now demobilized French doctors, we feel genuine regret in turning from the past few months of successful activity to needy but untried centers further north.

"Statistics do not prove or deny success, but they support claims to it. In the three months since the opening of the hospital, January 5, 280 patients have been cared for. Twenty-three major operations performed by Doctor Formad have been successful. Seventy-two minor operations have made rapid and complete recoveries, and 180 medical cases have been cured or are on the highway to cure. Seventeen French babies have been helped into the world, 13 boys and 4 girls.

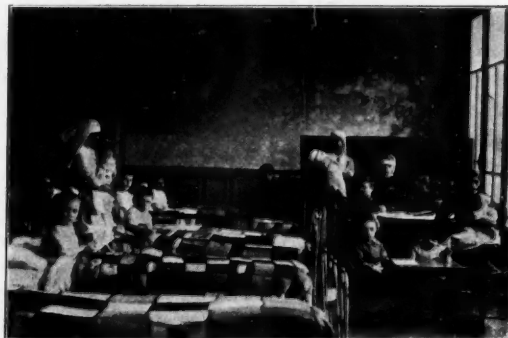
"But partly because our hospital stands for far more than a certain number of patients received and discharged, we wish it were possible for you American suffragists to visit it before we turn the lock in the front door for the last time, and give the key to its owner. Won't you make an imaginary trip to Nancy with the one purpose of seeing the Jeanne d'Arc hospital?

"You will be interested on leaving the train in noting the damage German bombs did in the vicinity of the railroad. Freight houses, public buildings and residences show shattered walls or stand like hollowed shells; 7 Rue Emile Galle is only a short distance from the station and is one of a row of typical French

*Showing the spirit which is France
and the readiness for service which is
America.*



MISS QUAIN AND HER BABIES



IN THE CHILDREN'S WARD

houses, rather larger than those adjoining, and having on its iron picket fence a sign reading 'Institution de Jeune-Filles'; but a newly painted message in the front window, 'Hôpital Jeanne d'Arc,' effectively contradicts the first.

"If she is not too busy, Suzanne, our awkward but intensely well-meaning second maid, will answer your ring, or possibly one of our office members will open the door for you. It will be most interesting, perhaps, to go to the very top of the house and visit each floor as we come down. In our commodious attic you see placed in assorted piles the shoes and clothing given us for distribution among the poverty-stricken patients of our hospital and clinics.

"The attic always recalls to some of us one wild Saturday morning when we awoke to find ourselves mobbed. Word had traveled all over Nancy and to near-by towns that the American hospital was giving away shoes free at ten o'clock. The inhabitants within a radius of fifteen kilometers desired shoes. The little matter of a card from the dispensary doctor or the prefect, stating the applicant's need, in most cases had been entirely overlooked. Shortly after eight o'clock a crowd filled our lower

hall. Gradually it packed our front steps and streamed up, down, and across the street. The hubbub of garrulous conversation could be heard for blocks. Several of us attempted to explain our card system, but the crowd only pushed closer, while faces hardened and voices grew guttural. The desire for shoes became visibly acute. Then Doctor Lefort forced her way out of the front door to the top step, and with the single-mindedness of a Roman orator recognizing a crisis, she burst into forensic speech and gesture. They understood. Under the spell of her fluent French and friendly personality they looked at each other with acquiescent comprehension. No cards—no shoes. Could any arrangement be more sweetly reasonable? And with cheerful optimism they melted away to secure cards.

"The maids sleep on this top floor. Jeanne, our rosy-cheeked cook, of marvelously sunny disposition and thrifty habits, was four years with the Boches, and her hatred of the Germans is intense. She is a treasure, and in her capacity has contributed as generously to the success of the hospital as any member of the unit. Suzanne, whose baby was with us for a short time to be built up by proper feeding and care, is conscientious and painstaking, while Juliet, the kitchen-maid, scrubs her kettles as if their cleanliness were the chief aim of existence.

"On the next floor below are the nurses' bedrooms and the maternity ward. Don't you want to look at some of those tiny squalling babies? We have had seventeen born here. Some of the mothers, suffering through poverty caused by the war, have been allowed to come to the hospital several weeks sooner than

would seem necessary, and have earned their board by assisting with the work of the wards. They have all appreciated this privilege and given full measure of work in return for a pleasant home and plenty of wholesome food.

"In the ward was held our one and only christening ceremony. Two mothers desired to have their babies baptized. Godmothers were readily secured; Miss Ford serving as one and Miss Quain as the other, and a soldier, known to one of the personnel, volunteered to be a godfather. It was necessary to find another man, unless the first was willing to godfather both children. Imagine the dismay of the household when this masculine volunteer telephoned on the morning of the ceremony that he could not be present. In the words of Omar Khayyam, 'there was much talk about it and about,' but not a man of suitable attainments could be suggested. The ceremonial hour approached, the priest came, the mothers held their infants ready, but not a single godfather applied for the privilege of sponsoring the babies. In desperation Miss Paquet flew to the telephone and after the usual French preliminaries succeeded in getting the office of the American provost marshal.

"'Have you,' she inquired with breathless curiosity, 'some Catholic men right there?'

"'Some what?' was the amazed return question.

"'Catholic men—godfathers—you see.' Then followed a rapid explanation, words tripping over each other and coming to a sudden halt with despairing statements, 'Everything is ready but we haven't a godfather—we're all women here.'

"Probably such a request never before interrupted a provost marshal's duties, but he was equal to the emergency. In an incredibly short time two stalwart M. P.'s presented themselves ready to take the vows of godfatherhood.

"Every Wednesday and Saturday evenings we receive American soldiers until 10.30, and our godfathers have become regular callers, showing, it must be confessed, as keen an interest in dancing and music as ever they have in their respective godchildren.

"Just a word about our 'at home' evenings. You surely would find it interesting to meet the boys, officers and privates, to whom these two evenings a week are sole opportunities for seeing 'home folks.' You might perhaps discover a young Greek professor and a New York fireman on the sofa in earnest discussion of Wilson's policies. In another corner a Newark policeman might be getting pointers on good fishing-bait from a Cleveland, Ohio, banker, and more than once in this room a Boston printer has listened with unaffected thrills to a San Francisco ex-wrestler's description of an exciting round.

"There are always more boys than girls, but the little Victrola works energetically and everybody who wants to usually has opportunity to dance.

"But to continue our inspection of the hospital. On the floor below we will find the surgical ward, the medical ward, an isolation room and diet kitchen. Too much appreciation of Doctor Formad's work cannot be expressed. More than one French woman will be able to contribute to her country's need a health and strength which she will owe entirely to Doctor Formad's



DR. MABEL SEAGRAVE

DR. SEAGRAVE, OF SEATTLE, WASHINGTON, HAS RETURNED FROM FRANCE WHERE SHE SERVED ON THE STAFF OF THE WOMEN'S OVERSEA HOSPITALS, U.S.A., THE HOSPITALS SUPPORTED BY AMERICAN SUFFRAGISTS. SHE IS THE WINNER OF THE FRENCH MEDAILLE D'HONNEUR FOR SERVICE UNDER THE FRENCH SERVICE DE SANTE.

Dr. Seagrave was sent first to the refugee hospital in Labouheyre, southern France, but after the armistice she went to Lorraine and became director of a hospital at Foug, just outside of Toul. This was a foundry town, in which there were about 3,000 children who, with their mothers, depended upon this hospital for medical care. Dr. Seagrave also ran a dispensary in Toul.

he was pitifully poor. A *Croix de Guerre* and a *Medaille Militaire* are noble possessions, but Charles was plainly in need of wholesome food and freedom from worry about supporting his wife and three-year-old child. So Doctor Lefort decided to try him as man of work about the hospital, terminating the arrangement if the tasks proved too hard for him. Charles may not be intellectually brilliant, but the same devotion to duty and the same courage in facing and overcoming difficulties which brought him military honors have won our respect, and have enabled him to perform satisfactorily the never-ending round of tasks which a house like this involves.

"If your visit is in the morning you will find much activity in the children's ward. Miss Quain is bathing, combing and admonishing seventeen little ones varying in ages from two months to twelve years. Probably their childish minds have never before encompassed the thought of so much soap and water, or their eyes beheld such generous supplies of good bread and milk and *confiture*. If it is after lunch time you will find them snuggled in bed, convalescents and all, taking or anyway pretending to take the nap daily insisted upon. In spite of the fact that these little folks are sick, they are happy, and when one thinks of the poverty of the wrecked homes most of them have left, it is small wonder that they are '*tres content*' in Miss Quain's energetic but gentle care.

"When the members of this unit look back on their days in the *Jeanne d'Arc* hospital, they will have a lively remembrance of the rush of work that marked its opening. On January 5 the prefect telephoned Doctor Lefort that refugees were being sent back from Germany and would pass through Nancy at the rate of eight or ten hundred a day. This exodus would continue for three or four weeks. Many of the travelers were ill. How many could our hospital take and when? Promptly Doctor Lefort answered, 'Fifty; tonight.' The wards were not quite ready for that number of patients, and we all bent our energies to bed-making—on the floor in one room—and in getting all supplies so that

(Continued on page 1052)

skill and personal interest in her welfare.

"Our medical ward has had some very, very ill patients. It may be, and most laymen certainly believe, that confidence in a physician helps much in overcoming physical ills. To speak casually of our patients' attitude toward our house physician is to speak lightly, and thus cheapen an unusual and beautiful spirit. The sick women and children may not understand all she says, but they know she wants to and can help them, and they like her, they trust her, and they recover. It is this faith in us and our work which gives life to whatever statistics we offer.

"Downstairs on the first floor are our physician's room, the office, dining-room, kitchen, and perhaps the most interesting place in the whole house—the children's ward.

"'Who is that carrying a hod of coal into the ward?' 'Why, that is Charles, our mutile.' When we first opened the hospital Charles begged our director for work. She looked at him rather doubtfully. The thumb and first finger are gone from his right hand, he has been wounded in the right shoulder, and nine months in a military hospital had left him still rather weak. But

State Suffrage News

THE closing of the legislative sessions of the spring of 1919 stresses a long list of presidential suffrage victories scored in the state Legislatures since January, 1919.

Indiana began it.

Iowa finished it for the time being.

Iowa is the twenty-ninth state in the Union to confer presidential suffrage on women (fifteen of these are full suffrage states and two are primary suffrage states). It is the twelfth state in which the right to vote for president has been bestowed by legislative grant. The others are Illinois (in 1913), Nebraska, North Dakota, Rhode Island (in 1917), Indiana, Maine, Minnesota, Vermont, Missouri, Wisconsin, Tennessee, Iowa (in 1919).

In each state the victorious legislative campaign was conducted by the state branch of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

Iowa became the twenty-ninth state to grant to its women the right to vote for president on April 19, when the House, by a record-breaking vote of 84 to 2, passed the bill eliminating sex distinctions from the qualifications required of voters in presidential elections. The bill was passed by the House during the closing hours of the session of the Legislature. The Senate had passed the same bill on April 4th by an equally overwhelming vote of 38 to 3.

It now goes to Governor W. L. Harding who, in his message to the Legislature early in January, recommended that the Legislature take some step to grant suffrage to the women, thus relieving insofar as possible the unjust state of affairs which disfranchised one-half of the people of the state.

IOWA'S act in joining the union of suffrage states leaves but two black spots on the suffrage map for the great territory west of the Mississippi River—Louisiana and New Mexico. It enfranchises more than 600,000 women, and adds thirteen electoral votes to those which will be cast for the next President by the suffrage states of the nation, making a total of 302 electoral votes from states where women have full or presidential suffrage. This does not include Vermont, where the right of the Governor to veto the presidential bill is under challenge. It increases the total number of women in the United States eligible to vote for president in 1920 to approximately 15,500,000, which is more than one-half of the total number of women of twenty-one years and over in the United States.

With this latest victory the suffrage states, full and presidential, will be represented in the next Congress by 56 Senators and 246 Representatives.

One of the contributing factors to the success of the Presidential Suffrage Bill was the ever increasing number of victories for similar bills in other states, particularly the victory in Missouri, which came the week prior to the vote in the Iowa House. The Missouri victory completed the white circle of states surrounding Iowa. Wisconsin and Minnesota had joined the list of presidential suffrage states a short time before, while Kansas, Illinois, South Dakota and Nebraska had been on the suffrage side for some time. It was only logical that Iowa should take its rightful place as a progressive state.

One of the features of the debate in the Senate on the morning the bill was first up for discussion was the reading of a letter from John T. Adams, vice-chairman of the National Republican Committee, by Senator Eugene Schaffter, the sponsor of the Presidential Suffrage Bill, in which Mr. Adams impressed upon the Republicans the political urgency of passing the measure. The importance of the Republican Party of Iowa standing in

line with the policies of the National Republican Party was a point brought out. Mr. Adams's letter is credited in political circles as having had considerable weight with the legislators.

Under the Iowa code as amended at the last session of the Legislature, the official ballot will appear in a new form, one change in the code providing for the removal of the names of the presidential electors from the ballot, in their place will appear the names of the candidates for president and vice-president of those parties placed on the ballot. The Presidential Suffrage Bill requires that at any election held for the election of presidential electors, a separate ballot shall be provided for the women, which shall be counted the same as other ballots cast at the election, the ballot for women being substantially in the following form:

Republican For President	Democratic For President	Prohibition For President	Union Labor For President
..... of Ohio	 of Virginia	 of Maine	 of Idaho
For Vice-President	For Vice-President	For Vice-President	For Vice-President
..... of New York	 of Indiana	 of Illinois	 of Ohio

The bill further provides that in elections for president, vice-president and presidential electors, women shall be required to register, and that separate ballot boxes shall not be used for women at such elections.

THE Iowa campaign was carried forward quietly and efficiently. Miss Anna B. Lawther of Dubuque, the efficient president of the Iowa Equal Suffrage Association, and Mrs. Frank W. Dodson, recording secretary of the State Suffrage Association, and chairman of the Legislative Committee, have been at the helm. Mrs. Dodson devoted her entire time to the campaign, bringing to bear her years of practical experience in politics gained while County Recorder of Polk County.

Members of the official staff of the state suffrage association have co-operated with the president and legislative chairman during these months that have been so full of activity. Mrs. James A. Devitt, of Oskaloosa, vice president has been one of the active workers and Mrs. Fred B. Crowley of Des Moines, corresponding secretary, has given faithful and effective service both at legislative headquarters and at the state capitol.

Suffrage was a prominent issue throughout the session of the 38th General Assembly. A primary suffrage bill, which was sponsored by the Iowa Equal Suffrage Association, was the first to come before the Legislature. The House gave an overwhelming vote of 85 to 15 on this measure. By the manipulation of certain Senators, a resolution providing for a referendum for full suffrage was substituted in the calendar for the primary bill, thus bringing about the indefinite postponement of the primary bill, which was practically its defeat. The referendum bill passed both houses practically without opposition, but has to pass a consecutive Legislature before it can go to the people. Senator Addison Parker of Polk County, in a short and eloquent address exposed the camouflage and insincerity of the Senators who accomplished the defeat of the primary measure.

"Primary suffrage, in a state like Iowa, is practically as valuable as full suffrage," says Mrs. Dodson, in a letter just issued to County Chairmen. "It might easily have determined the balance of power in the next governorship fight in the state. The bill passed the House, but in the Senate we ran into the political machine we expected to and met defeat." In the same letter Mrs. Dodson, after paying tribute to the Senators and Representatives who stood by the suffragists in their campaign, says, "The Presidential Suffrage Bill, which has now become a law, will permit the women of Iowa, over twenty-one years of age, to

vote for president and vice-president of the United States in the 1920 campaign. It is important because of this, and it is important because it is the entering wedge which will soon, very soon, open wide the door to the women of the state, to full participation in governmental affairs of both state and nation.

"And now we face our responsibilities, Justice is ideal, but the enforcement of law is practical, and it is for you and me and every other woman, in the state, to realize, and realize quickly, that a responsibility has been placed upon our shoulders, and that we must rise to the occasion, else this century-long struggle has been in vain.

"We are voters now, and we must vote. Not 10 per cent. of us, as men sometimes do, but as nearly as possible, 100 per cent. of the women of the state ought to vote in the next national campaign. Will you begin to discuss this matter in any and all groups of women in your community? Will you come, and urge other women to come, to our next annual convention, in the autumn, which will be different from and bigger and better than any convention we have held up to this time."

Members of the Legislative Committee of the State Suffrage Association included Miss Lawther, state president; Mrs. Dodson, chairman; Mrs. James B. Devitt of Oskaloosa, vice-president of the I. E. S. A.; Mrs. Fred B. Crowley, Des Moines, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Earl Linn and Miss Annabelle Wallace of Des Moines, and Mrs. H. W. Spaulding, Grinnell.

Court of Inquiry

A "COURT OF INQUIRY" is to be held at New Orleans some time this month to look thoroughly into the question, "Why Are Louisiana Women Not Voting?" The inquest will be conducted by the Woman Suffrage Party, of which Mrs. Lydia Wickliffe Holmes is chairman. Prominent political leaders and suffragists from all parts of the state will be present at the affair, which will take the form of a dinner-dance at the yacht club. Plans for the approaching event were made at a recent meeting of the state suffrage board at New Orleans at which time Mrs. Adolph Rocquet gave an account of the Golden Jubilee convention at St. Louis.

"Louisiana cannot afford to be left out of the councils of the states that have gained the franchise," says Mrs. Holmes, who has recently spent some time in New Orleans in the interest of organization work.

Will Form Men's League

THE North Carolina Equal Suffrage League will soon have an Advisory Board composed of 150 North Carolina men who are advocates of votes for women. Plans for forming this Advisory Board were made at a conference of state officers held recently at Raleigh. It was also decided to engage in an aggressive campaign for suffrage during the next two years. Miss Gertrude Weil, state president, presided at the conference.

To Work for Victory Loan

THE annual meeting of the Arkansas Equal Suffrage Central Committee announced for April 29th at Ft. Smith has been postponed in order that the suffragists might devote their entire time to boosting the Victory Loan. A number of the suffrage chairmen are also Loan chairmen. "We urge all suffragists to devote themselves to work on behalf of the loan," said Mrs. T. T. Cotnam, state suffrage chairman. "Let no woman hesitate to do her full duty to the loan at this time."

Suffrage Victories in 1919 Legislatures

State	House Vote	Senate Vote	Signed by Gov.
1. Indiana ...	90—3, Jan. 24	44—3, Feb. 5	February 6
2. Wisconsin .	80—8, Feb. 7	28—4, Feb. 12	March 1
3. Minnesota .	103—24, Mch. 5	49—11, Mch. 21	March 24
4. Maine	85—54, Mch. 19	22—5, Mch. 11	March 28
5. Missouri ..	118—2, Apr. 4	21—12, Mch. 28	April 5
6. *Tennessee .	54—32, Apr. 4	17—14, Apr. 14	April 17
7. Iowa	84—2, Apr. 19	38—3, Apr. 4	
8. **Vermont...	120—90, Feb. 6	20—10, Jan. 29	

* Tennessee Legislature also granted state-wide municipal suffrage.
** Vetted by Governor February 20—passed over Governor's veto by Senate March 19—House sustained veto March 22. Governor's right to veto under challenge.

NUMERICAL GAINS FOR SUFFRAGE IN 1919

State	Women 21 years and over	Electoral vote	Area in Square Miles
1. Indiana	800,484	15	36,654
2. Iowa	603,644	13	56,147
3. Maine	234,765	6	33,040
4. Minnesota	558,528	12	83,365
5. Missouri	931,998	18	69,420
6. Tennessee	564,104	12	42,000
7. Wisconsin	653,936	13	54,450
	4,347,459	89	375,076
If Vermont is added			
8. Vermont	128,328	4	9,564
	4,475,787	93	384,640
Gains prior to 1919	11,016,964	213	928,721
Making a Grand Total including Vermont) of	15,492,751	306	2,313,361

Pennsylvania Convention

THE Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Association resolved "to resume with double vigor the work for which it was organized" when in annual session at Philadelphia at the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel recently. Citing the fact that suffragists had been devoting their services to war work during the period of the war the association expressed its determination to take up the work for suffrage now in a way to promise immediate results.

The convention unanimously endorsed the resolution urging that the Congress of the United States and all the citizens thereof act in concert to have the Federal Suffrage Amendment passed at the next session and ratified by the Legislatures of the various states. The convention also called upon Senators Penrose and Knox to support the measure.

Calling attention to the difference in policy between the National American Woman Suffrage Association of which the Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Association is a branch, and the National Woman's Party, it was resolved that "no woman hold-

(Continued on page 1052)



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First Equal Pay Law

TO the "Lady from Ravalli," Maggie Smith Hathaway, Montana legislator, belongs the credit for having this year introduced into a Legislature distinctly unfavorable to labor, and having pushed through to success, the first equal pay law in the United States.*

Mrs. Hathaway spoke for her bill in the House, where the opposition was not so bitter as in the Senate. She spoke also before the Senate Committee, and she placed on each Senator's desk a typewritten statement, on behalf of the bill.

"A woman who does the same amount of work as a man should have the same pay";

"Quality and quantity of work, not sex, should be the basis of compensation";

"Low-paid woman labor competes unfairly with men's labor";

"Women teachers in Montana earn for like work from \$126 to \$376 less than men."

These are some of the arguments that put the case to the Senators when the bill was introduced. When it was to be voted on another paper appeared on their desks, telling who or what organizations stood for equal pay, what companies were observing this rule and how it worked in practice. These silent arguments worked, but the margin was narrow. The Legislature was preponderantly Republican, and if it had not been for two members of the minority party, the bill would not have passed. These men are Senator Burla, who made a splendid plea for justice to women workers, and Lieutenant Governor McDowell, who, when the count showed a tie vote, as president of the Senate cast the deciding vote in favor.

An amusing episode in the opposition was the determined but misdirected effort to use this bill as a means of keeping the married woman out of industry.

"One Senator," writes Mrs. Hathaway, "a lawyer, amended it by the following added to Sec. 1: 'Provided, the provisions of this Act shall not apply to married women or girls under eighteen years whose husbands or fathers are financially able to support them,' and told the members of the Senate that he wished to cut out the employment of married women, that single women should have a chance, etc.; they nodded their heads and voted with him with few, *very few* exceptions, never realizing that the amendment swung wide open the door of industry for the married woman, because employers could pay them as they pleased. Of course, they did not have a copy on their desks, so did not know that *as worded and punctuated it would apply only to married women under 18*. One Senator came to me and suggested that a joint committee be appointed. Being a good friend of the Speaker and the President of the Senate, I suggested the names of men I wished appointed; the committee met and agreed to recede from the amendment. The proposer of the amendment said he would offer another on the floor that *would* cut out married women. Then was when my knowledge of parliamentary law as followed in our Legislature served me a good turn. I discussed the matter with our Lieutenant-Governor, who is a splendid parliamentarian, and called his attention to the fact that it was only a question as to whether the Senate should recede or not recede and that no other amendment could be offered. Some one told our opponent that Mrs. Hathaway had a man ready to raise a point of order which the chair would sustain. So instead of trying to amend further, he tried to kill the bill, but didn't succeed."

* See also the equal pay regulations of the Washington Industrial Welfare Commission, on page 823, second column, of the *Woman Citizen* of March 1, 1919.

Dr. Yarros on Social Hygiene

THE discussion on Social Hygiene was an interesting feature of the recent National Suffrage Convention at St. Louis. Among many good addresses, one of the best was by Dr. Rachelle Yarros of Chicago. She said, in part:

"In dealing with this subject it is essential that we should face facts more openly and sanely, and that we should have better co-operation from men.

"Before the war, women were chiefly active in preaching a single standard of morals. This is the psychological time for us to press that idea. Men are now ready to work with us. The war has taught us a great deal, though it has been a costly lesson. It has shown that these troubles can be largely prevented. The government has asked us to finish the fight on venereal diseases.

"What shall we do to protect our boys?" The military authorities taught them that chastity is wholesome. They also established splendid dispensaries and clinics; and our boys are coming home now with better knowledge than ever before. But it was found that out of every six soldiers affected with these troubles, only one had contracted them in the army; the five others had contracted them in civil life. Preventive medicine is now the watch word; and here is where women can help very much. Women as well as men need education on this subject. The woman must realize that in regard to this temptation the man is the weaker, and she must protect him. One way to do it is to teach our young people the proper attitude toward life and sex. Let us see that we continue the education begun during the war. It should now be under the department of public health. This gives it the proper backing and the proper setting.

"We have let these troubles go untreated. Every town should have proper facilities for treatment; but the educational work is still more important.

"You will be told everywhere that the reason why the campaign against venereal disease in the American Army was so successful was because of the prophylactic treatment; but England, France and Italy used that, and look at their high disease records! It was the educational work done with the American Army that made the difference.

"In war-time we stand all sorts of high-handed things that would not be tolerated in time of peace. We have allowed girls to be picked up and forcibly examined and detained, because we felt that it was necessary to keep our boys fit. The danger is that this will now be continued. The detention of prostitutes is absolutely useless; and there is danger that the authorities in their campaign against venereal diseases, will put all the blame and trouble on the women's shoulders, and let the men go free."

OUT of 95 babies born during two months in a maternity home in Poland, only one survived. The other 94 mothers were too badly starved to be able to give their children vitality enough even for a start in life. And a like state of famine is reported as prevailing throughout a large part of Europe.

If women had been members of the Peace Conference, it is possible that they would have proposed to feed the people first and settle the boundaries afterwards, instead of keeping up blockades against the importation of food while they wrangled for months over the question of frontiers.

Whether women are wanted in public life or not, they are certainly needed there.

A. S. B.

THE Colorado Equal Suffrage Association was hostess recently in honor of Senator Agnes L. Riddle, who was the only woman in the Colorado state Senate this year.

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With the W. O. H.

(Continued from page 1047)

they would be at hand for immediate use. That night French camions brought us a hospital full of sick women. We will not soon forget their pitiful condition. They had traveled in box cars, with straw for warmth, very little food, and most of them with the knowledge that the homes toward which they were journeying were heaps of debris, or, if standing, had been thoroughly looted. Many of them were helplessly ill, covered with vermin, and all of them, except those too sick to realize their wants, were pathetically hungry.

"One aide helped an old woman, eighty-three, into bed. She had pneumonia and her mind wandered. The aide followed a thin tense hand under the pillow and found it clutching a crust of mouldy bread. With a cry like that of a frightened animal the patient roused when she felt the bread being taken away, and though the aide tried to tell her she should have all the fresh bread she could eat, the poor soul only grasped it more feverishly and begged to be allowed to keep it. The aide of course did not worry her further, and just as she was turning from the bed the loyal peasant, patriotic to the last, half raised herself and whispered 'Vive la France!' Some of us have had the impression that this is a phrase of poetry and posters, but it is infinitely more than that, it is the constant and living expression of French nationalism, born of a spirit that Boche cannot weaken, starve or kill. If, as we turn away from our little hospital, we have any pride in our work, it will be because we, as Americans, have done our little to help a wonderful people hold high its torch of patriotic courage, a torch which has seldom wavered no matter how tired the lifting hands, and which brave hearts will never allow to fall."

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ELECTRICAL DECORATIONS & HOUSEHOLD CONVENIENCES

State News

(Continued from page 1049)

ing office in the National Woman's Party can hold office in the Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Association, or be eligible as a delegate to its conventions."

EXPRESSIONS of sympathy were extended to Mrs. Lewis L. Smith, vice-president of the state association, whose son was drowned in European waters while in the service of his country.

Mrs. J. Claude Bedford was Chairman of the Resolutions Committee.

Mrs. J. O. Miller of Pittsburg, President of the Pennsylvania suffragists, presided during the convention and in making her report recommended certain necessary changes in the constitution, and also that a budget of \$50,000 be raised to carry forward the work of 1919.

An address by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, on the status of the Federal Amendment and the newly formed League of Women Voters was one of the features of the convention.

Keen interest attached to the report of the Legislative Chairman, Mrs. Wm. Ward, Jr., of Chester, who discussed fully the status of the referendum bill then pending in the Legislature.

Since the convention, the bill has passed the House by a vote of 128 to 66, the vote having been taken on April 22nd. The Senate is still to act on the measure. It is necessary for a referendum bill to pass two Legislatures in Pennsylvania before going to the voters.

Some of the features of the program were the report of the Chairman of Finance, Miss Henrietta Baldy Lyon, and the report of the Treasurer, Mrs. Robert Mills Beach, both showing the excellent financial status of the association.

Mrs. George A. Piersol, recently elected a director of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, presented the report of the St. Louis convention. Mrs. Piersol also made the address of greeting to the delegates, following the address of welcome by the Hon. E. J. Cattell, city statistician of Philadelphia, who represented the mayor of that city.

Mr. John H. Mason, Chairman of the Victory Loan of that district, spoke on behalf of the Loan.

Mr. Kenneth L. M. Pray, Secretary of Public Charities, reported on legislative measures.

Dr. Martha Tracy, Dean of the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania, made a strong plea for preventive treatment, and Mrs. Bertha L. Papazian, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, spoke on the Armenian situation.

PRECEDING the convention a dinner was served in the rose garden in the hotel, covers being laid for 600 guests. The speakers of the evening were Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Mrs. Medill McCormick, Chairman of the National Republican Woman's Committee; Mrs. Richard Aldrich, of New York city, representing the Democratic women; Lieut.-Col. Frederick Palmer, war correspondent; Dr. Edward Parker Davis, of Philadelphia, and Mr. Gifford Pinchot.

Both Mrs. Catt and Mrs. McCormick expressed the belief during their addresses, that the Federal Amendment would be passed by this coming Congress.

More than \$25,000 was pledged for campaign work this coming year.

Women Will Not Fail

(Written exclusively for the Woman Citizen by the Liberty Loan Committee)

AN AGE-YELLOWED letter turns back the page of history almost a century and a half. Were it not for the faded ink and a certain quaintness of expression, it might have been written today. It reads:

"Sir—The subscription set on foot by the ladies of this city for the use of the soldiery is so far completed as to induce me to transmit to your Excellency an account of the money I have received and which, although it has answered our expectations, it does not equal our wishes; but, I am persuaded, will be received as a proof of our zeal for the great cause of America and our esteem and gratitude for those who so bravely defend it.

"The amount of the subscription is 200,580 dollars, and 625 pounds, 6 shillings and 8 pence in specie, which makes in the whole in paper money, 300,634 dollars.

"The ladies are anxious for the soldiers to receive the benefit of it and wait your directions how it can best be disposed of. We expect some considerable additions from the country and have also written to the other States in hopes the ladies there will adopt similar plans to render it more general and useful.

"With the utmost pleasure, I offer any farther attention and care in my power to complete the execution of the design and shall be happy to accomplish it, agreeable to the intention of the donors and your wishes on the subject.

"The ladies of my family join me in their respectful compliments and sincerest prayer for your health, safety and success.

"I have the honor to be, with the highest respect,

"Your obedient, humble servant,

"E. REED."

THE date is July 4th, 1780, and the letter was written to General George Washington by Mrs. Esther Reed, of Philadelphia.

Washington replied to it, expressing his thanks to her and asking that she alter her design of giving each soldier "two dollars in hard money," (meaning coin), and, instead, spend it to buy his men shirts, of which they were grievously in need. To which suggestion Mrs. Reed acquiesced, and no doubt the shirts were promptly delivered. Three hundred thousand dollars was a notable sum at that time, for the country was poor.

American women have never failed to do more than their share, as they have in the present war, whether nursing the wounded, or driving ambulances, or serving here at home. The same spirit that moved Esther Reed has carried the women of today to their splendid record in our four Liberty Loans, for which they have made sacrifices and to which they have given themselves unsparingly. The Victory Liberty Loan, which means among other things that no more men will be killed, will call to them—they will not fail.

A Correction

SEVERAL words were dropped out in the article in last week's *Woman Citizen* commenting upon Dr. Ulrich's defence of the present policy in dealing with women accused of sex offences. It was made to read: "Dr. Ulrich says the system which the Federal Government is trying to introduce is not the Napoleonic system in part." It should have read: "Dr. Ulrich says the system which the Federal Government is trying to introduce is not the Napoleonic system. It is the Napoleonic system in part."

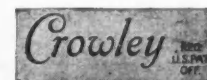
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Correspondence

Women Voters and Party Politics

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

MRS. CATT'S answer to the resolutions passed by the Woman's Republican Club of New York, couched in her usual forcible phrase, hits the issue hard. Yet, I think we must now face the consequence of the enrolment of women under the great political parties for campaign work. The individual voter conserves the right of choice on any party issues; but the committee women and members of a political organization must, of necessity, come under the yoke of leadership. They must stand by their colors—otherwise as

political organizers they stultify their purpose. The Women's Republican Club of New York and the Women's Democratic Club, as well, are part and parcel of their respective parties and can only justify their existence by backing the organizations with which they are affiliated.

The foregoing facts being obvious, it follows that if women suffragists intend to retain their political independence—if, for instance, they wish to oppose at the polls the enemies of their cause—they cannot line up with anybody! Certainly it must be admitted that no "Republican" club can enter actively into a campaign against men like Wadsworth or Penrose and no "Democratic" club can take up arms against Reed or Smith of South Carolina. That these are the horns of a dilemma, we may as well admit. In the growing complexity of the situation, surely suffragists are not going to hedge! Your correspondent (April 17) who deprecates the reelection of Senator Borah of Idaho may be a Republican, but the Idaho machine would not rank her as such.

The non-partisan plank of the League of Women Voters leaves all members free to vote as they choose; but if, as an organization, it does not intend to campaign for woman suffrage, independent of party affiliations, on the great issue, it will be ineffectual except in the field of educational propaganda and "indirect influence."

Personally, I had hoped that the mission of the new League of Women Voters might be to develop what I believe would be the most important asset of reformed politics, namely the independent ballot. If women voters are going to assume the yoke of any party before the enfranchisement of all American women is accomplished, "where are we at?" Are we, or are we not, going to organize to put over some of the things we want? Are we, or are we not, going to train women for independent thought and action on vital issues? If not, then the traditions of pioneers in this Great Cause were based on a Utopian dream, for the influence of women will not be felt in the determination of public policy.

Philadelphia. E. M. HEISTAND-MOORE.

From Holland

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

IN Holland since September, 1918, we have a conservative and somewhat reactionary Government. Still the November wave has swept over the country and the fear of a possible revolution, even in our calm Holland, has inspired our Cabinet with an order for reform that caused the Queen to issue a proclamation full of promised reforms, which, she said, were

to be put into execution with a promptness corresponding to the quick pulse of our time.

Among these reforms were the eight-hour day and votes for women. However, seeing that the Dutch people were not quite determined to have a revolution, our Government is not inclined to make haste and our Woman Suffrage Association is obliged to claim the fulfillment of the royal pledge.

On February the 5th the Woman Suffrage Association celebrated the jubilee of its 25 years of existence. Yet it has not yet had the joy of collecting the harvest of its work for the enfranchisement of women, as the vote is still denied us, although the Constitution has given us eligibility. So at present the Association claims the immediate passing of the Electoral Bill, that is to give votes to women.

Meanwhile the Minister of Labor is not going to remain inactive; not he; God has given him power that he may make the people happy and that he may be a glory to his party and his electors. He has found the means of achieving this without any cost to the Treasury and now proposes to prohibit women's work in shops and factories after one o'clock on Saturdays. In this way he protects the women and obliges the employer by furnishing him a pretext to pay his women employees less than the men, and he obliges the workmen, who have a chance of obtaining the women's job. This is indeed an inexpensive way of being a benefactor. The sufferers are only women, voteless women!

The only woman M. P., the Socialist deputy, Suse Gruene Weg, has opposed the Minister in the chamber by arguing that if limitation of working hours for all by closing the factories at one o'clock on Saturdays would be a blessing to the workers, this is not true for the proposed interdiction of work for a group of labourers, because these would be handicapped by such special limitation of their hours, while the work is going on.

MARTINA G. KRAMERS.

Apeldoorn, Holland.

Labor Standards

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

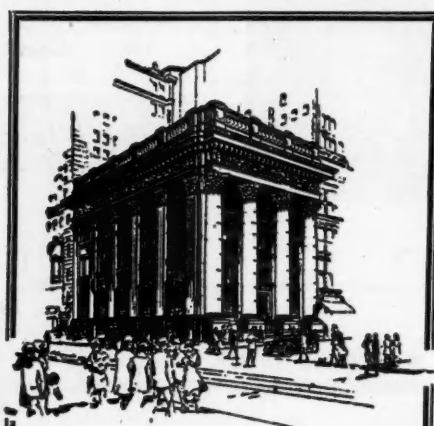
IN the issue of the *Woman Citizen* for April 19, I find the labor standards which are to be presented to the Peace Conference and among the items are two which interest me, the true meaning of which you will be able to tell me.

(1) No night work for women.

I, with many thousands of women of various professions and trades, would be unable to continue earning my living—does this include domestic servants, trained nurses, teachers in night schools, etc.?

(2) (Which should have been first.) Abolition of child labor. Does this mean that tenement house manufacturing would be abolished? And no longer the little children from 3 years to working-paper age will be allowed to earn some of their living.

New York City. ANNIE S. DANIEL, M. D.



YOU are quite likely to meet some of your friends in the Women's Room of The Columbia Trust Company. As you have probably heard, we are sometimes called the official Suffrage Bank.

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Women In Industry

What Work Is Injurious

THE subject of what work is injurious to a woman and when, is by no means closed, nor have we evidence as yet to assume that any work is too hard for women which their muscles are able to cope with. The vast majority of studies on this subject are entirely inconclusive. A British woman physician believes that we can not even say offhand that women should be dismissed from work a certain number of weeks before confinement.

In a recent paper, Dr. Mary A. S. Deacon, medical officer in a British shell-filling factory, whose paper is summarized in the *Women's Medical Journal*, gives it as her conclusion from experience "that for most women the arguments were in favor of their being kept on. Good feeling is in this way promoted between the employers and the employed, if the workers feel that the management is not ready to penalize them for natural physical disabilities, where all the trouble falls upon the women while the benefits accrue to the State. Such good feeling produces actually better work among all the other women employees. They help. And should there be any work naturally falling to a pregnant woman where a strain is put upon the abdominal muscles, they not only help, they attempt to supersede the weaker sister, and the output of the factory in the long run does not suffer. If the worker continues as long as is safe at her work, she saves more money for the time during which she will be laid by, and can thus afford to take a longer rest after confinement, which implies full opportunities for the breast-feeding of the infant. There is another point which must be borne in mind. Miscarriages are actually fewer in a factory where the conditions of pregnancy are known at an early date, and the worker is not tempted to take drugs or use other means to promote a miscarriage for fear of losing her work."

Hazardous Industries

A FEW months before the end of the war employers at Niagara Falls (N. Y.) applied to the Federal Government for permission to employ women at both day and night work in various hazardous industries, including manufacturing gases for chemical warfare, picric acid for explosives, wheels for tanks, carburendum products essential in the machine industries, storage batteries, graphite, electrodes, and a variety of chemicals, including chlorine, caustic soda, caustic potash, calcium carbide and other basic materials. In response to this request The Women in Industry Service of the United States Department of Labor formed a committee on hazardous occupations, which, in cooperation with the Public Health Service

made an investigation of conditions at Niagara, with a view to laying down safety standards for women workers and improving conditions in this group of plants in case the employment of women became imperative. Twenty-one plants were investigated, employing over 9,000 persons, including even at that time 700 women, most of them engaged in the abrasive plants, where a quantity of dust is thrown off. For this and the removal of gases and other dangers common to men and women known safeguards are obtainable and should, the report believes, be introduced.

One special hazard, which is greater for women than men is lead poisoning, as women who have suffered from this are more likely to be sterile or have miscarriages or still births. Except in the case of national emergency this work should, the report believes, be avoided by women.

In addition to lead poisoning, the report held that certain processes not involving poisons were more dangerous to women than to men. The lifting of heavy weights may affect the capacity for child bearing and certain postures may be more harmful for women than for men. The report does not attempt to standardize the lifting power of women, believing that the maximum of 25 pounds sometimes accepted is probably too heavy, especially where lifting is continuous.

With the above exceptions, all the findings of the report would apply equally well to men as to women workers.

"For the most part," says the report, "the other industrial poisons in plants in Niagara Falls have not been demonstrated to be more harmful to women than to men, except in the sense that the duties of women at home added to the work in a factory render them more liable to illness. Public opinion wisely insists, therefore, that women shall not be employed under conditions exposing them to such dangers. Public opinion should go farther and insist that all unnecessary risks should be eliminated for men."

Police Women

THE war ended with 286 police women under the Commission on Training Camp Activities, or rather 286 women trained to work with delinquent women and to protect young girls. Of these fifty-eight were on the War Department pay roll; seventy were paid by municipalities or counties and the rest by private organizations. The two cities appointing the largest number of women to work officially with women and girls are Indianapolis and Washington, D. C. Indianapolis appointed fourteen policewomen since the declaration of war; the District of Columbia has employed

ten policewomen since the declaration of war, San Antonio three, and many other cities one each.

As to the growth of the movement for permanent policewomen during the war there are as yet only scattering figures. There were at the beginning of war about 125 of these women in the United States; Chicago had forty, but New York and Washington, which now have 16 and 30 respectively, none. If these two cities are any indication, the custom of appointing regular policewomen has grown healthily during the war, side by side with the war practice of appointing the War Department's special policewomen to protect women and girls around camps. The Committee on Training Camp Activities expresses the hope that the 70 women on its force paid by public money will be retained permanently by municipalities now that war is over.

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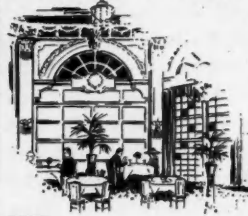


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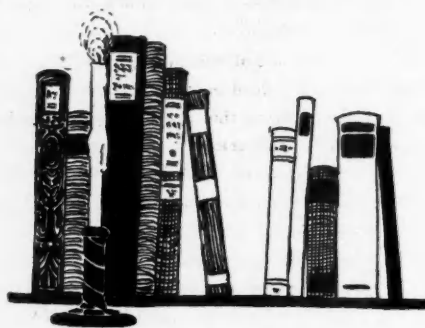
IN Henri Bordeaux's life of Georges Guynemer (Yale University Press) something new enters into literature. It is the story of the "Ace of Aces" written by a master of French fiction, one of the most nationalistic novelists of modern France. Bordeaux is a writer who breathes France in every line. He and René Bezin deliberately gave themselves to the aim of awakening France to a rebirth of intensely national life long before the war.

Consciously Henri Bordeaux's description of the most brilliant of the young French aviators emphasizes Guynemer's flaming love for his country, the zest with which he pursued the enemy like a bird of prey pouncing on his quarry, the great genius of this youth—little more than a child—his ardor, self-sacrifice and dauntless courage.

But because Bordeaux is a novelist, endowed with creative genius and the patient skill of a French maker of fiction, something else has crept into his biography. It is something that created itself as the artist worked—it is the subtle portrayal of the birdman as something winged and glorious, and just a little super-mortal.

One catches faint glimpses here of a swift

The Book Stall



and darting soul, conquering atmospheres, scaling heights, soaring upon errands and into worlds not yet dreamed of by those who still walk clumsily upon an established earth.

One thrills at the story of a youth like Guynemer whose few years blazed so glorious a trail, but one thrills still more at the realization that his was but a beginning and that atmospheres and stellar spaces are to become subject to man's determination.

An End of War Books

THE time is so soon coming when no one will take any interest in war books, that it is well to gather up those on our tables and give them a hurried glance before brushing them aside to make room for programs of reconstruction. Even at this early day all of them have gained new evaluation. Take, for example, Gertrude Atherton's "White Morning" (Stokes and Company, New York). What prediction of the war's meaning ever fell shorter? In it one sees hate meeting hate to end the war, one sex rising up to do violence to another. It was not a gracious picture. It never paralleled the real nature of woman, and yet it carried its thrill. In the black hour of strife even so terrible a remedy as that of German women roused to the point of turning guns on German soldiery seemed more righteous than a continuance of the senseless slaughter of millions.

But life is kinder than theories about life. Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg falling side by side; women and men voting together; these are better prophecies for the race than are sex hostilities.

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Decorated Nevertheless

"THE Diary of a German Soldier" (Alfred A. Knopf, New York) is in its way a harbinger of a new internationalism. It is published with a preface by a Frenchman who sees in it corroboration of specific charges brought against the Germans in their invasion of Belgium. But that is not all there is in it for the world at large. It is a curiously inarticulate commentary on militarism.

This German soldier, Feldwebel C., first sergeant of the 88th Infantry, 21st Division of the 18th German Army Corps, was a three-year volunteer. He was with the first invaders of Belgium, and his accounts of the drunken cruelty of many German soldiers are given quite frankly but with little of his own subjective reaction to the brutality of which he was the recording angel. He tells without apparent reluctance that there were cowardly German officers, inefficient orders and bad generalship, both on the Western front and in Galicia.

Sergeant Feldwebel was wounded, recovered, was wounded again and sent to the borders of Holland. He seems to have had the kind of honor that drove him to fulfill his three-years contract; but when, after his second wound, he reached the Dutch frontier, his laconic diary

suddenly stops. He had endured all that he could of brutalities from German officers to German men; of destruction, of violence and rapine, and he escaped over the border.

Over and over again, after reporting that some officer was "scared silly," or was horribly inefficient, Feldwebel ended his account with the dry announcement that the officer was "decorated nevertheless," or that "this conduct did not keep so-and-so from getting the Iron Cross."

The main effect of Feldwebel's story is to convince its readers that there was as much confusion, inexperience and inefficiency in Germany as in the countries whose military equipment was less vaunted.

Three Slices of War Life

"OUR First Half Million" (K. Fly Co., New York) will remain a book of some historic interest for future readers, because it gives an account of the methods by which the great civilian army of the United States was gathered together.

In this particular it ranks with Ian Hay's "First Hundred Thousand," although it is more business-like and detailed than is the work of the British novelist.

Another "slice-of-life" war picture is of medical work in Flanders, "Fields and Battlefields" (Robert McBride and Co., New York.) It is late in the day to read about Flanders fields and yet this story, with its details of devotion from gentle old French ladies to the British soldiers, is one to read gratefully.

It is one of those personal records of which the war has produced many, compounded of suffering, kindness, humor and heart-break.

It also shows an inter-racial commingling which must eventually make for a better understanding of international questions.

The Inarticulate British Patriot

PAST master in the art of dullness, Arnold Bennett can be whenever he leaves his native "five towns." His London stories show a world so hopelessly bourgeois as to give his readers a momentary excuse for the Bolsheviks. A world of Arnold Bennett's people would drive even Wall Street into joining the Red Guards.

The most inexcusable part of "The Roll Call" (George H. Doran Co., New York) is that it is written about George Edwin Cannon, child of vivid Hilda Lessways and step-child of thoughtful Edwin Clayhanger, and yet Cannon is neither vivid nor thoughtful, nor even interestingly otherwise.

When Clayhanger and Hilda come to London to see George—a dully successful architect with an under-bred wife—they appear like a *Punch* caricature of John Bull and Miss Britannia.

All of this dullness and drabness is painted in order to sharpen up the picture of George's answer to the roll-call of his country and of his going forth, a proverbially inarticulate British patriot, to die for England without making any fuss about it. That's the point Mr. Bennett dots on, the little fuss George makes about it.

But it's all so horribly artificial—so like a stage setting of provocative smoke-draw as a background for one thrillingly scarlet emotion! Nothing, thank goodness, is really so British as Mr. Bennett paints it.

Rider Haggard Etherealized

THOSE who have tender memories of "King Solomon's Mines," will scarcely recognize the present etherealized Rider Haggard of psychical research tendencies. "Love Eternal" (Longmans, Green & Co., New York) is an unhealthy story of spiritualistic seances and reincarnations. In it two lovers are compelled to re-enact the tragic history of a couple who lived their little hour of sorrow during the reign of the Plantagenets and then wished themselves on an innocent youth and maiden of the nineteenth century.

The reader has none too much patience with the dead knight and his lady for scrambling into re-existence with the selfish aim of doing their little one-act play over again. And there's no telling how many times they may have done it either, according to Mr. Haggard.

Ghosts like that are nothing but grafters and ought not to be encouraged by ethically-minded psychists. Having made a mess of their lives once they ought to quit and stay in their tombs until the Judgment Day. That would be real altruism, the real love eternal.

Foreign Fairies

IF one needs an excuse for fairy tales, here is a perfectly good collection to read to one's nearest juvenile relative. Druid Gayl's "Fairy Tales from Foreign Lands" (Longmans, Green & Co., New York agents for B. H. Blackwell, Oxford) is a lovely series, and Elsie Lunn's illustrations are wondrously sympathetic.

The stories are full of dragons and golden serpents and mystic gardens and submerged princesses. They are all quite new and fresh, not one seems to be even a variant of an old stand-by. One suspects the writer of having

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made them all up. Their foreign origin is as doubtful as is the too-suitable name of the author. But the stories are none the less readable if Druid Gayl is a pseudonym and its owner the real creator of all her "foreign" tales.

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Woman's Brain

The much discussed question as to whether a woman's brain is equal to that of man has been passed upon by Professor R. S. Woodworth, Professor of Psychology at Columbia University, who found that women students in the university match up to the army tests as well as the men.

On women in general outside of the college Professor Woodworth, quoted at length by the *New York Evening Post* says: "We do know that not so many girls as boys are diagnosed in the homes or in the schools as mentally deficient and sent to the clinics. This is believed to show that the male sex tended to vary more between the extremes. On the face of it, it looks as though more men than women were very able; and this has its opposite side also, namely, that this would tend to show that more men than women were very low grade. That has been called in question lately also.

"There is another possible explanation, namely, that girls are more sheltered, docile, and pleasing, as it were, than boys, and they are able therefore to 'get by' with less mentality than boys either in school or in industry. It is

certain, at any rate, that there are a large number of feeble-minded women at large in the population.

"Tests have shown quite a percentage of mental defectives among girls in domestic service.

"When we come to try the tests on our college students, we find both the male and female coming out pretty nearly alike. As I recall it, the men came out a trifle better than the women, but one must bear in mind the fact that the subjects were most of them men's specialities.

"Generally the girls come out better than the boys when they take mental tests in school, such as memory tests, those for quickness in the cancellation tests, those to denote quickness in picking out a detail or a number of details. In such cases, the average of a group of girls usually will surpass the average of a group of boys. This does not mean that the girls surpass the boys, every one of them individually surpassing every other member of the opposite sex under examination, but it would seem to mean that the middle point for the girls was a little higher than that for the boys."

Free Speech for Teachers

THE school teachers' unions of Washington, at a mass meeting, recently launched a fight against the Board of Education for free discussion of current topics in the public schools and for redress in the case of Miss Alice Wood, a high school teacher who was recently suspended by the Board because of her "handling of economic questions." Shortly after Miss Wood was suspended, the superintendent of schools issued an order to the high school teachers forbidding the discussion of the League of Nations, Bolshevism, or other controversial topics, and, according to the students, debates on the League of Nations, which had been scheduled, were cancelled without explanation.

The teachers at once took up the matter through their own unions, in cooperation with the Central Federated Union, the Women's Trade Union League and the Federal Employees Union.

Tolerance

I asked the wisest man: "What are the four most important things in the world?" He replied: "Character, Friendship, Marriage, Parenthood." I went to the Board of Education and asked: "Where can I be educated in the arts of character, friendship, marriage and parenthood?" And the B. of E. gasped and giggled: "My word, what a silly question!"—*Herbert N. Casson in Forbes Magazine.*

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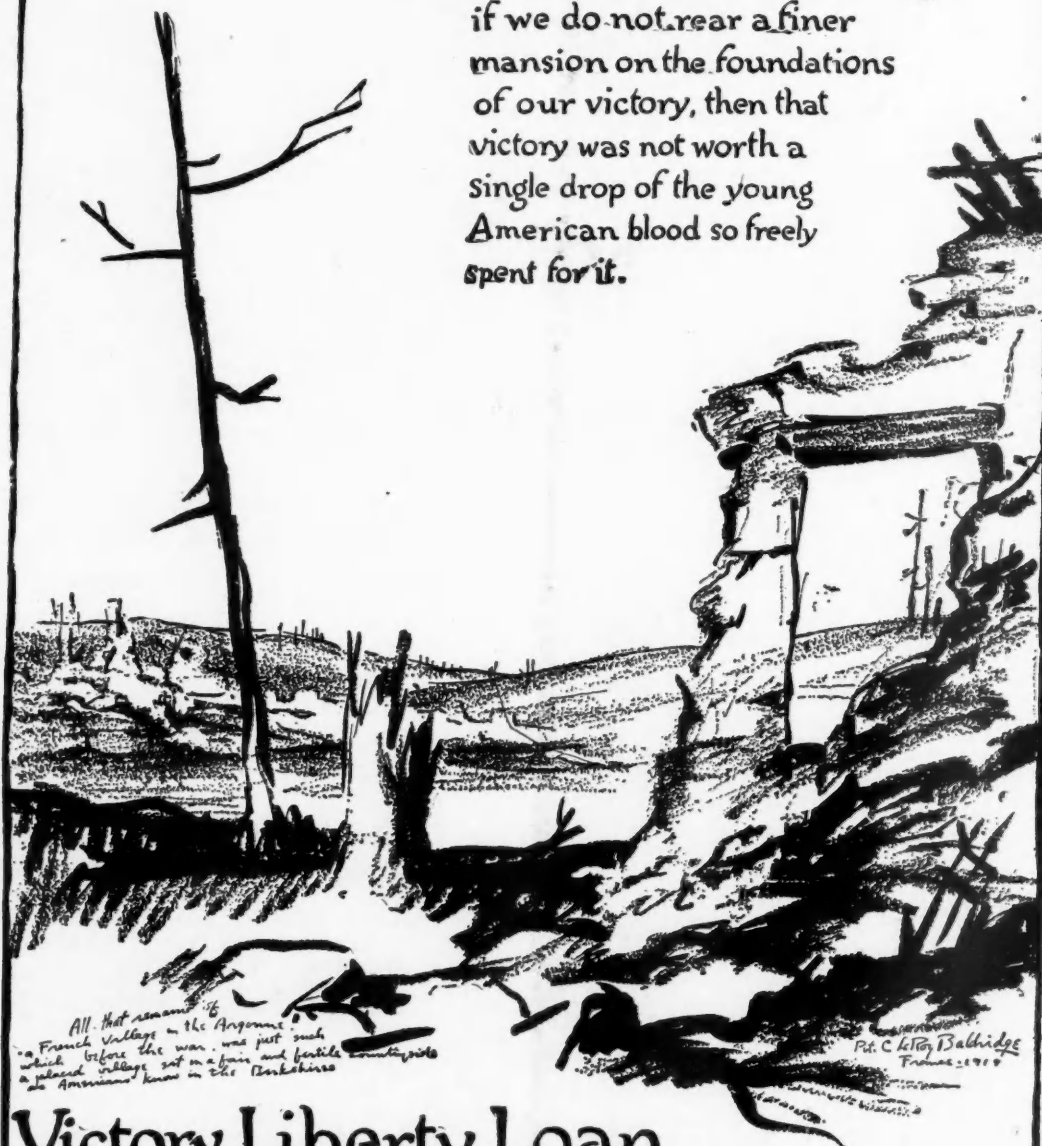
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New Style. Vol. III, May 10, 1919. No. 50.
Old Style. Vol. XLIX

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The Woman Citizen

The Woman's National Political Weekly

NEW STYLE VOL. III

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"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

Georgia vs. Connecticut

FOR the first time in its history Georgia has granted a modicum of woman suffrage. Heretofore Georgia's complexion on the suffrage map has been pot black, but this week the City Executive Committee of Atlanta granted to women the right to vote in the city primaries. Manifestly this is the entering wedge and it is perhaps not too much to expect that the Georgia Legislature which convenes in June may find its way clear to grant presidential suffrage to women. The committee's action was based on a petition filed three weeks ago by representative Atlanta women, headed by Mrs. Emily C. McDougald of the Equal Suffrage Party of Georgia, which is a state branch of the National Suffrage Association.

Felicitations to Georgia!

CONNECTICUT was prevented from taking her place among the progressive states of the country when the Senate of that state voted down the Presidential Suffrage Bill by the narrow margin of one vote, on May 1. It was by a vote of 17 to 18 on May 1 that the Connecticut Senate undid the victory in the House where the bill was passed by a vote of 126 to 97 on April 29. This was the second time the Senate had voted on the measure this session, the previous vote having been taken on April 23 with a record of 19 against and 16 in favor. The vote on the reconsideration of the measure shows a gain of one for the suffrage side. The story of the Presidential Suffrage Bill, which will be told in full in the next issue of the *Woman Citizen*, is a story of a triumph for suffrage despite the action of the Senate.

Worse Than the Bolsheviks

ARE the anti-suffragists worse than the Bolsheviks? In one point they certainly are. This is in their attitude towards the suffrage.

The Bolsheviks have been very generally blamed for excluding everybody but the workers from voting. On democratic principles, this of course is indefensible. But some of the Americans who profess themselves the most scandalized by the injustice of it are the very persons who have been insisting for years that justice has nothing to do with suffrage; that no one has any natural right to vote; that it is purely a matter of expediency; that it is perfectly proper for those in power to debar from suffrage all persons whose votes they think would not benefit the state; and so on and so on. We are all familiar with that line of argument; and it might have been drawn up expressly for the defense of the present rulers of Russia.

The anti-suffragists, indeed, go further in their defiance of democracy than do the Bolsheviks. We are told that in Russia an upper or middle class person can get a vote by going to work with hands or brains: that the rule is simply that those who will

not work shall not vote. Whether this statement be true or not, it has been known for many years that Russia has had almost no middle class. Even before the revolution, the persons who could live without individual labor were less than one-tenth of the population. To disfranchise one-tenth is unjust; but the attitude of our anti-suffragists is even more unjust, since they wish to bar out forever one-half of the whole adult population. It is enough to make a cat laugh to hear these mossbacks expressing holy horror at the "undemocratic" stand of the Bolsheviks.

These opponents of democracy in America would not let any amount of hard work entitle a woman to the ballot. If that were the qualification, most women could "read their title clear." They have not only gone through the labor of bringing all the men into the world, but have done their full share of the world's hard work as well. There is no escape from the conclusion that the anti-suffragists are distinctly more undemocratic than the Bolsheviks.

A. S. B.

Politics in Hawaii

HAWAII'S suffrage story developed another vital chapter toward the end of April. It will be recalled that the Congress of the United States on June 3, of 1918, gave Hawaii's Legislature the right to confer suffrage on women either by legislative act or by submitting the question to the voters. The Hawaiian Legislature was already on record with two memorials to the Congress of the United States urging the passage of the bill, and popular sentiment on the island has long been definitely pro-suffrage.

In the early days of the 1919 legislative session the Hawaiian Senate passed on to the House a bill to grant women the right of suffrage at once by act of the Legislature. It was, however, not until April 1st of this year that the Hawaiian House took action on the measure and sent it down to defeat, by what the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, of Honolulu, calls "The most unscrupulous political trick that ever disgraced a Hawaiian Legislature."

The story as told by the Hawaiian press is spiked with picturesque terms like "hui" and "haole" which you don't understand, and with names like Kalakiela, Kaahu, Kumalae, Kupihea, names that have a foreign look when registered against an American woman's right to a voice in her government, but the charges made by the press are strangely familiar.

"The gang," "flouting of public opinion," "treacherous betrayal"—these are some of the sweet-smelling epithets that come, not from the women whose measure was defeated, but from the Hawaiian newspapers.

"Had the action been taken as the result of sober consideration, in the belief of the legislators that they were doing their duty, it would not be open to criticism except as to its wisdom.

"But it was not so taken. It was taken for political reasons. The woman suffrage bill was killed at the behest of the political

gangsters who manipulate the government of the city and county of Honolulu for their own profit and who have the support of every crook, every professional gambler, every vicious element in the City."

The next number on the suffrage program for Hawaii will be a referendum to the people. Despatches from Hawaii say that such a measure is scheduled to be enacted during this present session. In Hawaii as elsewhere the idea of the opposition is that suffrage is coming, but make it come like molasses in January. It's coming, but spend all the people's money you can to hold it back. It's coming, but use up all the energy you can and make the heaviest inroads that you can on women's patience, in what you know to be a futile effort to keep it from coming. Expense, procrastination, exhausted patience, are all so good for a country's prestige with her own people.

Everybody's Business

IT is not nearly so much the teachers of the country who have reached a crisis because of their inadequate pay as it is the country itself. New York City has had its own demonstration of this crisis during the month, but New York is different only in that the New York teachers, the women in particular, have heroically taken the bull by the horns. The bull is there—in all the other pastures where teachers foregather and sooner or later the teachers will have to stop scampering on ahead of him and turn about and face him. The New York teachers brought the bull fairly up to City Hall and said to the city's mayor that if he vetoed the "Lockwood-Fertig" bill which adds to their salaries there is nothing for it but for them to quit.

The protestants being women, this action has been subjected to fairly caustic criticism. Who are women to threaten to upset the educational scheme of the land by not being at their desks, even if they are not paid a living wage? In unexpected quarters the conviction dawns that it is quite important to have teachers, and that makes it quite reprehensible for women not to be willing to make sacrifices *pro bono publico*, even to the point of malnutrition. The more taxable property possessed by the critics of the women, the sharper the criticism—"Defying the city is dubious business"—"The very suggestion of a strike sounds ridiculous."

It isn't a dubious business and it isn't ridiculous, and as a matter of fact, not only the city but the whole country is indebted to New York teachers for showing up a drastic situation in a drastic way.

The noise of the showing is attracting attention to the situation possibly in time to save it. There was nothing to prevent these women from quietly walking out of their places into other better paid work. Thousands of women have done so the country over. Done so not because they were disloyal to their trusts but because they had to live and had to maintain their self-respect and could do neither on the salaries paid them.

It is, as has been repeatedly pointed out, a terrible thing for a city or state to have to face the closing of its school-rooms. But it is infinitely better to face it than to turn the back on it. Year by year we have been doing just that—turning our backs on it. Year by year it has grown harder to secure an adequate supply of competent teachers. It will grow harder yet if we do not learn the lesson that competent people command competent wages. The educational appropriation must be increased in every municipal and state budget in the land, let the taxes fall where they must.

THAT was an important advisory commission to the Peace Commission that was created in the form of the Commission on International Labor Legislation. The importance is sig-

nalized by its recommendations to the Peace Conference, made public last week. In these recommendations the Labor Commission takes recognition of the rights of industry in a way to challenge the attention of women the world over.

Among things to be noted is the advocacy of a universal eight-hour day, and forty-eight hour week, the abolition of child labor, equal pay for equal work, and the improvement of working conditions for women and children.

"The right of association," another principle declared for, makes surer the path of the trade union. Wages sufficient to allow the worker to keep up a reasonable standard of life, a weekly day (24 hours) of rest, the education and physical development of children, and a system of inspection "in which women should take part" are still other features of this declaration of principles.

Projected from this platform a Bill of Rights was drawn by the Labor Commission to safeguard the workers of the world, and was proposed for insertion in the Treaty of Peace at the session of the Plenary Council of the Peace Conference. Written into the Peace Treaty substantially as proposed, it will serve to standardize working conditions throughout the entire world—even though due allowance must be made for the differences "of climate, habits and customs, of economic opportunity and industrial tradition, which make uniformity in the conditions of labor difficult of immediate attainment."

Labor, all the world around, thus scores in its long fight to establish the fact that a person's labor is not to be regarded in the same commercial light as the product of that labor. In a word, the world is to get it into its head and keep it there that there is a difference between a pound of butter and the person who makes it. The butter is only a commodity. The maker is a human being.

ARTICLE XXIII of the covenant of the League of Nations contains important and far-reaching references to women and children:

Section A of the article provides that members of the League "will endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions for men, women and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and for that purpose will establish and maintain the necessary international organizations."

Section C "will entrust the League with the general supervision over the execution of agreements with regard to the traffic in women and children" * * *

The Peace Conference Commission on International Labor Legislation also provided for the establishment of a world labor conference to be linked with the League of Nations. The first session of the conference will probably be held at Washington. Matters affecting women and children to be taken up at the initial gathering of the world's labor leaders will be:

The application of the principle of the eight-hour day or 48-hour week.

Women's employment—(a) before and after childbirth; including the question of maternity benefit, (b) during the night, (c) in unhealthy processes.

Employment of children—(a) minimum age of employment, (b) during the night, (c) in unhealthy processes.

The extension and application of the international conventions adopted at Berne in 1906 on prohibition of night work for women employed in industry.

Women are promised a voice in the deliberations of the conference in which matters relating to their welfare are to be considered. Article 3 of the Charter provides that "when questions

specially affecting women are to be considered by the conference, one at least of the advisers should be a woman." Article 9, dealing with the staff of employees of the International Labor Office, provides that "a certain number of these (employees) should be women."

Don't Forget

MAY 27 will be the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Julia Ward Howe. Various organizations are planning to celebrate the day. Her interests were so many-sided that the friends of many good causes have reasons to remember her gratefully. But in all the diverse celebrations, someone should say a word to recall her long and earnest championship of woman suffrage. Her interest in this movement was warm and constant; and in whatever tributes may be paid to her, she would wish suffrage not to be forgotten.

A. S. B.

Wanted!

THE following advertisements lately appeared in the same issue of the Raleigh (North Carolina) *News and Observer*:

WANTED—Colored barber for white trade in camp town; permanent position. We guarantee \$25 per week. Right man can make \$35 per week. Let us hear from you at once. Fleming & Elliott, 6 Market Square, Fayetteville, N. C.

WANTED—Teacher of Latin for the Lumberton High School, Lumberton, N. C. Salary \$70. W. H. Cale, Superintendent.

An army officer stationed in Raleigh sent the two clippings to the Field Secretary of the National Education Association, with a letter asking:

"What incentive is there for a person to prepare himself to teach in a high school when a colored barber in the same town, who very probably cannot sign his own name, can make as much in two weeks as a high school teacher can make in a month?"

Susan B. Anthony told a convention of teachers many years ago that any profession carried mainly by persons who could not vote was sure to be undervalued in public estimation, and underpaid. Add to this that the teachers have been mostly unorganized, and you have the case in a nutshell.

A. S. B.

Dangerous Legislation Again

TROUBLE continues to develop from the Napoleonic feature of the legislation aimed against social diseases—that is, from the compulsory medical examination of profligate women for the safeguard of their customers. Along with a splendid and most praiseworthy educational campaign, the government has caused a wide introduction of this evil feature, which is the essence and substance of the state regulation of vice. The abuses that have always followed in its train in Europe are now developing here.

A Minnesota woman, Mrs. Wm. J. Logue, sends a clipping from the St. Paul *Pioneer Press* of April 22, announcing that a representative of the state Board of Health is being sued for damages by a young woman who says she was arrested, was forced to undergo examination, although city physicians pronounced her free of disease, and was wrongfully imprisoned in the workhouse for twenty-seven days. Mrs. Logue declares that the compulsory examination law is not impartially enforced in Minnesota as between men and women.

The *Social Hygiene Bulletin* for March says it has lately received from various parts of the country complaints that an unfair discrimination is being made between men and women, the women being jailed and the men who had shared in the offense

being offered security; also that the police are being given authority to arrest on suspicion girls who may be perfectly innocent. In reply to these criticisms, the editor says, in part:

"In the first place, it is the purpose of the public health and social hygiene movements that laws and ordinances shall apply to men and women. If in any place there is any discrimination in favor of men, it is the responsibility of the local health officer and of citizens of the place to see that such discrimination is not continued."

The intention of a "movement" is hard to prove; but it is certain that those who framed this legislation knew that it would not be impartially applied; and that in most places the efforts of women who try to secure its impartial application would be absolutely futile. They must also have known that a real thoroughgoing attempt to apply its compulsory features to all the men whose condition is a menace to the public health would cause a general rebellion. The editor of the *Social Hygiene Bulletin* continues:

"As a matter of fact, more men than women have thus far fallen into clutches of the law in places where the campaign for the control of venereal diseases is most vigorously being prosecuted."

Michigan claims to be one of these places. Dr. Richard U. Olin, secretary of the Michigan State Board of Health, recently addressed a joint meeting of the City Club of Chicago and the Illinois Social Hygiene Association. He said, as reported in the *City Club Bulletin*, page 96:

"So far, Michigan has interned and treated 1,390 cases—1,224 of women and 166 of men."

Dr. Olin said the main reasons for the difference were that "women are the chief carriers of disease, and that few hospitals in the state will take men patients."

Here is the old fallacy about women being the "chief carriers." It is chiefly women who carry these diseases to men, but it is chiefly men who carry them to women; and the public health authorities are much more solicitous to protect men from infection than to protect women. They show this by actions which speak louder than words.

The editor of the *Social Hygiene Bulletin* adds:

"As to the right of any police officer to arrest anyone on his own suspicion, without clearly defined instructions as to what should be considered suspicious conduct on the part of men or women, there can be no doubt as to the community's right to prevent such violation of the individual's rights. The point at which an individual's behavior indicates a possible focus of venereal infection is a matter for most careful and expert public health opinion. This should be sought and followed."

Imagine the average policeman being constituted a judge of so delicate a point! As a matter of fact, have the laws that the Federal government has been urging the states to pass contained any provisions for safeguarding innocent women against arbitrary arrest?

The editor evidently believes in the right to arrest women on suspicion and to compel examination. He says that an emergency exists; and that "the 'rights' of the individual end exactly where danger to the community begins." Why not of the male individual, then, as well as of the female individual?

The rights of the community and of the individual are not in conflict here. Long experience in Europe has proved that the danger to the health of the community from these diseases is greater with the state regulation of vice than without it. Injustice of any kind is a thing that does not pay; and injustice to women almost always works out in definite and terribly evil results to men.

A. S. B.

Is There Room At The Top For the Indoor Woman When She Comes Out?

HERE is a woman's problem, germane to the lives of nine-tenths of the women whose place has been in the home. It is the problem of a square half of all the women in the world. It is the rich woman's problem, the leisured woman's problem, the problem of mothers and maiden aunts and of too-protected daughters.

Lately a story ran through several numbers of the *Saturday Evening Post*. It was called "A Woman's Woman." Its only merit was that it showed realistically what happens when a woman makes a home and it goes off and leaves her.

Nobody liked the home the woman in the story made; it was rigid, old-fashioned and dull. She was all three of those things herself until the wand of economic necessity touched her shoulder, when she found herself possessed of an acute organizing ability and a genius for making things happen. It was a faculty no one else in her family possessed, therefore no one else was making anything but debts. She became the main economic prop of a selfish family group, as she had once been its main domestic prop. She couldn't make her husband over into a noble citizen; nor awaken her daughters to a self-forgetting interest in anything but themselves, nor yet protect her son from dishonor; but she could make money and make it easily.

She found herself able to take care of her whole flock in extravagant ease on the same outgo of energy that had once drudged over home-made cooking that no one came home to eat. Instead of mopping up the floors of a dull little flat where she was alone all day, she developed a genius for mopping up bad social conditions and reorganizing war service boards.

Although the author—who seems to be anti-feminist—calls this heroine of hers "a woman's woman," she doesn't like the Frankenstein she has evoked. "Good heavens," she seems to say, "here I've gone and done it. I've made this woman stop making doughnuts for the family in order to go out into the world and make doughnuts for the public. And I've let her get away with it. Dear me, dear me, I must do something to prove she was all wrong." Therefore the author goes to work in the last chapters to kill off the son—the only joy left in life to this efficient mother. "That'll fix her," the author vindictively implies. The author doesn't slay him gently at all; lets all sorts of uncomfortable and humiliating circumstances surround his taking off. "I'll show that heroine where woman's place is," scowls the author.

THE fact that being in the home was no longer an economic possibility for that particular woman wasn't allowed to enter into the case. Sentiment—the long, old, war-frayed sentiment—must be the last word.

And at once the heroine upbraids herself for having supported her family in its hour of need and for having served the state and helped on the war. She falls back true to type upon the good old emotion that she ought to have gone on living the way Aunt Susan brought her up to live.

Then the author, taking shameless advantage of her position as showman, creates a denouement as inconsequent as that of the woman in the fairy tale whose pig wouldn't budge towards home but who kept chanting, "Time pig and I were home hours and hours ago," until all of a sudden, out of nowhere, the impetus began which made the rope begin to hang the butcher, the butcher begin to cut the stick, the stick begin to beat the pig and the pig begin to go.

With the same magic, and as little logic, does the author of "A Woman's Woman" make husband begin to earn his living, daughter begin to dust the house and home begin all over again.

This story is true as to facts many a middle-aged woman has had to face. But it is wrong as to values.

Charwomen imperil the Home—with a capital h—every day, in order to keep a home, with an inconspicuous aspirate, over their children's heads. Why shouldn't a woman with a genius for big business do the same?

Some men have the visionary's temperament and may some time—if all goes well—invent a new set screw or promote a copper mine. They may also land on the county poor farm. They are perfectly good men; but they are mighty uncertain "providers."

Why shouldn't the efficient wife earn the living for that household if she has the kind of mind which turns to business? A genius for affairs seems to be one of the things that knows no sex.

Plenty of women have organizing ability and plenty of men have none.

THE fact is that the world is full of women competent for public affairs. They were found by the thousands when the war service dragnet went over the country. Many of these women had served a long apprenticeship as efficiency experts on making a small purse act like a big one. Many had engineered establishments as elaborate as a foreign palace where their activities ranged from managing show gardens to entertaining the world's great. Between them were all sorts of women who had done all sorts of things, like running high-powered motors, making their own variety of home-made fudge and bonnets, raising poultry, running farms, and specializing on diets, all within the sacred precincts of the place the anti-suffragists assign to them. Such trained knowledge as they had came to the surface during the war—but the war did not create it. Before the war and after the war and ever since the world began there have been women making soap out of fat scraps in their own kitchens who could as easily run a soap factory and earn enough money to give their daughters a liberal education.

Here is the path many an American girl follows. She is brought up to marrying age with little snippets of education—a high school, a finishing school—college sometimes—or special studies. She gets married. The rest of her education is as God wills. It may be very ultra special knowledge of infant-feeding; it may be anything from scientific cold-pack canning to first-hand knowledge of Hindu classics. It is usually determined by husband's lot in life and not by her own selection. But being modern, alert and feminine, the woman gets eventually to the point of being well educated in some line. Time goes on. The babies get out of the nursery, into the school. Suddenly she has leisure. Often she has leisure but no pin money, no car fares, no open door.

Sometimes the ability she has packed up and bottled away in her is worth as large a salary as her husband is slaving nights and overtime to gain. The High Cost of Living goes up, but she remains a social unit without economic value, except as spender.

Sometimes she has money, limousines, a mansion and social prestige to give to great movements. And she gives them. They are not the least of the contribution of emerging womanhood to society.

THE point is that those years of incubation in the home may give a woman a wide education, highly developed powers as a manager, wide experience in organization. They may not, of course. Much depends upon the woman. There are plenty of men who have none of these qualities after twenty years in a grocery store, or in Wall Street.

Women homemakers represent no gainful occupation, the census gives no accurate figures of them. But of the women over 21 not earning their livings about 18,000,000 were recorded in 1910.

Of these more than 11,000,000 were from 21 to 44 years old; about 7,000,000 from 45 on. The oddest thing about it is that 26% of the women of acutely domestic age were wage-earners and less than 16% of those 45 and over.

Of men 45 years and over nearly 86% are earning their livings. Women are just as physically enduring as men, just as long lived, often they have picked up on the road to middle-age just as much knowledge as have men. Economically speaking why should 84% of the women over 45 be ciphers, while 86% of the men are still in the game?

There are many more women at work in paid positions during the age periods of potential motherhood than during the age periods when only the woman herself will suffer. Nearly 20% of girls from 14 to 15 were earning their livings in 1910, about 40% of those from 16 to 20. At the age period when women are bearing and raising children—from 21 to 44—more than 26% were in business for themselves.

It looks as if society were either less keen about its race-saving program than it wants to make the world believe, or else as if it were very stupid in its use of women's energies, for the race—about which sociologists are always chortling—is not going to suffer by the gainful occupation of middle-aged women.

The Philadelphia Division of the United States Employment Service says that the middle-aged woman was the salvation of industry during the war. Boys just out of colleges and high schools saved the world for democracy. Women, old enough to be their mothers, saved industry for the boys. And yet the world is dubious about the economic value of the woman who has worked at home through her youth.

SAID an after-dinner speaker, back from the front where she had served on the personnel division of the woman's war service department of the Y. W. C. A., "We thought at first we must have young women to do our canteen work abroad. That is where we made a mistake. There was a woman of 56 whom we all wanted to turn down because of her years, yet she made one of the most wonderful records in France. She opened a canteen in a wrecked town in France as far towards the front line as she could go. It was in a building so torn with shells that it was only half a shelter. Hers was the last woman's face the boys saw when they went up to the trenches and the first they saw when they came back. No woman in the service helped more men than did she and there was no woman whom the men were gladder to see than this dauntless elderly woman in her battered front station."

A middle-aged woman and more than half an invalid at that with no equipment for business whatever except that of running a country home successfully, ran a war garden throughout the war. She rented part of a disused farm and incidentally benefited the land which was rapidly going to the agricultural devils of weeds and thistles. She made it pay all expenses and provide food for four families. It was a successful experiment in co-operation which might easily be used as a working model for a community scheme.

SUFFRAGE campaigns had brought to the forefront thousands of women before the war began, who found themselves initiating, projecting and carrying on municipal, city and state-wide schemes without ever knowing until they tried that they had any qualifications for success in large undertakings.

Mrs. Charles H. Brooks, the first National Chairman of the League of Women Voters, throws some light on the process by which the home woman evolves into the woman of affairs. Mrs. Brooks is herself one of these. She was the daughter of a stock farmer in Iowa and married very early. She says most of her own education came from her daily contact with a husband of fine judicial mind. Why isn't that as good a university extension method as another? The vital fact is that through the normal process of wifehood and motherhood, she gained not only an education that fitted her for leadership, but the qualities of character which make woman's leadership safe and sane.

Her own tribute goes back even farther. It goes back to the big stock farm of her girlhood. "Women brought up on farms and women in big cities," she testifies, "have more in common than at first seems probable. Alike they have a direct and simple approach to the larger issues of life and to its needs. The small town woman gets at big questions less immediately. She feels less responsibility for individual action than does either the city-bred or farm-bred woman."

"Those who live in country places go up to questions fearlessly and face them frankly. It is as if either out of isolation or in contact with great masses of people there comes the courage necessary to do a big task when it arises."

All of which goes to prove that there is a quenchless ardor in women as in men to get the world's work accomplished—and that it is a waste of good material to scrap the middle-aged woman just when she has achieved enough leisure and spiritual freedom to be an economic and social asset.

The One-Armed Woman

"A BURLINGTON woman who has been a strong opponent of woman suffrage, but who is a zealous worker for reforms in municipal and other public welfare interests, recently threw up her hands, figuratively speaking, over the difficulties experienced in attaining rests and exclaimed, 'Oh, if I only had a vote I believe I could have some influence!' Therein is the essence of the practical character of the movement for suffrage."

"The world owes much of its progress in social, moral and economic reforms to women. They, more than men, possess the higher ideals of life and they have that subtle intuition that leads them to quicker and wiser conclusions than men have. And yet all through the slow evolution of society the women have been seriously handicapped by the traditions of by-gone civilizations, by the conventionalities of society and restrictive legislation and limited opportunity."

"The spectacle of a one-armed man toiling at his allotted manual tasks excites sympathy. He is at a disadvantage as compared to the man with both arms for service. But society, hoping for, and expecting women to exert the highest, noblest influence upon civilization and human progress has handicapped her mentality, her executive ability and her general usefulness by suffrage discrimination. It is expected and required of her, to attend to all household duties and whatever other service to family and church and society she is capable of, with, figuratively, one hand tied behind her. A one-armed woman is asked to do the work of a two-armed woman."—*The Hackeye*, Burlington, Ia.

The Army of the Helping Hand

By Blanche A. O'Connor, Member of the Chicago Bar

I WENT over to the Cort Theatre Sunday afternoon because I had heard there was going to be a lecture on "The Army of the Helping Hand." Naturally, you know, after you've served for nearly eighteen months in the Army of the good old U. S. A., you're interested in everything with a military tang. But was I in the right place? There on the platform were the officers of another Army than mine, not in the familiar khaki, but in uniforms of navy blue, brightened by patches of scarlet on the collar and the shoulder, and triangles of thin gold thread on the sleeve—the Chief of Staff, the Brigadiers, the Colonels, the Majors, and throughout the theatre was at least three companies of comrades. The drums were beating out lively strains, too—not of the "Star Spangled Banner," but "Onward Christian Soldiers," and the baker's dozen or so of lassies, with the queer little poke-shaped bonnets, who were singing so sweetly, were neither Red Cross Nurses, nor Army Field Clerks. You've guessed it right. I had run head first into the Salvation Army.

Just as the Commander of the Salvation Army of the World, T. Henry Howard, an imposing figure with his long white beard—his dignity and blue uniform making one think just a little of a Grand Army veteran, had begun to talk, in walked Major General Wood, in full dress uniform, two stars and all. Did the Commander keep on talking? Not he. He turned and saluted. Everybody was on their feet. The Commander of the Army that cares for the physical welfare of the soldier was grasping the hand of the Commander who cares for his soul.

Now, mark you, I had come to hear a lecture on "The Army of the Helping Hand," but before I came away, I am going to tell you that I was convinced that the Salvation Army is out for woman suffrage.

PATIENCE, though, until I get to that interesting point. I want you to read some of the Commander's terse remarks. Every one of them has meat.

"The work of the Salvation Army is to help lame dogs over the stile." The world, he explained, has in it many lame dogs, physically, socially, morally and every way.

"I'm from the hub of the Salvation Army wheel. In touch with all the points in the circumference of that wheel. Therefore, I am able to feel the pulse of the Army and to record its beatings."

"It's no easy task, this of mine to inspect. Many times I'm inspected and asked: What have you got in your bag this time?"

"The War's been a handicap, but when the clouds roll by, we hope to do still better than we have done in the past."

"A brother is born for adversity. We have been trying to play the part; to fill that bill, both among the troops and elsewhere."

"You know the expressions of your grand old General: 'Go out for souls and for the worst ones.' 'Every power and every hour for Christ and duty.'"

"I have bundles of letters from officers of the highest rank in both the Army and the Navy, commending the work of the Salvation Army in the war zone, but I value more highly the testimonials of the boys themselves."

He had a message from King George. His majesty prayed their efforts would continue to benefit those in need of the help-

ing hand. ("It is good," the Commander said, "when kings pray").

AN extract from a letter of President Wilson said that he "appreciated the loyalty, patriotism, and enthusiasm of the great work of the Salvation Army."

"The Salvation Army work lies in the spirit. The social and the spiritual must go together. You cannot divide it."

"Its religion is in every doughnut."

"You cannot deal with a man unless you touch him on every side of his nature."

"I have saved your body. Now, I am praying to the Lord to save your soul—" Words of a Salvation Army officer to a wounded soldier, after saving his life.

"It all comes in the day's work. In India the Salvation Army officers have to be lawyers, bankers, teachers and matrimonial agents and undertakers."

"The Salvation Army is like a little steamer taking in a derelict ship—it's like unto that."

"The Army umbrella is large enough to hold them all—the lame, the halt, the blind and the dirty—even the London beggar, who the day after the Derby, wore the label, 'Pity a poor man who is out on his calculations.'"

"I was given the sobriquet of the 'Doughnut King'." But the "Doughnut King" explained he did not like to wear other people's laurels. Until six months ago he did not know what a doughnut was.

But this is what gave me my lead that the Chief of Staff is a suffragist:

IN speaking of the leper colony in Java, he referred to the women of the Salvation Army. He spoke of the numerous applications that came from among women to go into the work. "To these women of the Salvation Army, I don't know how to speak. Well, it's the woman's day now; they've thrown the men out of the Club. They tell me I've turned into quite a woman's advocate in the last four years. Such splendid work as they've done. Why, what we should have done without the women, I don't know."

Between pauses of the speaker and taking notes, I tried to watch the expression on the face of our own military commander. There was an acquiescing smile—you'll have to interpret it.

The short, to-the-point, five-minute talk of General Wood did not savor one whit of woman suffrage. "We tried to send men abroad," he said, "clean in body and clean in soul; because the best men make the best soldiers. Don't ever go wrong on that point." (I felt like saying, "the best women make the best citizens and voters. Don't ever go wrong on that point"). "The soldiers would always say, 'Good luck and God speed' to the Salvation Army," was the General's finale.

To Bishop Fallows, that patriarch of clergymen in the City of Chicago, fell the vote of thanks. He spoke of that Russian woman, the Commander of the Battalion of Death. Then in the same breath he referred to Eva Booth as the Commander of the Battalion of Life. "Victor Hugo," stated the Bishop, "said the nineteenth century was Woman's Century. This Twentieth Century is preeminently Woman's Century, and if any man dare throw a straw in the way of the true advance of the progress of women in this century, he had better go back home and sit down." ("Yes, yes," came from the Chief of Staff and the comrades throughout the house). Again a smile played across the face of Major General Wood, and this time I interpreted it as a good omen. "They are the ones, God bless them, the women,

that are carrying on so gloriously and so successfully, this war for humanity, and who extend as only woman can extend, the helping hand in the face of dire need."

The Territorial Headquarters Staff Band played that uplifting Christmas Hymn—"Venite Adoremus." Once again I was at five o'clock service on Christmas morning. But, after all, what mattered—religion, race or sex? Would that the time were near when women would be fully enfranchised. Then, indeed, would mankind be enlisted in the Universal Army of the Helping Hand.

English Women Organizing

EQUAL pay for equal work is the slogan of English women in industry, who are also demanding a minimum wage and a shorter working day. Already considerable activity is being shown by a number of the women's trade unions, Miss Jessie Stephens, general organizer for a number of unions, being one of the leaders in the fight to obtain the principle of industrial equality for women. According to reports which have reached this country the National Federation of Women Workers has increased its membership 400 per cent, and there is no sign of a let-up in the growth of organization sentiment among the women in industry.

The number of women who have joined labor unions is said to be the largest in the history of unionism abroad. The labor organizations have prepared a definite campaign to bring about the changes desired and now that the English women have the right of suffrage, the demands of the women workers are expected to be given more serious consideration. One reason for the greatly increased sentiment in favor of an organized effort to improve the working conditions of women is said to be the large number of new workers brought into the industrial life of the nation during the war.

During the war 1,516,000 women were employed to substitute for men in the industrial, commercial and governmental activities, while new work was found for 1,532,000 women and girls. Great increases in the number of women employed by public utility corporations were made during the war, the pre-war working force of 600 women being increased by more than 8,000, one-half of whom were employed as substitutes for men who were called upon to fight. The transportation companies also largely increased the number of women employes, having added 17,000 substitutes and 18,000 new workers to the 1,200 women originally employed before the war.

"THE working woman's position in great Britain today is a great improvement on that held by her before the war," said Miss Jessie Stephens, in discussing the status of women workers now that the coming of peace is bringing up new problems for settlement. "In previous wars women have taken the places of men and have eventually been forced back to their old economic slavery. In the present war, however, women have taken the places of men in greater numbers than at any other period in the country's history. They have gone into occupations and professions which were always sacred to men and have proved themselves in most cases every bit as capable or even more capable than men.

"The time has long passed when women could be induced to acquiesce in a lower standard of wages. Women are out to compete with men for jobs on equal terms—equal pay for equal work. The women are in accord with the men for a minimum wage and shorter working day. To aid in achieving this they are joining trade unions in large numbers.

"Women will not return to pre-war conditions. They are organizing with the full intention of striking to obtain their demands if they are not conceded by negotiations; if that fails they still have the vote to fall back upon."

Poll Tax in Vermont

IN the article on "Suffrage and the Poll-tax" in the April 26 issue of the *Woman Citizen*, you do not mention conditions relating to that form of taxation in Vermont, which, like our presidential suffrage rights, are unique and interesting.

When the women of Vermont were granted municipal suffrage in 1917 the law required the mere (minimum) paying of a tax on money in hand even so low as one dollar. On all sides since that time the men of our state who have preferred to hark back to the good old days when men only could wield the ballot have lost no opportunity, when the subject of woman suffrage has been in the air (and we intend that to be 365 days in the year and 24 hours in the day), to criticize this man-made law, as being unfair, undemocratic and un-every other good thing. The result of all this argument has been to convince suffragists that there might be benefits derived from being obliged, like the men, to pay a poll-tax—particularly as such tax pertains only to municipal suffrage.

Consequently when we found that the gentlemen of our House of Representatives were so keen about women paying a poll-tax that they made it their very first act of the session, we hailed the news with delight that at last we were really going to be on an equality with men in Town Meeting. The old poll-tax law was amended to include women, but instead of the terms of equality we had looked forward to, the tax applies only to "such females as file a written request with the listers" before a certain date, etc. Of course our great regret is the fact that the tax, not being obligatory, those not interested in affairs of state and nation, including those opposed to suffrage, are not obliged to vote.

AN interesting fact in this connection was the reading of a manifesto of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Vermont in all churches of that denomination in the state on Easter day commanding the women of that diocese to register the following day. We do not doubt that this is in preparation for voting for president, as until now no such urgency has been expressed.

In a History of New Hampshire the author refers to Vermont as "the incipient and disputed state of Vermont"—a description which might apply to us today as regards our presidential suffrage rights but we suffragists *do not acknowledge any dispute!*

High authorities have reiterated that the veto of our Governor was illegal and the country will wake up some morning to find that the spirit which ruled the Green Mountain Boys was not confined to sex. Green Mountain girls are yet to be heard from.

I might add that we regret the attitude of the *Woman Citizen*,* the organ of American suffragists, in referring to the number of women eligible to vote for President in 1920 either "exclusive of Vermont" or "not including Vermont." We would remind you that we joined the League of Women Voters at the St. Louis Convention. Possession is nine points of the law!

"The accused is always considered innocent until proved guilty."

LILIAN H. OLZENDAM.

Woodstock, Vt.

*The *Woman Citizen's* "attitude" is just as stiff-necked on this issue as the Green Mountain girls'. We are trying, however, to keep our tabulated statistics in such form that they answer all the questions that arise in the minds of readers who know only that the Governor of Vermont has vetoed Vermont's bill and do not know the quality of the Green Mountain girls.

Sheltering Women

"RURAL Children in North Carolina" (Children's Bureau Publication No. 33) gives as much light on the mothers as the children. Two counties were chosen for the survey, one, a region of difficult farming and hard grazing, in the mountains, the other a lowland county in the cotton belt. Poverty and hard work are characteristic of both, but the lowland county's condition is more typical of this particular state.

Here the small tenant farmer cultivates on half shares with the landlord and most of the year is in debt, paid at six per cent. interest and inflated prices to the country store. When the cotton crop is in, the bulk of the farmer's share goes to pay his debts. In many cases the cash value of what is left for his family for the next year is two or three hundred dollars. Hard work for the mother is one product of this chronic poverty.

"Rural women of this section," says the report, "as a rule are burdened with a multitude of duties in the house and on the farm and only rarely have assistants other than the girls of the family. In addition to the cooking, cleaning, scrubbing, washing, ironing, sewing, milking, churning, care of chickens and garden, and canning and preserving, the average woman also works side by side with her husband in the field helping to plant, cultivate, and harvest the crop.

"Housework must usually be done without the services of hired help; only three of the women visited kept a servant regularly. In fact, indoor help is difficult to secure during the 'chopping' season, while in 'cotton-picking time' it is practically impossible, since the negro women available for domestic service not only earn more money in the cotton field but also prefer field work with its greater opportunities for sociability.

"An absence of household conveniences makes housework doubly hard. With the exception of sewing machines there are practically no conveniences for facilitating women's work. The majority of the homes have few of the modern improvements for cooking, which is done usually on a wood stove, with fuel provided from meal to meal.

"WASHING is commonly done in the open, the wash place consisting of a bench for the tubs and a big iron pot with a fire under it for boiling the clothes. Only six of the mothers used washing machines.

"Old-fashioned implements are used for churning and butter making. Sweeping often is done with a homemade broom of short bunches of sedge grass for the house, or twigs for the yard, bound together with a hickory withe.

"Carrying water is an arduous task. Only one of the homes visited had a pump and sink inside the kitchen, though white families are usually provided with a pump on the porch or within a few feet of the kitchen door. At a number of the homes, however, the water supply was at some distance from the house.

"One-fifth of the white families and over one-third of the negro families carried water over fifty feet; an occasional negro family carried water as far as a quarter of a mile. A number of tenants had no water on their immediate premises and had to carry it from the landlord's well. A mother who carried water something like 200 yards thought it was partly responsible for so weakening her that she lost her twin babies.

"Field work, almost always on the 'home farm,' is general for both white and negro women. Of the 117 white married mothers, 90 have worked in the field before marriage (72 from early childhood) and 82 after marriage, though a number explained that since marriage their field work has been irregular,

only occasional help in the busy season. Of the 89 negro mothers, 87 had done field work before marriage (74 from early childhood) and 85 after marriage. A grandmother, speaking for her married daughter insisted that she picked cotton when she was five years old, she'd fill her little sack and empty into mine."

Overcrowding, lack of sanitary conveniences, bad water, pigs and chickens the sole means of garbage disposal, disease, large families with a slight tenure on life—these are other results of poverty and hardship in rural North Carolina. An "alarmingly high" maternal mortality (41.5 per 100,000 population) begins the life story. This is due to the general conditions touched on above and the lack of proper medical care. A high infant mortality comes next, one child in 21, or 48.1 per 100,000 in the first year of life. In this one respect, however, the mountain country is worse than the lowland, for its infant mortality is 80.4 per cent.

In the first five years of life 17 out of 127 white children in our lowland county died and the percentage of negroes was greater still. Besides mosquitoes and flies, the usual pests which breed disease, this lowland country is scourged by the hookworm, about half the people probably suffering from hookworm disease.

THE Illinois Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense, through its Social Service Department is working to improve the enforcement of social legislation. The committee appointed chairmen for this work in the counties and a woman state agent charged with supervision of this work. The laws covered are those in regard to health, recreation, children of the poor, mothers' pensions and institutions. The reasons for undertaking this work the *Survey* summarizes as follows. "With eleven-year-old children going to work unmolested by the authorities; with thirteen-year-old boys held in county jails for three or four months at a time; with feeble-minded persons kept at the almshouses; with many counties making the mothers' pensions act inoperative by failing to appropriate funds for the purpose, and others administering the pensions on an inadequate scale; with the outdoor relief so administered that it serves to encourage vice rather than to check it, to make possible the continuance of immoral, demoralizing homes, and to allow feeble-minded, diseased and insane parents to go on producing children—with such a condition of affairs as this, it seemed to the committee that its first undertaking should be to try to secure a better enforcement of the existing legislative provisions for the care of the poor and the protection of children."

THE reconstruction program of the National Women's Trade Union League lays down as the "first essential of a democracy a standard of life for the citizens of the commonwealth, which shall ensure to both men and women free opportunity to work with hand and brain and secure to them a full measure of health, education, recreation and fruitful leisure."

The program sets the following minimum standard: "Compulsory education up to 16 years of age and part-time education up to 18 years; abolition of child labor; an 8-hour day and 44-hour week; no night work for women; one day's rest in seven; equal pay for equal work; equal opportunity for men and women in trade and technical training; social insurance against sickness, accident, industrial disease, and unemployment; provision for Old Age and Invalidity Pensions and Maternity Benefits."

Other demands are free speech, free press, free assemblage, self-government in industries, equal suffrage, single moral standard, protection of motherhood and, for every child, the highest possible development, physical, mental and moral, public ownership of national resources and a well worked-out demobilization plan.

The Woman Movement Elsewhere

Finland Free

WE, the Women of Finland, on approaching our sisters in other countries again, after an interval of many years, now have some information to give that fills our hearts with boundless joy.

Finland is a free country, a free state among free states. Our independence has been acknowledged by most of the foreign powers.

Formerly very little was known abroad about the political position of our country, hardly more than that for centuries Finland was a part of Sweden and later, in 1809, united with Russia. For the last twenty years our people have experienced political oppression to such a degree that all our mental energy had to be directed towards the defence of our rights.

Of course, our people longed for political freedom, our sons and daughters always being in hopes of having the right of developing their own nationality and of settling, at last, their conditions of existence according to the necessities of the people. The events in the world hastened these struggles for independence and, on the 4th of November, 1917, Finland declared herself free from Russia.

But political independence is not won without sacrifices: Even our country has had to buy its autonomy through the shedding of the heart-blood of its sons.

IN the early spring of 1918, Bolshevism, that pestilence of the East, had spread, through the influence of the Russian troops stationed in Finland, among various dehumanized classes of our people. These having joined the Bolshevik hordes of the East, our young freedom seemed in danger. But the sane members of our people, with the young at their head, then rose unanimously, with great enthusiasm, for the courageous defence of our homes, our national culture and our lawful social order, for all that is precious in life.

Having, besides, received assistance from abroad, the enemy was, at last, driven out of the country, and the revolution was put down. After a time of sorrow and suffering, a new era thus dawned for our country, a time during which, in spite of still threatening dangers, we seek to regulate our home affairs and make clear our position with regard to other powers. We are aware of the fact that freedom is binding, that our people, in future, will be answerable as a free people, and we, women, who since 1907 have taken part, as authorized citizens, in the work of the delegates of the people, which, we are sorry to say, was often rendered difficult by outside oppression, we deeply feel that our native land now claims more from us than ever before.

Would to God that the day may soon dawn when the nations of the world will return to peace and order, when the co-work of our world's union can be taken up again in the sublime spirit of our motto. Women in Finland longingly look forward to such a time.

With sisterly greetings, On behalf of

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF FINLAND

Filma Hainari, President; Berta Solitander, Secretary.

Helsinki, Helsingfors,

Suomi, Finland.



CONTESSINA MARIA A. LOSCHI
A Leader of the Woman's Movement
in Italy

In Porto Rico

THE question of woman suffrage is an issue in the Legislature of Porto Rico, where a bill has been introduced by Representative Gonzalez Mena providing for the extension to the women of the island of all rights held by men. This is the second attempt in two years to obtain legislative action of this character.

The Woman's League of Porto Rico, which has been working to obtain political rights for women, is not backing the measure, however, on the ground that such a sweeping extension of suffrage, without regard to educational qualifications, will serve to create a large class of ignorant voters who will be manipulated by politicians. The League favors an educational qualification, leaning to the argument that it is to intelligent voters that the state must look for the furtherance of charitable, social, moral, and intellectual objects. The League's membership

is 2,500, which speaks well for suffrage enthusiasm in an island where the movement was launched but two years ago.

New Zealand's Volunteers

THE papers are again commenting on the remarkable military record of New Zealand. A government report lately issued shows that out of a population of only 1,100,000, New Zealand mobilized for overseas service 124,211 men. What is still more remarkable, almost three-quarters of these were volunteers. Of the whole force, 91,941 were volunteers and only 32,270 were conscripts. What other country or state can match this record, or come anywhere near it?

The New Zealand troops, moreover, have won world-wide fame by their distinguished gallantry. The large proportion of volunteers among them may have had something to do with this. There is an old military saying, "One volunteer is worth three pressed men." Then, again, New Zealand, in her care for her people's welfare, has proved herself a true mother to them, and not merely a step-mother. It was natural that they should answer zealously to a call for her defence.

Whatever be the explanation, the facts have smashed for good and all the old anti-suffrage theory that under equal suffrage men would lose all their toughness of fibre, and become an easy prey to their foes.

Belgium's Reforms

THE Belgian Chamber of Deputies, by unanimous vote, adopted the Electoral Reform Bill on April 11. Under the terms of the Bill all women are not enfranchised, the right being limited to widows who have not remarried, to the mothers of soldiers killed in battle, and to the mothers of civilians shot by the Germans. The Bill grants universal suffrage to all males twenty-one years of age and over.

Since January 1, 1919, no less than eight state Legislatures have given women presidential suffrage. They are Indiana, Wisconsin, Vermont, Maine, Minnesota, Missouri, Tennessee and Iowa.

State Suffrage News



WHEN MISSOURI WAS WON

PICTURE TAKEN IN THE GOVERNOR'S ROOM AT THE CAPITOL DURING THE SIGNING OF THE MISSOURI PRESIDENTIAL SUFFRAGE BILL.

Those in the photograph are, seated, left to right: State Senator James W. McKnight, Kings City, who had charge of the bill in the Senate; Lieut.-Gov. Crossley, who signed the bill as presiding officer of the Senate; Gov. Gardner; Speaker O'Fallon, who signed the bill as presiding officer of the House; Representative Walter E. Bailey, of Carthage, who had charge of the bill in House. Standing left to right: A. L. Kirby, enrolling clerk of the Senate; Mrs. McKnight, wife of Senator McKnight; Miss Marie B. Ames, of New York, legislative secretary of the National American Woman Suffrage Association; Mrs. David O'Neil, of St. Louis, one of the state suffrage leaders; Mrs. Gardner, wife of the governor; Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, honorary president of the Missouri State Suffrage Association; Mrs. Wm. R. Haight, of St. Louis, second vice-president of the State Suffrage Association; Mrs. Walter E. Bailey, and Mrs. O'Fallon, wife of the speaker.

A Fight Within a Fight in Minnesota

WITH both House and Senate decidedly "Pro," the 1919 Legislature of Minnesota was nevertheless a storm center as far as woman suffrage was concerned. There were moments when the situation seemed to hinge on an embarrassment of riches—gifts offered that we did not want, and every one knows that refusing gifts and keeping the friendship of the would-be givers is a ticklish business.

The policy of the Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association has always been, in so far as has been compatible with the local situation, to adhere to the policy laid down by the National Association. In accordance with this the Minnesota Association, in mapping out its year's work, decided to forestall any submission of a bill for a state referendum since Minnesota's constitution is one of the most rock-ribbed of any in the country in regard to the passage of amendments, and to drive hard for a Presidential Bill. But associations propose, and individuals dispose. The very first bill read at the opening of the new Legislature was one proposing a state amendment for woman suffrage. Thereupon ensued what can best be described as a nightmare of explanations, and not a short one, as it lasted over half the session. The explanations were made painstakingly and everlastingly as to what we were for and what we were against—and most of the legislators forgot over night what we had strenuously impressed on them the day before. Nor was the irritation which attended the campaign all in the minds of the legislators. Had we not possessed a leader, Mrs. Andreas Ueland, who really puts Job in the discard in the matter of patience, we should probably have

thrown up our hands in despair; but anyone who knows Minnesota's president knows that once embarked on a career we go through to the end—bitter or sweet.

THE entire story is too long to be told in detail, but with the help of our effective friends, Senators Frank Putnam and Ole Sageng, the referendum measure was disposed of in time to shift the emphasis to the Presidential Bill, which had meantime been started on its perilous way in both Houses, sponsored by Representative Theodore Christianson and Senators Putnam and Sageng.

Now came a horse of another color. The anti-suffrage members, who had nearly all voted for the state amendment, knowing its futility, were ready to knife the Presidential Bill which would really give the women some measure of suffrage. Some friendly professions fell down also before the acid test of the real thing.

Not a peep had been heard from our anti friends during the agitation for and against the state amendment, but the minute the Presidential Bill came actively to the front out popped the Minnesota-association-opposed-to-votes-for-women like a Jack-in-the-Box. The measure had already passed the House—nothing could stop the House this year when it came to suffrage—but the Antis demanded a hearing before the Senate Elections Committee and, of course, got it. That hearing was one of the most picturesque of all the many ever held on the subject in Minnesota. The opposition—the speakers were mostly men—voiced all its old fears for "the safety and sanctity of womanhood," and propped up the "Pedestal" argument with the straining timbers of senti-

ment and biology. The ductless glands were not mentioned, strange to say, but nursing mothers and expectant mothers were dragged into the fray as being forever opposed. In baseball parlance, a "boner" was pulled by an old politician who for a moment lost his head and said wildly, "What do we want of more votes? We have more votes now than we can control." He probably didn't mean it as it sounded but the effect on the Committee was just as electrifying. It listened quizzically and apparently didn't turn a hair in its final judgment, for the Bill was reported out favorably within twenty-four hours and passed by a vote of 49 to 11.

DURING the entire fight for the Presidential Bill a lobby of the very best women we had was kept at the capitol constantly. A complete poll was taken of both Houses more than once to allow for a shift in the wind. All possible information in regard to the constitutionality of Presidential Suffrage was laid on the desks of House members and Senators. Letters and telegrams rained on uncertain men. As far as humanly possible we believe that no stone was left unturned to insure a successful issue of the fight. The press of the state came nobly to the fore and used, without stint, news stories, statements of policy, etc., and gave generously of editorial space.

In the result the Minnesota delegation was enabled to carry to the Convention in St. Louis the gift of another presidential suffrage state, for Governor A. A. A. Burnquist, always a friend of suffrage, signed the bill with warm congratulations.

VIVIAN STANLEY THORP.

Massachusetts Activities

THE Boston Evening *Record* offers a fine example of the cooperation that is being accorded the suffragists by the press of the country. Every Friday the Evening *Record* devotes an entire page to suffrage activities throughout the state of Massachusetts and the several nations. Mrs. True Worthy White, press chairman of the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association, is the editor of this live page of suffrage news. It is proving an invaluable aid to the suffrage cause in the Bay State.

The Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association is in receipt of the following message in response to the cablegram sent to M. Clemenceau at the time of his attempted assassination:

"I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the message which you sent to the President of the Council of France on the occasion of the recent attempt on his life. Mr. George Clemenceau has sincerely appreciated your kind wishes and requested me to convey to you his heartfelt thanks.

CHARLES DE CHAMBRUN."

ON May 21 and 22 the Massachusetts suffragists will gather at Boston for their annual convention. Officers will be elected and the program for the year outlined. The evening session on May 21 will be in commemoration of the centenary of Mrs. Julia Ward Howe.

The weekly bulletin of the state association carries an interesting statement from Miss Anne H. Strong, Director of the School of Public Health Nursing, to the effect that "15,000 school nurses are needed to take care of some twenty-two million school children throughout the country." There are now about 6,000 public health nurses in the United States but the supply in no way keeps pace with the needs.

A bill before the Massachusetts legislative Committee on Education provides that every city and town in the state shall appoint one or more school physicians, one or more school dentists, a director of physical education and training; also one or more

(Continued on page 1077)

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Women in Politics

AN important step in the campaign to line up the Republican women of the country for the 1920 presidential election was the forming of a New York State Republican Women's Committee to co-operate with the Republican Women's National Executive Committee. Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore, of Westchester, who was an important factor in the state campaign last fall, was appointed chairman of the committee by Republican State Chairman George A. Glynn. The members so far appointed include Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., of Nassau, Mrs. Charles S. Whitman and Mrs. Walter Damrosch, of New York City; Mrs. William Boyce Thompson, of Westchester; Mrs. J. Sloat Fassett, of Chemung; Mrs. Eli T. Hosmer, of Erie; Miss Mary Chahoon, of Clinton; Mrs. Ruth Litt, of Suffolk; Mrs. E. S. Knapp, of Onondaga, and Mrs. Franklin Merseur, of Yates. The list will be completed at an early date.

Mrs. Livermore is well known to suffragists, having been prominently identified with the movement both in the state and nation. She is a member of the Board of Directors of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and of the Leslie Woman Suffrage Commission.

THE Democratic Party of New York city has awarded political plums to five women assembly district leaders. Mrs. Agnes Leonard Ward, leader of the Seventh district, is the fifth to receive this recognition from the party, having been appointed to a position in the Arsenal Department of the Adjutant General's office. Mrs. Laura Mulcaire and Mrs. Mary Greehy, of

the Twenty-third and Fifth districts, respectively, were appointed deputy inspectors in the Board of Elections a few months ago, and Mrs. Mary O'Malley, of the Twenty-first, was made assistant deputy city clerk in the Marriage License Bureau. Mrs. Martha Guilfoyle, an executive member of the Seawanhaka Democratic Club, was made a member of the local school board.

TENNESSEE women were not long in taking advantage of the opportunity granted them to vote in municipal elections under the presidential and municipal suffrage bill passed recently by the state legislature. The first municipal election reported after Governor Roberts had signed the bill was at Camden, where the women cast their first votes, Mrs. Cordelia Hudson, eighty years of age, being the first woman to record her vote.

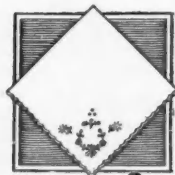
At Chattanooga, 578 women qualified to vote in the annexation election held on May 1, when the voters in eight suburban voting precincts passed upon the question of their annexation to the city of Chattanooga, only women residing in suburbs being eligible to vote. This enrollment is considered unusually good because of the fact that the news of the signing of the suffrage bill did not reach Chattanooga until noon on April 17, making it necessary for those who desired to vote in the election to register before the close of the registration period the evening of that same day. The suffragists conducted a hurried campaign, with the aid of automobiles. Before the close of the registration 578 women enrolled.

It is expected that a large number of women will qualify in Chattanooga to vote in the municipal election to be held in June.

McCutcheon's Handkerchiefs of Pure Linen

IN the Handkerchief Department of the "Linen Store" you will find the largest and most moderately priced selection of Pure Linen Handkerchiefs in America. In many instances our prices are as low as the present wholesale prices on the same Handkerchiefs.

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Ignore Weather

A STORM which swept the state did not deter the women of South Dakota from taking part in large numbers in their first municipal elections since they were granted the ballot. Although the lack of contests detracted from interest in some sections in the city, elections held on April 15, the women voters made a feature of the election. A large number of women voted in Sioux Falls, and reports from over the state indicated that many new voters had gone to the polls. The oldest woman voter in Sioux Falls was "Grandma" Naples, who celebrated her 83d birthday by voting for the first time.

With Their Usual Consistency

A WOMAN high in the councils of New Jersey anti-suffragists is the pioneer woman to run for office in Hillside, a suburb of Elizabeth. This is Mrs. Stockton B. Colt, president of the Elizabeth Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, who ran this spring for a place among the three Hillside Commissioners of Education. She failed; but that is not the point. The real point is, why did a woman who believes that a woman should have no part in directing her children's education outside of the home run for this office at all? But whatever Mrs. Colt's reason, she did want the office and possibly she might have been elected if women had voted at Hillside; that is, if we are to judge by the way women vote on educational matters in western states. But men alone vote in Hillside and Mrs. Colt still sits at home chafing, perhaps, at the defects in the local schools she would like to have a hand in curing, but consoled by her satisfaction that she was defeated by the best of all possible electorates.

State Suffrage News

(Continued from page 1075)

school nurses. This measure is reported in the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Legislative Bulletin with an urgent request that women support it.

That suffrage is a live issue in Massachusetts is evidenced by the long list of suffrage gatherings in various cities and sections of the state with programs that include speakers of prominence. Citizenship, Americanization and needed legislation are the subjects that engage major attention.

On Saturday mornings classes for those who wish to do public speaking on Citizenship and Americanization are held at suffrage headquarters. A large number have enrolled for the course, which is under the direction of Mrs. Frederick P. Bagley and Mrs. True Worthy White.

Mrs. Anna C. M. Tillinghast and Mrs. George Winslow Perkins were appointed by the state suffrage association to co-operate with the Woman's Committee of the Victory Loan. Throughout the state the suffragists were prominently identified with the Loan work.

Push Petition Work

THE Woman Suffrage Bulletin, the official organ published by the Baltimore branch of the Woman Suffrage League of Maryland has again made its appearance after an absence of several months. The Bulletin cites the significant fact that the Maryland Legislature will convene in January, 1920, and if all goes well will have an opportunity to ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

The League of Women Voters

The League's Reconstruction Program

THE program for the series of conferences on reconstruction problems included in the platform of the new League of Women Voters has been announced by the Washington headquarters of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. The fact that men predominate in the list of speakers and that recognized political partisans alternate as leaders of the conferences is in line with the declaration of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National association, that the League desires to work with and not against men and that the members of the League are to affiliate with the political parties of their choice and not form a new woman's party.

The conferences are being held on successive Monday evenings at the Washington headquarters of the National Suffrage Association. The speakers for each conference will represent divergent viewpoints and their talks will be followed by general discussion.

Land was the topic for May 5th and the speakers were Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior; Frank W. Mondell, Republican floor leader of the House; Elwood Mead, professor at Berkeley College and former government expert in land reclamation in Australia and New Zealand; Edward Prentiss Costigan, member of the Tariff Commission.

Champ Clark, member of the House of Representatives, and Philander P. Claxton, Commissioner of Education, are scheduled as speakers for May 12th, when the subject will be education.

On the evening of May 19th the subject of Labor will be presented by United States Senator William S. Kenyon; Edward

Keating, member of the commission to regulate government salaries; Miss Mary Van Kleek, director of the women in industry service of the Department of Labor.

THE topic for May 26th is Child Welfare and the speakers will be Miss Julia Lathrop, chief of the Children's Bureau; Louis Brownlow, commissioner of the District of Columbia; Dr. Dorothy Reed Mendenhall of the Children's Bureau.

Public Utilities is the topic for June 2nd and the speakers will be United States Senator Key Pittman; Horace M. Towner, member of the House of Representatives; David J. Lewis, member of the Tariff Commission; Robert W. Wooley, member of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

One Mooted Point

IN the last issue of the WOMAN CITIZEN, in connection with the labor standards presented to the Peace Conference, Dr. Annie S. Daniel, the well-known New York physician, stresses a question that belongs to the Women Voters' program, and that has been much mooted because, no doubt, of the sweeping language in which the standard sought is couched. This is the "No Night Work for Women" slogan.

Where, as Dr. Daniel pertinently suggests, are the women doctors to get off in this through-train service? What about the domestic servants, the trained nurses, the newspaper women? What about the thousands of women employed in many kinds of night work? Are they to be legislated out of that work with no compensating provision for their livelihoods?

Discrimination seems to be the answer. Great Britain's protective and restrictive legislation along these lines recognizes the complications and explicitly provides that women already employed in prohibited occupations are not to be displaced. Legislation that is worth a straw designed to keep the pregnant working-woman out of the work shop carries a subsidy to take care of her immediate need. The immediate need has a way of making itself poignantly felt and will always wedge itself into consideration along with the ultimate good.

The fact is that slogans are likely to sacrifice discrimination to force, the immediately possible to the ultimate ideal. No one is disposed to gainsay that no night work for women is the right standard to work toward. So is no night work for men. Night is not the ideal time for work. The ideal time for work is in the sunlight. But the ideal has to be achieved through varying adaptations of the real.

"THE National League of Women Voters stands for the solidarity of enfranchised women in America," said Mrs. Katherine Phillips Edson, executive secretary of the Industrial Welfare Commission, in a recent interview in the San Francisco press. "Its members are free to join any political party, but in this new organization they are pledged to a program which stands for industrial justice, higher citizenship and a broad educational and Americanization program."

"IF the great, fundamental issue for which the suffrage party stands can be advanced and therefore a better national basis can be established, then individual preferences and prejudices for president will be put aside and the members will vote instead for a great national issue of freedom and equal rights, which is broader than any old line party measure."—Burlington, Vt., *Free Press*.

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Neither Rank Nor Honor

THE Red Cross reports twenty-two women in canteen, and other parts of the service besides nursing, who died in the overseas service.

For the nursing service of 20,000 the roll of honor is much longer. There are at present 190 gold stars on the Service Flag of the Department of Nursing. One hundred of these have died of influenza. Others have died of pneumonia during the early days of the war and especially during the winter of 1917-1918. One nurse was killed at the aviation field at Issoudon, France, while many have been wounded in air raids, and even in evacuation stations within sound of the barrage. The Army has not allowed its nurses to go nearer the front, however, than these stations.

The two first casualties of the war were Mrs. Edith Ayres and Miss Helen Burnett Wood, who were killed on the S. S. Mongolia en route for service in Europe, when they were struck by fragments of shell while watching target practice.

Red Cross nurses, when members of the Army Nurse Corps, are given military burial, while it is no uncommon thing to have their sister nurses attend them, in uniform.

Not all among the nurses who deserve honor are dead. Reports are full of records of bravery in battles or raids. From the report of the Chief Nurse of the American Red Cross at Paris is an account of what one nurse's aid did on the night of a raid: "One wing of the hospital was struck and several buildings adjacent were completely demolished," says the report. "Almost all the windows were shattered. In an annex near by were several American patients who had been part of this aid's responsibility. Immediately after the bomb fell and destroyed the intervening houses, she crawled over the pile of bricks in the pitchy darkness and the broken timbers across the annex to see how her patients were and to reassure them."

FROM a nurse's letter home comes this gallant account of her first night on duty: "Upon our arrival at 10:30 p. m., three of us were put on night duty and being one of the husky ones, I was one of these. Just as we were about to go to the tents we were assigned to, the whistle which announces that 'Fritzie' is calling sounded, and we were at once in darkness. We happened to be in the corridor of the Chateau, which was headquarters for the staff and operating rooms for the hospital. Bang went Fritzie's calling card as it struck something outside and bang, bang, bang, went our welcoming response; we gave him such a warm welcome that he decided to cut his call short and go on to another hospital near by which he attacked with better success. It lasted for perhaps a half-hour—our exchange of amenities—and when it was over I quite curiously tried to analyze my sensations. The only ones that I could remember were one of disappointment at not being outside where I could see what was going on and one of amusement at the different attitudes of those around me. A timid voice out of the darkness said that the owner would not be so afraid if some one would hold her hand; everybody must have grabbed for a hand for I found both of mine being FIRMLY held and I could not get possession of them until the last gun had fired, so to speak."

American nurses have received decorations from the British and French governments. Among these are Mrs. Florence Bulard, who left for overseas duty with the American Ambulance Corps in December, 1916, and served to the end of the war. The official citation by the French government says of her: "She has



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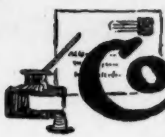
shown imperturbable sangfroid under the most violent bombardments during March and May. Despite her danger she searched for and comforted and assisted the wounded. Her attitude was especially brilliant on July 31, when bombs burst near."

TO Beatrice Mary MacDonald (Presbyterian Hospital Unit) and Eva Jean Parmelee, recommended for British war honors, General Pershing wrote: "The Commander-in-Chief wishes to express appreciation of the exceptional conduct that you displayed upon this occasion. Such bravery, on the part of one of our compatriots, calls forth our deepest admiration and is a source of inspiration to us all."

Nurses have received awards from Roumania, Japan, Russia, England and France. The latest are ten nurses of the American Red Cross Hospital in Auteuil, who, within the last month, have been awarded the *Medaille d'Honneur des Epidemics* by the French Government.

What foreign governments give the United States withholds. For such courage and devotion as these women show the United States government has as yet given not even the recognition that goes with army standing. The Department of Nursing of the American Red Cross is still carrying on in co-operation with various women's organizations its fight for rank for nurses.

The Jubilee Convention of the N. A. W. S. A. at St. Louis, recognizing that though the war was over, the army nurse is needed equally for the work of reconstruction, passed the following resolution: "Resolved, That we call upon Congress to give military rank to army nurses."



Correspondence



Some More Chivalry

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

I HAVE just appeared before the Council of State and asked for a bonus of 20% under a law passed by the last Legislature allowing chief clerks, deputies and chief deputies a 20% bonus for ten years' service, or more. The women who would come under this law, if it could be construed to apply to women, were with me at the hearing, also some of the leading women of Raleigh, but we were turned down cold by the Council of State. A man who had misappropriated funds was allowed this bonus—a man who was nearly fifty years old and had been disreputably involved in the office with a girl of the age of his oldest daughter, and when the climax came had given her \$50.00 of the state's money, which she later returned. This man had left the office in disgrace—his wife did not expect him to return; the State Auditor did not expect him to return, but he came back after three weeks' absence, took his place in the office, drew his full salary for the month, and is now receiving this 20%

bonus, while the women who have served long, faithfully and efficiently receive no recognition.

I told the Council of State that the Legislature of 1915 had said women could be notaries public, but a test case had been made; it was taken to the Supreme Court, and there defeated by one vote; that on account of that decision, to put it at a low estimate, the women of North Carolina had been cut out of half a million dollars yearly.

I give the law:

Chapter 12, Laws 1915: "The Governor is hereby authorized to appoint women as well as men to be notaries public, and this position shall be deemed a place of trust and profit, and not an office."

Even conservative Virginia allows its women to be notaries.

The Legislature of 1917, Ch. 146, created a State Board of Examiners for teachers, and prescribed that it should consist of six members—three men and three women, and that "the salary of EACH shall be fixed by the State Board of Education at a sum not to exceed \$2,500 per year exclusive of expenses." There is nothing in the statute indicating discrimination in salaries against women, but the Board fixed the salaries of the men at \$2,500 each and that of the women at \$2,000, though every one knows that the women members of the Board have the heavier duties to discharge, as the women teachers deal with the larger classes in the schools. In two years these three women have been cut out of \$1,000 each.

What is the matter with Southern chivalry—North Carolina chivalry particularly? Are

North Carolina women too stupid to be allowed a square deal? Are men the only people in North Carolina who can serve long, faithfully and efficiently?

Raleigh, N. C.

FANNIE W. SMITH.

Vale the Sixty-fifth Congress!

(With Apology for Spelling)

THE sixty-fifth Congress lacked the right type of "MOSES," failing in the "HALE" to the Promised Land of Political Equality.

That the speeches of the Antis should have been acid was natural, but to find some "BO-RAHSIC" acid, remains incomprehensible!

The opposition resorted to ingenious devices, three "SMITHS" forging "SHIELDS" for the thirty-three Senators pledged to "TRAMMEL" the Federal Suffrage Amendment with crafty "KNOX", aided and abetted by speculating "BANKHEADS," one zealot in their "LODGE" even volunteering to "FLETCHERIZE" the issue, should it survive their "GAY" attacks.

Behold thus the chivalrous attitude of obstructionists, leaning for "WEEKS" on a frail "REED" of sophistry in an "UNDERWOOD" of wire pulling, every man and supposed "OVERMAN" realizing in his subconsciousness the absurdity of much longer pitting the genus "HITCH-COCK" against the American eagle, symbol of world liberty.

Verily, the "HARD-WICK" of dim Antilight shall be snuffed out, every foe of suffrage, sooner or later, singing the "SWANSON(g)" of his political career.

The sixty-sixth Congress will consider past scant minority opposition for "WADSWORTH," passing the Magna Charta of Democracy under the great leadership of President Woodrow Wilson.

Oshkosh, Wis.

SOPHIE GUDDEN.

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The Great Problem

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

MAY I add a word of commendation to Miss Blackwell's excellent reply to Dr. Ulrich's defense of the compulsory examination of girls accused of prostitution?

Dr. Ulrich says "Far from attempting to make vice safer for men, the Federal Government is doing all in its power to induce the states to wipe commercialized prostitution off the face of America." Is it possible that Dr. Ulrich is unaware of the fact that the U. S. Government through its Public Health Service is attempting "to make vice safer for men" by instituting medical prophylaxis for the use of civilians? The object of this measure is to minimize the physical danger of vice to men, and throughout the war it was utilized on a gigantic scale to preserve the health of the soldiers. In effect, medical prophylaxis gives official sanction to sexual vice for men, for it encourages men to confess openly their guilt, and thereafter takes no steps whatsoever toward punishing those who by their own word are guilty of adultery or fornication. In the nature of the case the government cannot outlaw fornication and adultery on the part of men while it provides prophylactic treatment, for as Capt. Clark said—"If then punishment were administered for illicit sex relations, and men knew that they would convict themselves in applying for such treatment, they would fail to apply and there would be a consequent increase in venereal disease." Thus, for the sake of medical prophylaxis, the government is forced to connive at men's immorality.

DR. ULRICH'S appeal that suspected prostitutes must be examined and detained, if found to be diseased, because of the heart-breaking tragedies in wedlock resultant from infection, is scarcely consistent. Does Dr. Ulrich believe that prostitutes transmit syphilis and gonorrhoea directly to married women and their children? Is it not obvious that the husbands in these cases are the delinquents, and is it not desirable that the responsibility for the venereal infection of wives and children should be placed where it belongs and not upon the perennial scapegoat?

Dr. Ulrich refers to prostitutes as being the "chief carriers of venereal disease." From the point of view of both sanitation and morals, such a statement belongs to the middle ages. The great racial danger of the venereal scourge lies in the introduction of venereal disease into marriage. Dr. Ulrich herself confesses that it is the husband who brings venereal disease into wedlock. It is therefore a patent fact that from the point of view of the race, immoral men and not prostitutes are "the chief carriers of venereal disease."

It is difficult to imagine why Dr. Ulrich and the War Department and the U. S. Government should be so philanthropically concerned with

the health of prostitutes, unless in some way these women affect the health of soldiers and civilians. It is clear that they can affect the health of men only if they have sexual intercourse with them. To advise a discrimination, such as compulsory examination implies, between the detention of prostitutes found to be diseased and those not so affected, is essentially to attempt to make immorality safer for men. In other words, to insure to men the maximum safety in illicit sex relations.

DR. ULRICH says—"The venereal diseases are today without a doubt the world's greatest health problem. The United States is attempting through this campaign to bring about what women have struggled for for centuries—a single standard of morals for the two sexes."

On the contrary, except for verbal admonitions, unsubstantiated by action, the U. S. Government is still pursuing the outworn policy of hounding prostitutes and pandering to vice for men. It provides jails or detention homes for women sex offenders and prophylactic stations for their male copartners in vice. If Dr. Ulrich regards such a program as an effort to institute a single standard of morals for the two sexes, it is scarcely credible that she will find any other thinking woman who will agree with

her. If she would reverse the program and provide jails for male sex offenders and prophylactic stations for prostitutes, perhaps the general public would apprise her how inconsistent with a single standard prophylaxis and the compulsory examination of sex offenders are.

It is impossible to believe that Dr. Ulrich is sincere in maintaining that the government actually intends incarcerating impartially men and women known to be infected with venereal disease. In the first place the taxpayers could not finance such a plan, and in the second place it would be beyond reason to imprison so large a proportion of the male population and deprive them of their earning capacity. Ambulatory treatment is thoroughly consistent with curing most cases of venereal disease, and unless Dr. Ulrich and the U. S. Government are desirous of making vice safer for men, there is absolutely no excuse for detaining prostitutes at the public expense solely because they have a venereal disease. Punish them by all means for prostitution, but at the same time do not fail to penalize their more guilty partner, the man, who, by paying money for prostitution, insures the continued existence of the social evil and its inevitable ills.

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Vers Libre of Indians

IF it is true, as Mary Austin implies, that the Imagists and *vers librist*s of to-day are nearly related in the form and content of their verse to the primitive North American Indian poet, then it is up to the moderns to justify the fact that they have fitted their art to their ideas far less well than have their prototypes.

One may start in almost anywhere he pleases from Vachel Lindsey to Amy Lowell and he will

find very little twentieth century poetry which will afford him as much pleasure as some of the translations in George W. Cronyn's collection of Indian poems, "The Path on the Rainbow" (Boni and Liveright).

Mrs. Austin, who has competently interpreted, collected and translated much Indian poetry herself, says, in her introduction to Mr. Cronyn's collection, that "the first free movement in poetic originality in America finds us just about where the last Medicine Man left off."

This is being a little hard on the Medicine Man, who has this to his credit—that what he wrote was neither self-conscious nor artificial. It was his natural low-keyed form of speech, not something he chanted "at the top of his lungs." Some of the *vers librist*s "write at the top of their lungs."

Primitive songs are often rituals. Their iterations are fitted to body rhythms. They repeat and repeat for the single-minded purpose of arousing cognate emotions, religious, amorous, martial, even contemplative. They are hypnotic in intention and in effect.

THEY show parallelisms like those in great Hebraic verse:

"At her feet he bowed, he fell,
He lay down.

At her feet he bowed, he fell;

Where he bowed, there he fell down dead,"
sang Deborah, Judge of Israel, extolling the patriotism of Jael.

"In the place where the fight was
Across the river,
In the place where the fight was
Across the river:

A heavy load for a woman

To lift in her blanket,

A heavy load for a woman

To carry on her shoulder.

In the place where the fight was

Across the river,

In the place where the fight was

Across the river:

The women go wailing

To gather the wounded,

The women go wailing

To pick up the dead."

This is a Chippewa song, translated by Miss Frances Densmore. He has dull ears who cannot hear the accompaniment of cymbals or tom-toms in each, and who cannot see that both are fitted to the pageantry of life and death.

The Medicine Man knew this. An Indian—to quote Mrs. Austin—would say indifferently, "I cannot sing that dance," or "I cannot dance that song."

DEBORAH and Miriam could say the same thing. Songs like these were sung with bodies, with beating feet and clapping hands. They were often communal songs, accompanied by choral refrains, built up on the spot, to fit an occasion. The American negro did the same thing; he continues to do it. The Anglo-Saxon did the same long ago and remnants of his communal songs are found in children's round games with their refrains and repetitions.

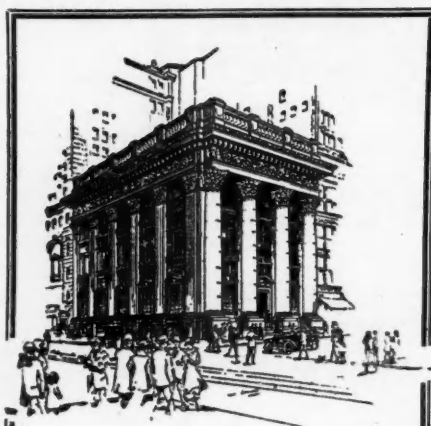
And the Medicine Man's song reproduced nature as the *vers librist*'s does not.

Songs of the mesas shimmer with light and heat. Butterflies quiver in the sunshine. Crooning women sing to the motion of their bodies as they grind corn, or sway in lullabies. The corn-mother is golden with sunshine.

With these mesa songs Natalie Curtis made the world familiar years ago, so that it is not quite fair to proclaim Mr. Cronyn's as "the first authoritative volume of Aboriginal American verse." Alice Fletcher, under the Indian Department of the United States Government, made an equally valuable contribution of songs from the Pawnees, Omahas and Sioux.

Both Miss Fletcher and Miss Curtis notated the music which accompanied their songs and in many cases Indian poems lose most of their value when dissociated from music.

But there is a whole series of verse presented by Mr. Cronyn which is informed with



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that interpretive power that marks real poetry in any age. Many of them Mr. Cronyn has assembled under the caption, "Interpretations." These are mainly devoted to the love-seeking emotions of Indian women.

THE Indian woman goes out in these poems to fulfill her destiny and find a mate just as unconsciously as do the maidens created by Shakespeare and Thomas Hardy. When love touched primitive woman "in the house of waiting," and "hid the seeds of life in her garments," she "washed her heart with prayer," and her body "with juices of cedar; perfumed it and dried it by the wind that came up from the shore."

And this is the song she sang:
"Come, come, O swift and strong!
We are the women; seek us!

Our hearts, like little swallows, nest above the secret pools.

Oh, the waters shall sparkle and leap and mingle

And brim at your lips, O men!

They shall fill the hollows of his house with children!

Flowing in laughter and whispers and little cries

As smoke through the smoke-hole at evening!

"O men, hunters of life,

We are the harborers, the fosterers—the women:

Seek us. . . .

"Two by two, they come up from the forest—the men and the women

The women's smiles are the little sun-tipped clouds

Floating across the face of the mountains:

The look in their eyes is deeper than seas.

High in the light the men lift their heads.

On their clear brows is the mystic mark

Of those from whom a great dream has gone forth.

Firmly they hold the hands of the women,

Who have given peace to their strength, and a meaning.

Together, together, the race-makers enter the lodges."

Here woman, as direct actionist, is hewing true to the destiny society and the race have mapped out for her. She gets what her heart clamors for, but not by the road of continual subterfuge. She does not degrade the mating instinct to a hole-and-corner, peeping Tom sort

of thing. Unabashed, she flashes it from eyes and lips and dancing feet.

If it is primitive, it is not as vulgar as is the modern method, and it runs true to type. It shames the biological chatter of the folk who talk much about the true vocation of woman and make of her own attempts to fulfill it something obscene or humorous.

Yet these primitive Indian women were by no means fools. They were quite awake to the fact that being "the harbinger and fosterer" will always put the handicap of relentless permanency upon women's love adventures.

"For now I know," sings the young Indian mother,
"Why the maiden plaits a whip of cedar fibre
To give into her husband's hand on her marriage day."

"Ay, 'tis old, the custom;

Old as earth is old;

Ancient as passion,

Pitiless as passion—

Ay pitiless, pitiless, the earth-way for women!

"Bitter it is, as the taste of bright sea-water,

That he, who takes the gift

And wields our weaving of desire,

Knows not the meaning of the gift—nor can know ever!

"Into the heedless hand of passion

We yield our power of pain—

It is the law of the earth-way."

This plumbs the depths of woman's eternal problem, and does it with a simple realism, more heart-searching than the subtle Verlainesque verses of the twentieth century *vers libristes*.

IT is of interest, in passing, to note that American women have done a large part in preserving these Indian poems from oblivion. For years detached individuals have been culling here and there the best of the rapidly passing Indian verses and melodies.

Besides Alice Fletcher and Frances Densmore and Natalie Curtis, already noted, Matilda Cox Stevenson has preserved some Zuni and Sia verses. Constance Lindsay Skinner is responsible for some of the most exquisite translations of "Interpretations," Mary Austin for as many more, among them a Shoshone love song very beautiful, "Neither Spirit Nor Bird."

Alice Corbin Henderson, Pauline Johnson, Harriet Maxwell Converse are other women who have done serious work in rescuing the free verse of the Indian race from oblivion.

For Dog Lovers

BERTHA WHITRIDGE SMITH'S "Only a Dog" (E. P. Dutton & Co.) isn't a great dog book like "Greyfriars Bobbie," nor yet "Rab and His Friends," but dog lovers will like it. It is the autobiography of a very Cosmopolitan Irish terrier, whose French home was invaded by the Boche. Not having too strong anti-British scruples and home-rule proclivities, he attached himself quite easily to a British Tommie and stuck to him until death and after death.

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THE Martin-Baumes Bill in the New York Legislature (Assembly Int. No. 64, Senate Int. No. 136) proposed absolute preference in civil service appointment and promotions of honorably discharged soldiers, sailors and marines. The Civil Service Reform Association urged voters to telegraph their vigorous protest to members of the Senate Judiciary Committee on the ground that the bill (1) was undemocratic; (2) attacked the merit system and destroyed the efficiency of the civil service; (3) discriminated against women, policemen, firemen and many others who have done faithful work in civil service.

ANNOUNCEMENT was made recently by Surgeon General Blue of the appointment of Miss Lucy Minnegerode as Superintendent of the United States Public Health Nurse Corps. Because of the great increase in the merchant marine and associate industries it is expected the number of patients to be cared for in hospitals by the Public Health Service will be increased from 50,000 a year to fully 75,000. Miss Minnegerode has been connected with the Red Cross since 1915.

Doors of Opportunity



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MRS. ISOBEL KLEIN, CLARKSVILLE, ARK.
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An Arkansas Portia

THE distinction of being the only woman practicing attorney in the state of Arkansas is an honor held by Mrs. Isobel Klein of Clarksville. Mrs. Klein, as might be supposed, is an ardent suffragist, and during the coming summer will assist the Equal Suffrage Central Committee in the work of organizing the state.

Mrs. Klein is especially interested in Juvenile Court cases and on the occasion of a recent visit to Little Rock she so successfully defended two small offenders accused of theft that they were discharged by the court. Following the trial Mrs. Klein told the probation officer she would come to Little Rock at her own expense to plead any juvenile case whenever she could be of service.

"An Arkansas Portia" was the way the press referred to the charming attorney whose presence in the court room created no small stir.

MISS Gertrude McNally, of Washington, secretary of the Women's Union of the U. S. Bureau of Engraving and Printing, Local 105 of the National Federation of Federal Employees, was elected seventh vice-president of the Maryland State and District Federation of Labor, at the annual convention which has just concluded its sessions at Lonaconing, Maryland. Miss McNally is one of the general organizers of the National Federation of Fed-

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eral Employees. Her election puts a second woman member on the executive council of the Maryland State Federation, Miss Anna Neary, of Baltimore, who has for several years held the position of sixth vice-president, having been reelected.

AS a result of the Red Cross survey into the nursing resources of the United States no less than 150,000 nurses have signed questionnaires. In one division whose nursing force was previously reported as 200, no less than 20,000 nurses actually gave in their names.

ACCORDING to the *Woman's Century* (Canada) women judges are serving in Montreal, Calgary, Edmonton and Vancouver and the City Council of Toronto is considering the suggestion approved by the Provincial Attorney that a man and a woman be appointed judges in the Juvenile Court.

THE Women's Oversea Hospitals, U. S. A. which have peregrinated ever since the Attorney that a man and a woman be appointed, have now assembled all the units left in France at Rheims. Activities will be concentrated in the Hospital Noel Cague, and, for the present, in conjunction with the American Fund for French wounded.

Resolutions in Favor

Whereas the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment recommended by President Wilson and endorsed by all the political parties and leading thinkers of the country, passed the House and lacked but one vote of passing the Senate, in the 65th Congress, and its early passage by the incoming Congress is practically a foregone conclusion, and

Whereas the various nations of the earth recognized woman's participation in the world war, thereby granting them the franchise,

Therefore be it resolved, That we, the members of the West Virginia Dental Association in session at Wheeling, April 11th, 1919, request Congress to take early favorable action on the Federal Suffrage Amendment, and that we solicit the support of the West Virginia members.

Whereas the General Federation of Women's Clubs, as well as the State Federation, has endorsed the Federal Suffrage Amendment,

Be it resolved, That the Federated Women's Clubs of the First Congressional District, in convention assembled at Moundsville, West Virginia, April 10th, 1919, call upon the West Virginia representatives in the 66th Congress for their hearty support of the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

Whereas the women of twenty other countries are voting on equal terms with men and in our country the women of fifteen states are fully enfranchised and the women of fourteen additional states have the right of presidential suffrage and

Whereas the General Federation of Women's Clubs has endorsed the principle of political equality regardless of sex.

Therefore be it resolved, That the Maryland State Federation of Women's Clubs declares itself in favor of the extension of suffrage to women in all the states on equal terms with men.

IN Convention at Tallahassee, on April 8th, 9th and 10th, 1919, the Florida State Federation of Labor passed the following resolution:

WHEREAS, We believe that it is essential to the establishment of democracy to give votes to women as well as to men, and

WHEREAS, The splendid service during the war of the women of Florida has entitled them to such consideration, and

WHEREAS, The successful solution of the problems of reconstruction require the intelligent cooperation of men with women, and

WHEREAS, Florida women have decided that a right to vote in the primaries is the most practical form of suffrage for them at present; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the members of the

Florida Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled at Tallahassee, April 9th, 1919, do hereby endorse this measure and call upon the Legislature now in session for its passage.

THE following is the text of a resolution passed by the New England Suffrage Conference at its annual meeting this spring:

Whereas, At the recent National Convention held at St. Louis, the spirit of the assembly was so athrill with the new liberty of the great number of enfranchised women in America, that very few plans were formulated for assisting the non-suffrage states in their long-continued and wearisome fight for enfranchisement, be it

Resolved, That we, New England suffragists in conference assembled, call upon the League of Women Voters to form a special committee, which shall formulate plans for assisting the non-voting states in their struggle for suffrage, in order that these few states may not be left such a drag upon the wheel of progress as to defeat at the critical moment the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

Suffrage and the Churches

THE extension of full suffrage to women in the councils of the Methodist Church was urged by the Rev. Archey Decatur Ball, pastor of the Centre Methodist Episcopal Church of Malden, Mass., in an address delivered recently before the New England Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The address, which was delivered during the celebration of the thirtieth anniversary of the deaconess work, was a strong tribute to the work of women in the church and urged the recognition of the women as a necessary means of carrying out the work of reconstructing the world. The pioneer work of the women in the unbuilding of the church has fitted them for the increased responsibilities of the present time and their thought and power are needed by the entire world for the development of its religious and civic life.

Another declaration for woman suffrage was delivered by Bishop Rhinelander in an address on the subject "The Church and Politics," delivered in the Diocesan Church of St. Mary at Philadelphia recently. During his discourse on problems that must be solved by the church, Bishop Rhinelander declared himself in favor of votes for women. "Personally, I do not see why the women should not vote," he declared.

HEREAFTER women are to enjoy laity rights in the Methodist Episcopal (South) Church, as the result of action taken at the conference held at Nashville, Tennessee. The vote extending laity rights to women was 4,229 for and 449 against the required three-fourths vote being exceeded by a substantial margin.

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Universities That Lag Behind

THE appointment of Dr. Alice Hamilton to the Harvard faculty—the first woman ever to be placed on this faculty—opens up the story of women's long exclusion from universities. For instance, there is the University of Georgia, which prides itself upon being the oldest state university in America. It was chartered in 1785, but not until recently has it really been a state university; it has been just a men's university.

It has shared with the University of Virginia the distinction of excluding women, to its own undoing, as is claimed by the dean of education in Georgia University, Dr. T. J. Woofter, who showed in a recent article in the *Atlanta Constitution* that the new order of things in which women are to have a share will bring benefits not only to the women of Georgia but to the University of Georgia.

"Dean Woofter confessed to laggardliness in the growth of Georgia's State University compared with newer institutions with more modern ideals. 'Upon comparison we feel,' said he, 'that the State Universities of Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Missouri and of California may be cited as among those whose attendance has gone up into the several thousands, whose buildings and grounds have been greatly magnified, and whose appropriations have gone to or beyond the million mark. These all admit women, and strive in many ways to serve the whole people, all classes alike according to needs. It seems almost axiomatic that institutions thrive, grow, and are esteemed in proportion as they do function in the needs of the people.'

"I was my privilege a few weeks ago to visit three remarkable universities. These were Rice Institute University, Houston, Texas, with an endowment of \$10,000,000; Leland Stanford University, with an endowment of over \$30,000,000; and the University of California. In Stanford I found 2000 students, 500 of whom were women, many from wealthy families. It was at the time that the Phi Beta Kappa honors were awarded, and the women, constituting one-fourth of the enrollment, carried off nearly three-fourths of the Phi Beta Kappa distinctions.

"In all these institutions the women were regarded as a matter of course, and everything moved along with more naturalness apparently than one finds in most exclusive institutions for

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either sex where many artificial restrictions are thrown around.

IT seems useless to go into any revival of the academic discussion of the principle of co-education. This has been practically settled by all the great state universities and the later endowed universities. The University of Virginia has divided with the University of Georgia the distinction of excluding women, and neither, despite the start in years, can be ranked as great in the same class with those above mentioned and with others like them.

"In extending the work of the university to women we afford them more nearly equal opportunities with men, which is rightfully due them, and at the same time we bring greater blessings to the university. We look for all symptoms of rowdism to disappear, for greater care in dress and decorum, for larger practice of the niceties of life, and for general culture and refinement as better products of college days. Look also for comparable gains in our physical surroundings. No longer will any sort of old building with antiquated equipment be considered adequate. The whole campus will ere many years take on greater beauty.

"Georgia is a great state, great in natural resources, expanding wealth, and good old Anglo-Saxon stock of people. Not only should she give to her women equal opportunities with her men, but also give to both women and men equal opportunities with those given in California or in any other state or country in the world."

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Old Style. Vol. XLIX

See pages 1106-1107 for answers to your
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NEW STYLE VOL. III

MAY 17, 1919

NUMBER 51

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

Europe, Africa and Congress

ON May 19 the 66th Congress is to convene in special session, and Washington again becomes the cynosure of suffragists' eyes because of the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

The National American Woman Suffrage Association does not give out polls on the amendment; it does not lay claim for the amendment to the votes of men who later repudiate the claim; it does not publicly commit a man in advance of the man's own program of making public his commitment.

But neither does it short count the votes for the amendment, and it is worthy of notice that on Thursday, May 8, while less up-to-date protagonists were announcing that they were preparing to scurry over the country to seek "that other vote," it issued a statement from its Washington headquarters to stress the fact that it had definite assurance that the amendment would be passed at the coming extra session.

The statement announced also the code of action, which, as formulated by Maud Wood Park, Chairman of the Congressional Committee, has brought the movement to victory at Washington.

"Don't tell all you know; don't tell anything you do not know; don't repeat even a small thing told you in confidence; don't lose your temper; don't nag; don't threaten; don't boast."

IT is not a betrayal of confidence to add in passing that the newspapers of May 10 carried a United Press dispatch to say that information had reached Washington that William J. Harris, the new Senator from Georgia, who is now in Europe, has told President Wilson that he will vote for the amendment.

"As a matter of fact," says the *New York Evening Sun*, which as a staunch Republican has no mind to let too much credit accrue to the Democrats because of Senator Harris's pledge, "as a matter of fact, the passage of the suffrage resolution has been a matter of certainty almost since last fall's elections."

Well, it would certainly outrage a watchful and waiting country if the passage were not a certainty, or if it should even be delayed.

Here stand American women in these blessed May days still without the gates, while the women of twenty European nations had been given the vote prior to January, 1919. In only two of these, Holland and Sweden, was the necessary parliamentary procedure not quite complete by January, 1919; and of these two Holland last week put the woman suffrage bill through the second chamber of Parliament by a large majority, while the completion of Sweden's suffrage program is merely a matter of formalities.

SINCE January, 1919, two other European countries, Belgium and France, have agitated the woman suffrage question. The result in Belgium has been the granting of suffrage to women not because they are women but because they are the widows and mothers of soldiers, or the mothers of civilians shot by the Germans. In France, at the present moment, one woman suffrage measure after another is being presented in the Chamber of Deputies and it is but a question of a short time until one will be found upon which that body can agree. In Poland five women are seated in the constituent assembly.

Nor is the story of Europe the whole suffrage story. From far away South Africa comes the word that the Union Parliament passed a woman suffrage measure in April.

What can the United States do but pass the Federal Suffrage Amendment if it is to keep its face in the League of Nations?

Reconstruction Problems

SELDOM has any advanced program been received with wider acclaim than has the program of conferences on reconstruction problems scheduled by the National Suffrage Association for the League of Women Voters at the National's Washington headquarters, 1626 Rhode Island Avenue. Mrs. Helen H. Gardner, a vice-president of the association, has had in hand the lining up of speakers for the conferences and her genius for "lining up" has been signally demonstrated in the personnel of speakers. The meetings for May 5, May 9, and May 12 were the occasion of widely-quoted speeches by Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior; Frank W. Mondell, Republican floor leader of the House; Elwood Mead and Edward Prentiss Costigan, member of the Tariff Commission; Champ Clark and Philander P. Clayton, the first four speaking on the land question and the last two on the question of education.

Three other speakers of note are scheduled for the May 19 meeting which will take up the discussion of labor. They are Senator Kenyon, Edward Keating, and Miss Mary Van Kleeck.

On May 26 child welfare will be presented by Julia Lathrop, Commissioner Brownlow, and Dr. Dorothy Reed Mendenhall, of the Children's Bureau.

On June 2 public utilities will be up for discussion by such inspiring speakers as Senator Key Pittman, Representative Towner, David J. Lewis, of the Tariff Commission, and Robert W. Wooley, of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Grand Opera Needs Votes for Women

"THANK God!—and I say it with reverence—the woman's vote will be very powerful. There will be a better chance for national opera."

This explosion of thankfulness is from Charles Manners, director of English opera companies, in a letter to the London press. It is part of an urgent plea for the assistance of some member of the British Parliament to help in establishing national opera.

"The women's vote can do a great deal to help in this, operatically speaking, benighted country, and bring us into line with other countries," pleads Mr. Manners, who, with his wife—a well-known soprano—is visiting the English-speaking countries in the interest of opera in English nationally sustained, without adding a penny to the taxes.

"In Italy, for example," he says, "there were, before the war, over 360 opera companies; and, just for record's sake, thousands in France, Austria and Germany, with over 400 English-speaking singers making a living in the German companies alone. But England! Well, there are about six opera companies in all, and London is without any at all, English or foreign. The result is that we know all too little about opera. Some years ago I gave a performance to 1,500 children from the London County Council schools, and of this number only eight had heard and seen a grand opera before."

"What would have become of opera without women—and the press—I do not know."

Do Women Hate to Work for Women?

SOMETIMES they say so. People have often been heard to say they hate to work for churches, for city governments, for corporations or for school boards. Doubtless whether they do or don't depends largely on the personnel of any of these combinations of people.

There are all kinds of women. There are also all kinds of men. For which kind does a girl like to work?

If she is indifferent about kinds and only interested in the sex of her employer, there are nine chances to one that she has gone into business with the wrong attitude. She may have undertaken a commercial career as an adventure in which an interest in sex has played a subconscious part.

She may have struck several successive women employers who were captious or cantankerous, or she may be the sort of working girl who likes to shuffle through her tasks without being called to order.

One girl, loudly airing her grievances in an evening paper recently, said she liked to work for men because:

"A man has some confidence in the people who work under him. Especially he trusts his stenographer. After she has been with him for six months, generally he merely glances over her letters before affixing his signature. If her hieroglyphic notes prove too much for her occasionally and she changes a word or sentence, he is not too curious. If the letter is reasonably clean and well-appearing he doesn't stop to measure the margins or count the commas. The way Miss Blank runs her typewriter, light or heavy touch, a la limousine or Ford, doesn't worry him. That's her business; she knows it best and he is content to leave it to her. Perhaps it is man's natural vanity. Miss Blank must be all right. Else why would a judge of character and efficiency like himself keep her on the pay-roll?"

In other words, the things which made this man a poor employer, negligent of the interests of his firm and of the efficiency

of his office force, endeared him to his secretary.

The same girl resented the fact that women executives have "certain ways of doing things" which they insist on forcing their assistants to follow. I never met a man who actually cared whether a dash or colon came after the 'Dear Sirs,' or who made it a rule of the office that all letters must be written in double space, but the fatal three weeks' woman who taught me to avoid women executives had minute instructions on all office routine. And the way women make corrections! The average man corrects a mistake good-humoredly, half-apologetically. Mistakes fret a woman's finely developed sense of perfection."

So to come right down to it, a "woman's sense of perfection" seems to be higher than that of a man.

Where a right-minded girl hates to work for a right-minded woman, the chances are that one or the other is thin-skinned or unapproachable. There is a solidarity of interest and of good-fellowship where women work together for a cause or a profession in which both employers and employed are interested which has no equal outside of a soldier's camp when officers and men are on terms of good understanding; for just women understand and sympathize with their employees as do just men.

The Spirit of Georgia

THE Georgia victory, whereby the women of Atlanta were given suffrage in the municipal primaries by the Democratic City Executive Committee, grows the neater the longer you consider it. Twenty-five of the forty members of the Committee attended the council meeting and of the twenty-five, twenty-four went on record in favor.

"And the spirit of the giving was as fine as the gift," says Mrs. Emily McDougald, to whose generalship the victory is attributed. Each voter vied with the others in a little speech to prove that he held it an honor to vote yes. Then, as soon as the vote was recorded, up rose the city clerk, Mr. Walter Taylor, and offered to take upon himself all the clerical work of the preparation of the registration lists, etc.

Atlanta women have met the "fine spirit" of the giving with a fine spirit of their own and are planning to hold almost daily ward meetings all over the city for the purpose of educating the women in city government.

As an evidence of the great change in Georgia's public sentiment toward suffrage Mrs. McDougald quotes from the funeral sermon of a Mrs. Heard, of Elberton, one of the most influential, best beloved and wealthiest women of the state: "I wish to add," said the minister in closing, "that one of her splendid womanly qualities was her belief in the rights of women."

THE Woman Citizen

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"Always Young for Liberty"

THE centenary of Julia Ward Howe will be celebrated on May 27, by many different organizations, and especially by the suffragists. Among the early standard-bearers of our cause, the author of "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" occupies a shining place. The special kind of help that she brought to the movement was unique, as she herself was.

Born in New York City three days before Queen Victoria saw the light on the other side of the Atlantic, little Julia was fortunate in her ancestry. On her father's side she was descended from Roger Williams; on her mother's she came of Huguenot blood. She was a grand-niece of Gen. Francis Marion, the "swamp fox" of South Carolina.

The little red-headed girl soon astonished her teachers by her zeal for study. "She grasped at knowledge with both hands, plucked it as a child plucks flowers, with unwearying enjoyment." At nine years old she was studying Paley's "Moral Philosophy" with girls of eighteen. She picked up languages like pebbles. At sixteen she began to contribute poems and reviews to the press.

She grew up dreamy and absent, absorbed in severe studies, yet full of fun and flashing wit. She and her two beautiful sisters were called "the Three Graces of Bond Street." Her daughter, Mrs. Laura S. Richards, says:

"No one now pitied her for the glorious crown of red-gold hair, which set off the rose and ivory of her matchless complexion. Everyone recognized and acknowledged in her 'stately Julia, queen of all.'"

In 1841 she made a visit to Boston. Longfellow and Charles Sumner took her to see the Perkins Institution for the blind. That day she had her first glimpse of Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe on his black horse—"a noble rider on a noble steed"—as she afterwards described him. He was nearly twenty years her senior. He had gone abroad and helped the Greeks, the French and the Poles in their fight for freedom. Whittier's poem, "The Hero," describes one of his adventures in Greece. At home he had done remarkable work for the blind. Most of his courtship of Julia Ward took place in the parlors of a house on Park Street where the *Woman's Journal* had its office long after.

THEY were married in 1843, and went abroad with another newly married pair, Mr. and Mrs. Horace Mann. Dr. Howe had been made famous throughout the world by the account of his education of the deaf, dumb and blind girl, Laura Bridgman, given in Charles Dickens's "American Notes." Their trip abroad was like a triumphal progress.

After their return, Dr. Howe resumed his work at the blind Asylum, and Mrs. Howe was busy bringing up her beautiful children. A son and four daughters lived to grow up.* In her delightful book, "When I Was Your Age," Mrs. Richards says:

"To her our confidences were made, for she had a rare understanding of the child mind. It was very strange to us to find other children holding their revels without their father and mother. 'Papa and Mamma' were always the life and soul of ours.

"Through all and around all, like a laughing river, flowed the current of her wit and fun. No child could be sad in her company. If we were cold, there was a merry bout of 'fisticuffs' to warm us; if we were too warm, there was a song or story while we sat and cooled off.

"It was worth while to have measles, not because one had stewed prunes and cream toast, but because our mother sat by us and sang 'Lord Thomas and Fair Elinor,' or some mystic ballad."

She had a beautiful voice, and sang the children songs in many languages, repeating their favorites over and over.

"Not one of us ever guessed, as we listened with all our souls, that the cunning mother was giving us a French or German or Italian lesson, and that what was learned in that way would never be forgotten.

"Study formed always an important part of her life. It was her delight and recreation, when wearied with household cares, to plunge into German metaphysics, or into the works of the Latin poets, whom she dearly loved.

"Very, very much our mother loved her books. Yet how quickly were they laid aside when any head was bumped, any knee scratched, any finger cut!"

In her girlhood Mrs. Howe had been absorbed in poetry and philosophy, and had thought it needless to learn also how to keep house—"being a fool," as she said in telling of it; so she had a hard time at first; but she finally mastered the mystery of housekeeping, and boasted in later years that all her grand-daughters understood it, in addition to their other arts and sciences.

Mrs. Richards says:

"Our mother's hospitality was boundless. She loved to fill the house to overflowing. Often the beds were all filled, and we children had to take to sofas and cots. Once, I remember, Harry slept on a mattress laid on the top of the piano."

BOSTON from 1840 to 1850 was a hot bed of "isms." Transcendentalism, the anti-slavery movement and liberal religion were all discussed in the Howe home, by many distinguished visitors, native and foreign. She was soon cured of her early prejudice against the abolitionists. She shared her husband's enthusiasm for the Free Soil party, and helped him in publishing an anti-slavery paper, "The Commonwealth." Her first volume of poems, "Passion Flowers," came out anonymously in 1854. Other books appearing later were "Words for the Hour," "A Trip to Cuba" (this work was prohibited in Cuba), "The World's Own," "From the Oak to the Olive," "Later Lyrics," "Sex and Education," "Memoir of Samuel Gridley Howe," "Life of Margaret Fuller," "Is Polite Society Polite?" "From Sunset Ridge," "Reminiscences," and "Sketches of Representative New England Women."

During the visit to Washington in 1861, she woke in the night, and the lines of the "Battle Hymn" began to come to her. She got up and jotted them down—having learned to note down verses in a darkened room while her children slept. An old Civil War officer has told how that song used to lift the men's hearts on the long dusty marches. Once it carried a forlorn hope to victory. Recently Gen. Edwards told Mrs. Maud Howe Elliott how much inspiration it brought to the soldiers during the war just past. Mrs. Howe always felt as if this hymn was not her own, but was "given to her."

She took an active part in founding the New England Women's Club, which, as its members claim, anticipated even Sorosis. She was its president for many years, and the centre of a rare galaxy of remarkable women—Louisa M. Alcott, Ednah D. Cheney, Abby W. May, Abby Morton Diaz, Elizabeth Peabody and many

(Continued on page 1100)

* Julia Romana Anagnos, Florence Howe Hall, Professor Henry Marion Howe, Laura E. Richards and Maud Howe Elliott.

The Future of the Woman's Land Army

One State's Experience Past and Present

A Story for Summer Girls

By Mrs. Otto Eichel

*Chairman of New York State Woman's
Land Army*

THE Woman's Land Army started (with one camp at Bedford in Westchester County, New York, the first year we entered the War) as an agricultural experimental station. This camp was founded by Mrs. Charles W. Short, Jr., who originated the "unit plan" under which the Land Army has operated and upon which the Government has accepted it as a part of the U. S. Employment Service of the Federal Department of Labor.

The purposes of this first camp, as was that of the forty-five others succeeding it in New York state, and the many others about the country, was to meet the existing shortage of farm labor and in that way prevent decreasing food production.

It is needless to say the work of Bedford and of the camps last season was extremely successful. At least two thousand girls went out through the Land Army to work on the farms of New York state. Today on file in the New York office of the organization, 303 Fifth Avenue, are many testimonials from farmers from all parts of the state endorsing the splendid work of these young women, who, patriotically inspired, went out to do their bit on the land, in order not only that America and America's soldiers might be supplied with food, but that the armies and civilian population of our Allies might be fed.

The day after the Armistice was signed a visitor at the Woman's Land Army's New York office said, in a rather consoling manner, "Now your work is over, the soldiers will be returning, there will be plenty of men to cultivate the land. In addition, it will of course no longer be possible to obtain women to do this work because the patriotic spirit inspiring them to enlist in your Army has gone," but the officers of the Woman's Land Army had an entirely different idea of what the signing of the Armistice really meant to their organization. They knew that in the developing of the Unit plan of placing women on the land they had discovered something which was not only unique, but revolutionary, because it had solved so many problems in the rural life of our state that it had not planned to solve in the beginning.

NO one had dreamed that a group of patriotic young women, properly supervised, properly chaperoned, going out with their hoes in hand to fight the food shortage, would be the beginning of one of the greatest reconstruction movements which is today developing in this country, a movement all people who realize the problems that confronted the farmer in the past are instinctively drawn to.

In considering the revolutionary aspects of the Land Army movement one must regard it from so many different angles. There is the importance of the fundamental value of food, particularly at this time when the world cries for food. In the years preceding the war, year by year the number of acres placed under cultivation in each state decreased. How was this you may ask? For several reasons—because the greater percentage of the youth of the rural population left the country and went into the cities. The result was that in the farmer's own family

there was a scarcity of hands to work the land, and added to this was the decrease year by year in the number of men who were willing either to live in the country or go out from the cities for short time labor. There existed, therefore, even before the war, a shortage of labor. Food in some localities was scarce, and the price of what food there was, was high.

THERE is nothing as we all know, that creates greater incentive for social unrest than the high prices of food. For generations the great labor groups in this country and in Europe have steadily rebelled against the price of food.

Now that the war is over the Land Army hopes to be a factor in remedying this unfortunate situation regarding food. It is at present carrying on an educational campaign for intensive farming; urging every farmer in the state to place under cultivation every tillable acre of land he possesses; making it possible for him to cultivate that land by supplying groups of strong, healthy young women to assist him, housing them in sanitary, comfortable, properly supervised camps, centrally located in a district of general farming; transporting the workers from the camps to the farms where they are employed, with no cost to the farmer within a three mile limit. But in this campaign for increased food production the Land Army hopes to go even further. It aims to be the stimulus of a movement to make it possible to aid the farmer in the distribution of his products, and thereby to conserve for him a larger portion of the profits of his produce. The Land Army realizes that it is useless to urge the farmer to produce more food if in its distribution he does not receive a fair percentage of the profits of his produce.

LAST year the camps were placed hurriedly, in fact wherever houses could be obtained. This year a very careful survey is being made of each county, and camps will be placed not only where they are needed but where they will be best used to advantage. In placing these camps the Land Army is considering the shortage of labor which existed before the war, realizing that, notwithstanding the fact the soldiers are returning, in order to put through a season, and many seasons it is hoped, of intensive farming, the Land Army Camps are necessary.

The second reason for considering the Land Army as a revolutionary movement is one of great importance and of tremendous benefit to the country. Last year some of the Land Army camps were developed in a small way into rural community centres; in one county each Saturday night entertainments were given which were open not only to the girls living at the camp but to the farmers and their wives in the vicinity. Very shortly these Saturday evening entertainments became a feature of the rural life of that district. Farmers and their wives and children from all around looked forward eagerly to Saturday night and the entertainment at the Land Army camps—sometimes it was a lecture, sometimes moving pictures, again a dance, and again, what they all seemed to like best, a "community sing."

May 17, 1919

One Thousand and Ninety-seven

There were times at which two hundred farmers and their wives gathered in one of the Land Army camps for a "community sing." Those of our readers who realize the isolation of country life will realize the benefit of the Land Army Camp in a community when used for social purposes. It eliminates one of the factors which has been responsible for driving the young men and young women from the farms into the cities; it brings in close contact also the people from the city and the country—it throws down the unnamable barrier and lack of understanding which for years has existed between the two. The Land Army also is of great educational value in teaching the young men and young women of the country as well as the city, the dignity and value of manual labor, especially labor in the fresh open air of the country, and it will, it is hoped, become an apparent factor in improving the health of the people generally.

THAT the Land Army is today the important "back to the land" movement is quite evident, and that the conditions under which it urges people to return to the land are ideal, is unquestionable.

Aside from the benefits of the rural community and of its factor in increasing food production, the Land Army is of untold value to the city girl. Here, too, it solves a great problem. In the past many girls and young women who were in school or college, with a long three months vacation on their hands, spent this time at the sea-shore or in the mountains having a good time. Young America, as we all know, loves a good time, but it craves something vital and wants to be doing something fundamental. Many a girl has restlessly in the past spent her summer in enforced idleness. To those girls the Land Army has been a great blessing, giving them as it does the opportunity to spend their summers in the country in the open, but at the same time to do something which is worth while, live under good conditions, among congenial people, and to be properly taken care of and properly fed.

For weeks past now many of these girls have been coming into the state headquarters and the local headquarters of the New York Land Army asking how early in the spring they can go out on to the land. "When will the first camp open?" is the question one hears in this office day after day. "I am homesick for my Land Army Camp" another says. But it is not alone the college girl who has been made happy and to whom has been opened a new life by the Land Army. There are the vacation girls whose vacations in the past have been spent either at home or very much as has the class of girls just described. It has been on the whole a very unsatisfactory vacation for most of these young women. Many of them also went into the Land Army camps last summer and they, too, are hammering at the doors of the camps this season for admission.

Then there is still another class to be looked after whose problems are greater than either of the other two,—the girls in seasonable trades, who, when the summer months come on are usually thrown out of work or are obliged to work on half time, whose jobs will be open for them in the Fall but whose employers are glad to get rid of them during the summer. Think what the Woman's Land Army means to them; a vacation at no expense, labor, to be sure, but labor gladly given because of the interest in their work and the favorable conditions under which they carry it on.

With this class of girls alone the Land Army is solving a tremendous problem. Again and again since November 11th, 1918, that eventful day when all along the fronts in Europe the guns stopped firing, the Land Army officers have been told

that girls would not enlist this summer, but those who say that do not know or cannot realize what the Land Army has meant to the young women of America, or at least they would not say it if they could see that day after day applications are coming in to the Central office both in person and by mail; that there are today many girls who would go out and remain until next Fall if only there was a camp open to receive them.

IN western New York not only are the girls who worked on the land last year anxious to return, but they have united themselves into a club meeting frequently all winter, keeping up their associations and their interest of the summer and are prepared to go back onto the land next season.

It is particularly of the New York State Woman's Land Army that I have written because it is with that organization that I have been more closely connected. We are of course the New York Division of our national organization, known as the Woman's Land Army of America.

A few weeks after the signing of the Armistice the Federal Government in recognition of the splendid work and purposes of the Woman's Land Army created a Woman's Land Army Division of the U. S. Employment Service of the Federal Department of labor. The administrative units of this Division are the state organizations. In Washington we have a Federal Director, and assisting her is a Federal Director of Training and a Federal Director of Recruiting. The states in turn are to have State Federal directors. We therefore function both as a private organization and as a Government Division, the National Board of Directors serving in an advisory capacity with the Federal Director, while the State Board of Directors serve in an advisory capacity with the State Federal Director.

Some of the administrative expenses are paid by the Government, but initial expenses of equipping all camps are to be met by the private organization. Once the camps are equipped they become self-supporting.

THE private organization is supported by contributing or sustaining memberships which are classified as Tiller—\$1.00 memberships; Planter—\$5.00 memberships; Gleaner—\$25.00, and Harvester—\$100.00. Any one who is interested in the Woman's Land Army may become a supporting member.

In New York state we are divided into five districts, the Metropolitan, Hudson, Adirondack, Mohawk, and Erie, with a District Chairman in charge. Intensive organization is going on in each county and although it is not believed that the two hundred camps which were planned for New York state before the Armistice was signed will be either possible or necessary this summer, it is hoped there will be a decided increase above the forty-five camps of last season, each camp to be placed in a district where the camp will develop into a powerful influence in the development of the rural social life of the neighborhood and become a centre of wholesome entertainment and recreation.

French Women Restless

UNREST among women workers, in France as well as in England, is reported by Mary McDowell of Chicago. In France women munition workers were either turned off out of hand by private employers or received thirty days' notice "to go quietly away." Their reward for war service has been to be turned out of well-paid work and forced by necessity to return to the women's trades, where pay is a pittance.

In the United States, the National Women's Trade Union League asks of the government a demobilization program which shall prevent suffering on the part of women workers.

Educating Texas on Suffrage

TEXAS is nearing the end of a state campaign for full suffrage. And Texas, like every other state in the Union that has ever had a suffrage campaign, has been flooded with a curious, pernicious, often anonymous, always double-faced, anti-suffrage propaganda.

This propaganda signs "A Southern Woman" to newspaper articles too rank for any woman to claim under her own name. It tries to make a paid stereotyped pen do the work of a spontaneous one. It attacks womanhood, it villifies suffrage leaders. It harks back to Oriental tradition and precedent to prove the subordination of women; it quotes the Bible to prove it. It plays on mawkish sentiment and on sectional prejudice and on local self interest. In the South it stresses the menace in the negro woman's vote—a matter that it keeps suspiciously quiet about in the North. It tells the brewers that woman suffrage means prohibition; it tells the prohibitionists that women's votes have never supported prohibition. It tells the capitalist that women's votes mean more power to labor; it tells the working woman that the laboring man never won anything through the vote. And it tells everybody that women don't want the vote and won't use it when they get it—although in every country in the world and in every state in the Union out flash the figures that give the lie to this assertion.

During the campaign circulars were sent all over Texas that professed to point the argument against woman suffrage but did in fact affront the intelligence of Texans by insisting that a Texas woman had not sense enough and moral stamina enough to retain her womanhood while casting a ballot. Weigh the anti-suffrage argument as you will, that is ever the sum and substance of it.

FOLLOW us for a moment through the maze of the anti-suffrage argument which has been sent on to us out of Texas:

Women are "possessed of delicate charm"; they are the "moral force of the family"; by their "indirect influence they work out the world's moral salvation"; they are the "saviors of men." "They make sentiment." "The world bases its strength on the virtue and noble character of its women."

All the anti-suffragist literature says so.

But it also says, covertly—it is saying it to Texas today—that all these womanly qualities are utterly ephemeral, that they have no sustaining power for women themselves; that women, given a choice to express their real proclivities, favor legalized gambling, are blind to the education and welfare of children, help the liquor business, face vice with cheerful tolerance, are against the sanctity of marriage, and, "parading in the name of virtue, build a throne for vice."

The proof?

There is no proof. There is only the false assertion that in states where women vote, where they have the chance to come to a full expression of their inmost inclinations, these terrible things happen.

They do not happen.

The world and the country are on record to prove that woman suffrage has been a social benefit wherever tried.

Saturday, May 24, is to decide whether Texas believes that her women are so little to be relied on that to give them the right of self expression through the ballot is to give them the chance to express all the powers of evil.

We believe that Texas's answer will be the full enfranchisement of her women. We believe that Texas will be the sixteenth full suffrage state of the Union.

THE Texas full suffrage bill is not sauntering along to an indeterminate conclusion on May 24th. Texas women are right on the job doing the same old back-breaking campaigning that all their predecessors have done to gain their full rights as citizens in a Republic founded on the doctrine of equality of opportunity for all classes and all people.

At Port Arthur, way down on the Gulf, activity for the coming election is very keen. Miles and miles of space are licked up by Texans as easily as are a few city blocks by New Yorkers. For example, when Dr. Shaw spoke in Beaumont recently, all East Texas turned out to hear her.

There are no less than ten counties of East Texas in the 14th Senatorial District of the state, and these are presided over and financed by one district chairman of the Texas Suffrage Association, Mrs. Hiram Knox of Hemphill.

Mrs. Knox is a business woman, manager of the big mills of the Knox Lumber Co. at East Mayfield. She is also very much a woman in the home, since she is the mother of five children, two of them twins. She is giving these twins a fair start; Miss Lilian Knox is to have all the rights that belong to Master Blackshear Knox — and Miss Lilian's mother is not willing to have the government of her state undo these efforts, when the twins shall be 21, if she can help it. What's good citizenship for her son, she feels, will be none too good for her daughter. Therefore she is taking time by the forelock and is working now for the political future of all her children equally.

Mrs. Knox's right hand in East Texas is Miss Gertrude Watkins of Little Rock, Arkansas, one of the suffrage organizers of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. She is presiding over the central headquarters at Beaumont and is efficiently massing workers into line. A day's program indicates how a trained worker succeeds in mobilizing her forces:

In a single town a single day answered for meeting and conferring with local suffrage workers, addressing two men's organizations, arranging for three public meetings, and securing a generous donation to the suffrage war chest—the very first one contributed from that district.



MRS. HIRAM KNOX



BABY KNOX
A Knox Baby Sample

Women In Industry

The Margin of Culture

ON a minimum wage of \$15.50 a week the working-girl in the District of Columbia has ten cents, one dime, to spend on "self-improvement."

It was in April at the first wage conference held under the new minimum wage law for women in private employ in the District that this margin of culture was discovered.

The conference was organized in March to consider the wages of women employed in private printing and publishing houses, and if its recommendation is accepted by the Minimum Wage Board, as is expected, every woman employed in such establishments in the District of Columbia must be paid not less than \$15.50 per week after the decision goes into effect. Despite all the talk about a rise in wages, the Board has found that about 75 per cent of the women in this industry in the District are paid less than \$15 per week, and nearly half of them are paid from \$8 to \$12 per week.

The recommendation of \$15.50 per week as the minimum wage upon which a woman without dependents can maintain herself at a proper standard of living in the District of Columbia was arrived at after four meetings of the conferees, and was unanimous. The employer member of the Board, Joseph A. Berberich, who is president of the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association of the District, was also present and agreed to the recommendation.

The items in cost of living allowed for by the conference under the minimum wage rate of \$15.50 per week are as follows:

Room and board.....	\$9.00	Savings and insurance....	\$0.35
Clothing	3.35	Church and charity.....	.10
Laundry	.75	Organization dues	.10
Sickness		Self-improvement	.10
Dentistry	.50	Car fare	.60
Oculist		Other incidentals	.20
Amusements	.20		
Vacation	.25	Total	\$15.50

FOR learners, or apprentices, the conference recommended rates of \$8 for the first three months, \$9 for the second three months, \$11 for the third three months and \$12 for the fourth three months, the full wage of \$15.50 per week to apply at the end of one year.

Before the new minimum rates can be put into effect, a public hearing must be held, after a thirty-day period of advertising, and then a sixty-day period must elapse to permit the employers to adjust their pay rolls.

The minimum wage law of the District of Columbia is mandatory, and the failure of any employer to pay the prescribed minimum renders him subject to fine or imprisonment.

The wage conference, as required by law, was composed of three representatives of the employees, Mrs. Nettie Kirchner, Miss Nellie Sheiry, and Miss Essie Read, who under the rules of the Board were nominated by the women workers themselves by ballot; three representatives of the employers, namely, Charles F. Crane, Frank A. Hill, and Lee Baumgarten, nominated by ballot of the employers; and three representatives of the public, chosen by the board, namely, Justice William Hitz of the District Supreme Court, Mrs. Frances G. Axtell of the U. S. Employees Compensation Commission, and Rev. Dr. John A. Ryan, professor of political science at Catholic University. In addition to these nine persons, the labor member of the Minimum Wage Board, Miss Ethel M. Smith, was a member of the conference, in accordance with the provision of the law requiring that one or more members of the Board shall serve in this capacity. The other

members of the Board, Jesse C. Adkins, representing the public, and Joseph A. Berberich, representing the employers, also took part in the conference meetings.

Based on Experience

THREE years' and more experience with women munition workers was summed by Miss O. E. Monkhouse and Ben E. Morgan before the British Institute of Mechanical Engineers. The discussion of women's ability and permanence in engineering was especially interesting.

"There was general agreement," says the *Monthly Labor Review*, in its summary, "that in repetition work women very quickly excel men in output, but on non-repetition work it was considered doubtful whether their output equalled the men's. There was wide disagreement as to the possibility of women becoming skilled all-round engineers, some maintaining that 'although women would always be able to do the fringes of engineering work to advantage, such as duplicate work involving light, inexpensive machinery or handwork, they were entirely unsuited for engineering proper.'" Miss Monkhouse and Mr. Morgan dissented from this view. Miss Monkhouse pointed out that no proof had ever been offered that women were unsuited for engineering work, and that already many were doing highly skilled and independent work."

Mr. Morgan answered at some length an employer who had expressed a doubt whether women would ever go much beyond mere repetition work.

He regarded this as a great misconception, though a misconception which was very widely prevalent. The reason why female dilutees had been employed so far mainly, perhaps, in repetition work in engineering shops was that they could be most readily employed on those jobs—on work which was urgently required by the nation and which would give the biggest output in the shortest time. A woman could be trained as an all-round skilled worker in less time than a man. It was a fact, and one which admitted of no explaining away, that a good many women today could be classed as skilled turners and fitters after only three years' training.

ONE employer of over 900 women agreed with Mr. Morgan. He maintained that if the employers "exercised patience and taught the women properly they could equally well be employed on general engineering work as in manufacturing." Others felt that the family claims upon women's time and their own lack of initiative made it impossible for them to become more than tool attendants.

The majority of those who took part in the discussions seemed to feel that women were in the engineering trades to stay. It was Miss Monkhouse's idea that employers and trade-unions should see that women were retained in those occupations for which they were particularly fitted, and that more encouragement should be given to them to take up skilled work. They must see to it that women did not degenerate industrially—that they did not become laundry slaves and sweated tailoresses employed largely by undesirable aliens. By encouragement she meant that they must be given a definite place in the industrial system, with the recognition of the unions, and provided with the educational facilities of technical schools and universities such as would fit them to rise to the highest places in engineering, chemical, and allied industries.

"Always Young for Liberty"

(Continued from page 1095)

more. Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell were honorary members. The club rooms were in the same house with the Woman's Journal office, and as a girl I attended many of its brilliant functions. Mrs. Howe was instrumental later in organizing the State Federation of Women's Clubs, "to multiply the service that the few can render to the many."

She was long the leader of the Association for the Advancement of Women. Its annual meetings, held in cities ranging from Toronto to New Orleans, were popularly called the "Woman's Congress." By their wider and more varied program, they attracted women who would never have attended a suffrage convention. They did the same kind of service in those early days that the Biennials of the General Federation did later. Ednah D. Cheney, Antoinette Brown, Blackwell and Ellen Mitchell were among the women associated with her in this work.

MRS. HOWE had been inclined to doubt the wisdom of woman suffrage, but when she first went to one of the meetings, and saw the kind of persons there assembled—above all, when she heard Lucy Stone speak—she said, "I am with you." She took part in organizing the New England Woman Suffrage Association in 1868, became its first president, and was still its president at the time of her death. She helped to organize the American Woman Suffrage Association in 1869, was its president for a year, and was always one of its officers. Her eloquence and her literary and social prestige were an invaluable aid to the cause in its days of unpopularity.

Once she was asked to speak on the same evening at the big and brilliant Unitarian Festival, and at a small and comparatively obscure meeting of the Suffrage Association. She came to the latter; and in telling us that she had declined the other invitation, she added, with a flash of her bright eyes, "I came to my own people!" The Unitarians were her own people too, but not in so intimate a sense. She attended the suffrage hearings at the State House, rain or shine, and was a tower of strength to us. She had one tilt there with Dr. Lyman Abbott that will never be forgotten by those who heard it. Wrath always increased her eloquence. Once she said, "If I were only mad enough, I could talk in Hebrew!" She was one of the editors of the *Woman's Journal* from 1870 on, and was chairman of the Board of Directors when she died.

MRS. HOWE was a leading member of the Radical Club, and of the Town and Country Club of Newport, R. I. She was a lecturer for years at the Concord School of Philosophy, and drew its largest audiences. She was president of the Author's Club till her death.

Deeply religious, she was a strong advocate of opening the ministry to women. She organized the Women's Ministerial Conference, and was for years its president. She often preached; sometimes to a fashionable church; again, with even more pleasure, to a gathering of barefooted colored folk. In San Domingo, when Dr. Howe was U. S. Commissioner to that island, she stood up for justice to the negroes, and against the horrors of lynching.

After the Franco-Prussian war she drew up an appeal asking, "Why do not the mothers of mankind interfere to prevent the waste of human life of which they alone know and bear the cost?" It was translated into French, Spanish, Italian, German and Swedish, and thousands of copies were distributed in Europe. Her aim was to get the representative women of the world to

meet in a Peace Congress. She was an officer of the American Peace Society. It was she also who originated the idea of the Mother's Congress.

SHE was a woman of cosmopolitan sympathies. The first society of the American Friends of Russian Freedom was organized at her house in 1891. She was president of the Friends of America, and addressed many protest meetings after the massacres of 1896. She was honorary president of the Circolo Italiano, and was presented with a diploma by the Societa Dante Alighieri of Rome. At 87, she gave an address in Italian at a celebration by the Boston Italians of the 400th anniversary of the death of Columbus. She repeatedly attended the celebrations of the Boston Greeks, and responded in Greek to their greetings.

She was warmly interested in the Political Refugee Defense League, of which Raymond Robins was secretary. It fought the Czar's efforts to get political exiles extradited. She wrote: "Our right of asylum must be kept inviolable."

When she passed away in her 92nd year, Edwin D. Mead said: "We never spoke of her as 90 years old, but as 90 years young. Like Mrs. Livermore, Mrs. Cheney and Lucy Stone, she was always young for liberty." A. S. B.

To Wig or Not to Wig

WILL English women barristers have to wear periwigs? This is a question brought up by a daily paper and indicates how very near the Women Solicitors' Bill is to becoming law. Women of Scotland and Ireland are still unrecognized in this bill which lets down the bars to the women of England.

The bill passed its second reading a few weeks ago. It has been introduced in two successive sessions by Lord Buckmaster, but this session's bill was even more satisfactory to English women than was that of last session, since it not only proposes to allow women to practise as solicitors, but also as barristers.

Last year the bill passed the House of Lords without a division, and those interested are confident that it will again pass the Upper House. The Government has promised that ample time will be allowed for its introduction into the Lower House, where it seems likely to receive a friendly welcome. As the matter has stood up to now women have been kept out of the "Inns of Court" by the stiff-necked prejudices of the "Benchers"—a self-elected body of males "highly prejudiced against the female sex."

It is strange to ears attuned to the ancient quarrel between the British Government and English women, to hear Sir F. E. Summitt, Lord Chancellor, welcoming the proposal to permit women in the sacred enclosures of the Courts. Before the war the Chancellor, then in the House of Commons, was one of the strongest opponents of woman suffrage. It was the work performed by women during the war which converted the Lord Chancellor, just as it converted Herbert Asquith and many more. "I may say," he continued, "that under the changed circumstances of the time the Government welcomes this proposal."

As to periwigs for women, who can say?

That erudite newspaper, the *Christian Science Monitor*, rather hopefully points out a way of escape for the male barrister from this wig tradition by the advent of women, who will doubtless find it inconvenient to pursue the ancient custom, although not so very ancient after all.

"It was not, indeed, until the end of the seventeenth century, when the general custom of wearing wigs was dying out, and the false-sleeved gown and cap had long disappeared, that the bar,

which declined to move with the times in the matter of its official dress, was gradually left in possession of what has, ever since, amounted to a uniform. However, the whole of the present controversy centers round the question of the wig.

"The general fashion of wearing wigs began to wane early in the reign of George III, but in the professions, each with its special, distinctive wig, the custom died hard, and wigs were worn well into the nineteenth century. Gradually, however, they disappeared, until the courts of law became the only place where they found abiding favor. And now even this citadel is at least threatened."

It seems necessary for men to get the help of women whenever a rubbish heap of ancient prejudices has to be moved off the landscape.

Woman in Argentina

IT would seem as if the common bond of woman's interest is so strong as to make an international chain extending from country to country wherever women are coming into power.

Argentina, where a few years ago a woman had not even social liberty but was restricted by the most fastidious custom from speaking in public to a gentleman, even to her fiancé, has suddenly plunged ahead with an extremely feministic program.

In the *manifesto* of her political principles issued by Dr. Julieta Lanteri de Renshaw, candidate for the National Chamber of Deputies, appear the same reforms which would be urged by a woman legislator in the United States, and, in fact, the very reforms which are being pressed by the League of Women Voters. Among them are:

Universal suffrage for both sexes; civil equality for both sexes; social hygiene; equal pay for equal work; child welfare.

Other reforms in which Dr. De Renshaw's program is more specific or more drastic than is that of the League are:

Civil equality for legitimate and illegitimate children; maximum six-hour day for women; old-age pensions; exemption with salary for working-women during confinement.

The Argentine reformer is out for a proportional vote of some sort, or at least a "representation of minorities in the national, provincial and municipal régime."

She is also specific in demands for better laws concerning defective and delinquent children—needs to which the United States is already awake. In her preamble she explains the motives which are pushing her into candidacy as a national deputy.

"Since the year 1910 women have proclaimed their rights and those of children and recognized their duties in an International Women's Congress, of which I was the founder. Aside from this assembly, I founded the League for Women's and Children's Rights, and this brought together the first National Child Welfare Congress, held in 1913, at which worth-while opinion in this country demonstrated its lofty sentiments in behalf of mother and child. The American Child Welfare Congress, whose organizer and president I was, bore over all America these same sentiments as manifested here in 1916.

"One after the other, civilized nations are recognizing women's rights. Latin America will do this shortly. Our country responds incomparably to this world current. It knows that the glory of its future is as much in the hands of its women as its men. For that reason I say 'My country demands it.' I know and Argentina knows that I am prepared to defend to the utmost the interests of my sex. My studies, my reforms, and my achievements prove it. I have tried to comply with my civic duties. I have voted twice in municipal elections in this capital."

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The Martial Adventures of a Presidential Suffrage Bill in Connecticut

Reported by Julia M. Hinaman

THE presidential suffrage fight in Connecticut is over and with it closes one of the most interesting chapters of the legislative history of the state. One vote in the state Senate decided that Connecticut was not to be one of the forward looking states which would include women in its presidential electorate in 1920.

The statement that the bill failed to carry indicates that the contest was a close one but that—or any other collection of words—cannot begin to indicate the size or strength of the battle which the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association, under the remarkable generalship of Miss Katharine Ludington, made in its determined effort to gain admittance for Connecticut women in the election of 1920.

Perhaps the reason why we feel that the result of the vote was more of a victory than a defeat can best be explained by quoting an editorial from the *Hartford Times*, one of the leading newspapers of Connecticut:

"The women who crowded the galleries of the Senate on Thursday to hear the death sentence on the suffrage bill passed by a single vote may form what theories they please as to the popular governor in Connecticut when they reflect that while they enjoyed no freedom on the Senate floor, such privilege was enjoyed—and much exercised—by Legislator J. Henry Roraback and Major John Buckley, U. S. A., who found time from his martial duties as a field officer of infantry in defense of the nation, and his co-incident job as executive secretary of the good blunt governor (no income tax on either salary), to take a hand in the obsequies.

"JUST how the suffrage bill managed to get lost for so long among the clerks of the house, the clerks of the Senate and the officials of the offices of the Secretary of State one may hardly guess.

"But with only one vote to spare the proceedings of Thursday appeared in the guise of one of the tightest squeaks Legislator J. Henry Roraback has encountered in his long career of beneficent state guidance."

Since early January, when it looked as if the Legislature would have no opportunity to ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment, the Suffrage Association has been spending unlimited time and effort to secure the passage of a presidential suffrage bill.

The first step after the bill's introduction into the Senate by Senator John B. Dillon of Shelton, was to secure a hearing before the joint Woman Suffrage Committee of the Senate and House whose Senate Chairman was thought to be favorable to suffrage and whose House Chairman was known to be opposed.

Now a hearing before a committee, since all committees in the regular order of events do hold hearings, sounds like a very simple matter, but not so a suffrage hearing in Connecticut. A date—March 4th—was agreed upon by suffragists and opposition alike—there is an opposition in Connecticut!—and the suffragists made all their plans for a triumphant conduct to the Capitol of their 98,000 signatures of Connecticut women who believe in equal suffrage and arranged the list of speakers for the hearing. These plans were ready to be carried out on the morning of March 4th when the president of the Association was briefly informed by the Chairman of the House Committee that the



EXECUTIVE BOARD OF CONNECTICUT WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
Reading from Left to Right—Standing: Mrs. Marion Nicholl Rawson, Sound Beach; Miss Mary Bulkeley, Hartford; Mrs. Henry H. Townshend, Mrs. G. L. Hendrickson, Mrs. T. S. McDermott, New Haven. Seated: Miss Rosamond Danielson, Putnam; Mrs. A. S. G. Taylor, Norfolk; Miss Katherine Ludington, President, Lyme; Mrs. Willis Austin, Norwich. Members not in picture: Mrs. Fannie Dixon Welch, Columbia; Miss Mabel Washburn, Mrs. Wm. H. Deming, Mrs. H. P. Mazim, Hartford; Miss Mary Webster, Middletown.

hearing would be postponed. No explanation was given, except that a legislative form, requiring that the hearing should be printed in the Legislative Bulletin, had been overlooked. This technicality had not been heeded for several years previously.

IT was at this point that Connecticut suffragists first began to marvel at the opportune and graceful manner in which such phrases as "technicality," "senatorial courtesy," "legislative form," "table for calendar" could be dragged into service. The amazement grew as time went on, for the postponement of the hearing proved a mere beginning in the list of presidential suffrage happenings which were destined to rival in excitement "The Martial Adventures of Henry and Me."

The hearing was held on March 11th and proved far more successful than it could possibly have been the week before. More women were able to be present, more signatures had been secured and plans for transporting the signatures to the Capital had been perfected.

The signatures were mounted, according to senatorial districts, on one hundred large white cardboards, bound around by gay votes-for-women canvas stripes. Early in the afternoon, a long procession of women, each woman carrying a white placard bearing names from her locality, quietly marched from suffrage headquarters in Hartford to the state Capitol where the signatures were presented to the Woman Suffrage Committee. Each county delegation was led by its county chairman. The method of presenting the signatures was an impressive one and received much favorable comment from press and individuals.

In order to follow the winding trail of the presidential bill—it is necessary to point out other suffrage complications in the Leg-

islature. There was before the Legislature this year a state suffrage amendment, referring the question to the men voters—to the people, our opponents say—which had been passed by the 1917 legislature and was awaiting action from a second.



PROOF THAT WOMEN WANT TO VOTE

Display of signatures of 98,000 women in the main lobby of state capitol at Hartford, at the time of the hearing on Presidential Suffrage Bill. Proof that Connecticut women are not content to remain unenfranchised.

IT was frankly the purpose of the opposition, whose chief is the leader of the Republican state machine, to secure action upon the referendum measure first and thus release any men who felt it their duty to vote for some form of suffrage, from voting for the presidential bill. Consequently, when for the first time in the history of Connecticut the Woman Suffrage Committee made a favorable majority report to the Senate on a suffrage bill, the opposition began to bestir itself actively.

After the bill had been reported several days, Senators who were interested in suffrage inquired why the bill did not appear on the calendar. Investigation at first brought out the statement that no one knew where that bill was! Finally, someone—identity of "someone" vague—chanced to recall that the House Chairman of the Woman Suffrage Committee, for some remarkable reason, had taken the bill home with him.

The Chairman had become ill while he was at home with the bill; therefore, neither he nor the bill appeared for over a week. Plans had just been made to descend upon his home and extricate the bill when the gentleman returned to the Legislature. For a time his arrival did not seem to clarify matters, for he maintained that the bill was with the Senate Chairman, who in turn averred that he had not seen the bill. Suddenly in the midst of the discussion, the bill appeared in the Senate, and Senator Dennis M. Clyne, Senate Chairman of the Committee, was able to place it, with a favorable report, in the hands of the Senate clerk, where it belonged.

After several days' delay for the formality of printing, the bill was finally starred for action on the calendar for Tuesday, April 15th. A large number of women came to the Capitol in order to know immediately the result of the vote, but once more the action was postponed. This time opposition Senators asked that the vote be deferred by senatorial courtesy because one Sen-

ator was absent. The Senate then agreed to make the bill the order of the day for Wednesday, April 23rd.

On the eventful Wednesday sixteen Senators voted for and nineteen voted against suffrage. Four of the eleven Democrats voted "no," in spite of the fact that the Democratic leaders interpreted the plank in their state platform to cover presidential along with all other forms of suffrage. Homer S. Cummings, Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, also telegraphed several Senators urging them to vote in favor of the bill.

Following the unfavorable vote in the Senate, suffragists met at their headquarters in Hartford, and instead of recognizing any setback, pledged \$1,000, in addition to the amount already raised at their state convention last Fall for suffrage work. Rising votes of thanks were also taken for Senators Dennis M. Clyne of New Haven, John B. Dillon of Shelton, and Charles C. Hemenway of Hartford, for their faithful work in attempting to secure the passage of the bill.

In the meantime, the hearing on the state referendum bill had been held and the committee reported favorably on that measure to the House so that it came about that both bills were starred for action on the same day, Tuesday, April 28th.

The presidential bill was one of the first matters to be taken up on Tuesday morning. The debate lasted over two hours, during which time a number of splendid speeches were made in favor of suffrage and the usual number of rambling, anti-arguments were produced. Representatives Samuel C. Shaw of Redding, who has fathered the suffrage bills through three Legislatures, Harry R. Sherwood of Westport, Judge John C. Geary of Waterford, O. H. Ripley of Winsted, W. B. Rogers of Manchester, Martin L. Caine of Naugatuck and J. O. Emerson of Roxbury spoke in favor of the bill. When the roll call vote was taken, 125 votes were recorded in favor to 97 against.

THE referendum bill, which had been starred for action on the same day, was postponed until the next day. Then, because of flaws in the wording of the amendment which would admit illiterate voters, according to the opinion of Judge Simeon E. Baldwin, the House unanimously agreed that action on this measure should be indefinitely postponed.

The Suffrage Association, as soon as it had heard the decision of Judge Baldwin, had withdrawn its support of the bill, since it is entirely contrary to the policy of the association for any lowering of educational qualifications for voters.

The presidential bill was now automatically to be reconsidered by the Senate because of disagreeing action. However, when suffrage Senators on May 1st asked to have the bill reconsidered, the clerk of the Senate said he did not have the bill. Again the bill was lost! No one knew where it was! The Senate by this time became thoroughly aroused and demanded, friend and foe alike, that the bill be produced immediately. One Senator said that "dirty work had been going on" and moved the appointment of a committee to locate the bill. Such a committee was appointed and while the Senate took a short recess the bill was found in the office of the Secretary of State, where it had been sent by the clerk of the House. Here again ancient history was called into use, and the opposition assured the incredulous Senators that a former ruling required that all bills, whether they were to be reconsidered or not, should go from the House to the office of the Secretary of State, where they were to remain until called for by the Senate.

When the final vote came that afternoon only one Senator—Richard H. Deming, Republican, of West Hartford,—courage-

(Continued on page 1105)

Recent Suffrage Conventions

Hold Jubilee Tea

MISSOURI women won presidential suffrage in March, but that is not enough for the St. Louis Equal Suffrage League. "Every St. Louis woman a registered voter in 1920" is the slogan adopted by the League, which has a membership, dues and non-dues paying, that totals 13,245.

As set forth in its comprehensive year book for 1918-1919, the League has taken as a major part of its program for the coming year the task of making every woman in St. Louis feel it is a city of which she is a responsible part. It will be the aim of the League to have the new voters study their neighborhood, city, state and country with a view to taking an intelligent part in the development of all. An educational program will be instituted and a legislative program which will follow that laid down at the National American Woman Suffrage Association Jubilee Convention.

"Let us not forget that we must work toward full enfranchisement of the women of the United States through the passage of the Federal Amendment by the 66th Congress," is a part of the message of Mrs. George Gellhorn, the outgoing president of the League. "Let us realize that our senior Senator has been hopelessly opposed to woman suffrage; that our junior Senator voted for the amendment in the 65th Congress and will do so in the 66th; that all Missouri congressmen are on record as favoring the passage of the Amendment except one who has not yet declared himself. Let us not forget to work toward ratification of the amendment by our next Legislature. It has been a splendid year, the war is won, presidential suffrage is won. We are uplifted with the enthusiasm of these victories and the success of the Jubilee Convention and our vision of work ahead. We have more friends than ever before. Everyone is a suffragist."

MRS. GELLHORN paid warm tribute to Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, Mrs. David O'Neill, Mrs. W. R. Haight and Miss Marie Ames, who formed the Legislative Committee that engineered the presidential suffrage bill. Also to Governor Gardener, Lieutenant-Governor Crossley, Speaker O'Fallon, Senator James W. McKnight, Representative Walter B. Bailey, Senators Howard E. Gray and David W. Stark, and Edward F. Goltra, and the floor leaders of the House, John Dyatt, Frank H. Farris and Jefferson Hostetter, and others to whom Missouri women owe gratitude and appreciation for their work on behalf of the presidential suffrage bill.

At its annual election and Jubilee meeting held at the Hotel Statler April 26th, the service which Mrs. O'Neill, a member of the League, had rendered on behalf of the suffrage cause in Missouri was commemorated by the presentation to her of a hand-illuminated testimonial. The testimonial bore these words—"To Barbara Blackman O'Neill from the Equal Suffrage League in St. Louis in commemoration of her untiring services toward securing presidential suffrage for the women of Missouri, April 4, 1919." An exquisite feature of the program was a procession of children, all of them grandchildren or great-grandchildren of men and women who have worked for suffrage in Missouri, who bore the testimonial into the ball-room.

Senator McKnight and Representative Bailey, the two members of the Missouri General Assembly who introduced and pushed the presidential suffrage bill through the present session of the state Legislature, were two of the principal speakers at the Jubilee tea. Senator McKnight deplored the backward state of

the movement for better education in Missouri, asserting that "Missouri citizens should hang their heads in shame at the realization that thirty-two other states of the Union rank ahead of their commonwealth in educational matters," and advised the women of the state to concentrate their energies first and particularly on remedying this state of affairs, with a view to obtaining speedy and broad-gauged humanitarian and educational legislation, so that Missouri could occupy without delay her rightful position as one of the model states."

Representative Bailey called attention to the opinion of many leaders that women are now possessed of the balance of power in the nation and consequently hold in their hands the destiny of the Republic. He exhorted them to stand in a body for what they consider is right and to decide each question for themselves.

A memorial service for Mrs. William C. Fordyce, one of the most prominent suffragists of Missouri, whose death occurred recently, was a feature of the gathering.

The following officers were elected: Mrs. David O'Neil, honorary president; Mrs. Fred English, president; Mrs. Ernest W. Stix, first vice-president; Miss Mary Lionberger, second vice-president; Mrs. Robert McK. Jones, third vice-president; Mrs. P. B. Fouke, fourth vice-president; Mrs. J. Alex Goodwin, fifth vice-president; Miss Letticia Parker, sixth vice-president; Mrs. Walter Fischel, secretary; Mrs. A. S. Rauh, treasurer; Mrs. Fred J. Taussig, auditor. A chairman was elected for each ward.

Twenty-eighth Convention

THE New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association is holding its twenty-eighth annual convention in Atlantic City this week. By invitation of Mrs. John J. White, a vice-president of the state association, the Hotel Marlborough-Blenheim is headquarters. Mrs. Victor Mravlag of Elizabeth is in charge of convention plans. A feature of the convention was the mass meeting Friday morning at which Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, Honorary President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, was the principal speaker. Dr. Shaw shared the honors with the officers of the state board at an afternoon tea.

National officers who were on the program included Mrs. Halsey W. Wilson, recording secretary of the National association, who talked on the League of Women Voters, and Miss Esther G. Ogden, director of the National. Mrs. E. F. Feickert, state president, Mrs. Robert S. Huse of Elizabeth, and Mrs. Mabel S. Douglass, Dean of the New Jersey College of Women, made important addresses.

MRS. LAURA B. RICHARDS, daughter of the late Julia Ward Howe, in expressing her gratification to the Maine Woman Suffrage Association over the victory for the presidential bill, said in part:

"Doubtless much yet remains to be done before the day, when we take our places quietly beside our husbands, brothers, sons, to share with them henceforward the duties, responsibilities, and privileges of citizenship. When that day comes, I take it, all our equal suffrage leagues,—nay, all our 'woman movements' as such—will cease to exist, falling apart from natural causes, as the ripe fruit drops in the hand. In citizenship, as in Heaven, there should be neither male nor female, neither bond nor free; only humanity, working hand in hand, man and woman, boy and girl, for its own betterment and uplifting."

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formerly 2.50
Figured Silkoline, plain borders, cotton filled each **2.90**
formerly 4.25
Novelty Silk mull tops, plain border, cotton
filled each **3.75**
formerly 6.00
Plain Sateen, solid colors, wool filled each **11.50**
formerly 14.75

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For Women in Legislature

DETERMINATION on the part of the women of Washington state to take a more active part in the state government was expressed during the second annual meeting of the Women's Legislative Council, which was held recently at Centralia, Washington. Mrs. Sophie L. W. Clark was re-elected president of the Council which has a membership throughout the state of 40,000. The organization adopted resolutions demanding equal recognition for women in all matters. Mrs. Clark advocates women as office holders, especially as members of the Legislature. The opinion was advanced that with as many women members as men in the Legislature many of the difficulties which arise when welfare bills are before the legislative body would be eliminated.

It was announced that the state suffrage association will be reorganized and that the state of Washington will take its place in the League of Women Voters.

Form Non-Partisan League

AS one of its first acts after winning presidential and municipal suffrage the Knoxville Equal Suffrage League of Knoxville, Tennessee, has been formally disbanded and merged into the Non-Partisan League of Knoxville, which is composed of both men and women of voting age. The object of the new organization, as expressed in the constitution adopted, is to encourage the study of municipal government, the investigation of the qualifications of the candidates for office, and the educating of voters upon the subject of voting and good citizenship.

Connecticut's Presidential Suffrage Bill

(Continued from page 1103)

ously changed his vote from his former stand. Although Honorable David E. Fitzgerald, Chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee, had come to Hartford personally to call a Democratic conference, the bill was lost by an 18-17 vote.

Had there been a tie vote the decision would have been in favor, for the Lieut. Governor, Clifford E. Wilson, of Bridgeport, is not only a believer in equal suffrage but is chairman of the Men's Council of One Hundred of the Suffrage Association.

Such was the career of the presidential suffrage bill in Connecticut. The bare relation of the mishaps which befell it and its final ride to a one-vote defeat cannot begin to tell of the work done by the Suffrage Association through its remarkable organization. Folders containing the opinions of eight of the leading authorities in the state, confirming the constitutionality of the bill, were published and widely distributed, thus forestalling any unconstitutionality objection. Weekly bulletins announcing the rapid spread of suffrage were placed on the legislators' desks, county leaders and organizers saw to it that their Senators and Representatives were made aware of the demand for suffrage in their own locality, and the state press was full of news and editorials concerning the bill.

The dignity and ability with which the campaign was conducted, together with the tricks of the opposition, have placed suffrage in a more firmly entrenched position than it has ever held before in Connecticut. The Association now rallies with much newly acquired wisdom and eagerness to the support of the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

The League of Women Voters

What It Is; What It Is For

When was it organized?

In St. Louis, March 24, 1919, at the 50th Annual Convention of the N. A. W. S. A. in commemoration of the first grant to women of suffrage on equal terms with men.

What Critical Question was then before the women of the country?

Rapid increase of presidential and full suffrage; the near prospect of the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment made women ask, What next? Shall we dissolve after the ratification of the amendment or is there reason for continuance?

What were some reasons for continuance?

Inefficient measures for good citizenship; appalling degree of illiteracy as shown by Government reports of examinations of men for army; inequalities in women's status; unequal laws; needs of women and of children.

Who may belong to the League?

State suffrage associations in fully enfranchised states, who will, for the sake of uniformity, be expected to change the name of the state, county, city, ward and election district organization to League of Women Voters.

The auxiliaries to the National American Woman Suffrage Association will, therefore, in the fifteen full suffrage states, be united in a section by themselves known as the League of Women Voters.

This section has its own chairman and secretary elected by the League in St. Louis.

What becomes of the auxiliaries to the National American Woman Suffrage Association in other states?

All state associations auxiliary to the National American Woman Suffrage Association in unenfranchised and in partial suffrage states, will continue their auxiliaryship on the same terms and conditions as before. The present name of these associations should not be changed.

Where do the partial suffrage states come in?

The delegates to the St. Louis Convention from the fifteen full suffrage states invited the State Suffrage Associations from the presidential suffrage states to unite with the League of Women Voters. These Associations will not change their names or conditions of auxiliaryship to the National American Woman Suffrage Association until such time as they become fully enfranchised.

They will, however, be permitted to share in the new work undertaken by the fully enfranchised states and their delegates will, at annual meetings, sit in the House of Voters.

What is the House of Voters?

It is made up of delegates from the various State Leagues of Women Voters and is a part of the Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

How do states gain representation in the House of Voters?

Automatically, as fast as they become fully enfranchised and their state suffrage associations become State Leagues of Women Voters.

Is the League of Women Voters an organization within an organization?

It is. The parent organization is the National American Woman Suffrage Association and will continue its name and functions for the present. The League of Women Voters is a section of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

Women Voters

THIRTY years ago, one sunshiny afternoon in March I entered a dimly lighted saloon on Riopelle Street, Detroit. Behind the bar sat a stolid neatly-dressed woman, sewing; beside her in a high chair an anemic child nodded drowsily. Upon my saying that I wished to register she mutely pointed to a door. As I crossed the saw-dusty floor, in a back room a quartet of card-players dropped their cards, removed their hats and pipes, and watched in dazed silence as the saloonkeeper wrote my name and address in a big book as a duly qualified voter. I was thereby enabled to vote for one school inspector from my ward and, according to a report in that election district, one woman only registered.

On April 7th, in this year of grace, 1919, at least 300,000, and perhaps 400,000, women voted for school inspectors and University Regents, Justices of the Peace and Judges of the Supreme Court, village and county and state officials, charter and constitutional amendments, bonding for schools, bridges, good roads and the purchase of a street railway system. Last, and best of all, we helped defeat an attempt to re-establish that Riopelle Street saloon, which the men of the state had abolished by 70,000 majority in 1916.

FIFTY years of petitioning and pleading, of argument and answer until promise had become performance, our long apprenticeship was ended, and we were real voters.

Editors gravely reminded us that our new privilege entailed many new responsibilities. Reformers begged us not to make the same mistakes that men had made.

County and city clerks, as official heads of election Commissions, advertised the time and the place for us to register and to vote, lest we forget these duties. Members of election boards were jovial and patronizing, friendly or deferential but never impatient or antagonistic. Their verdict was unanimous that we had acquitted ourselves like men. Could there have been higher praise? We were tempted to send Senators Lodge and Wadsworth a telegram assuring them that the Government at Washington still lives, but refrained!

We sat in council in political committees and attended party conventions as delegates. We did not know such white-souled, high-minded heroes lived outside the pages of Miss Ward's novels until we listened to men nominating their fellow men for office!

At this date, figures as to the number of women registering and voting are not complete but a summary of those available would indicate that about 70 per cent. of women eligible to register did so and that women cast from 40 to 50 per cent. of the total vote. Although we had

Mother, Home,

Schools of Instruction in the mechanics of voting throughout the state, and although many election boards reported fewer mistakes than usual, we did make some very queer ones. For some inexplicable reason we voted both "yes" and "no" on certain propositions and a few of us, perhaps proud of the way we voted, carefully signed our names and addresses to the ballots. The group of women with blackshawled heads who went to the City Hall to register and inquired truculently, "Where's the place to vote Wet?" were balanced later by several with new spring hats who attended the nominating primaries. When the clerk politely inquired which ticket they desired they answered indignantly "the dry of course."

MY heart goes out to the old lady who went to the polls yesterday, took a chair and stayed and stayed and would not be dislodged. Who knows how long and how eagerly she had waited for the day? What wrong she yearned to help right?

The co-operation of the Women's Committee of the Council of National Defense, Women's Clubs, W. C. T. U. and Y. W. C. A. groups was most effective, especially where suffragists did not have a political district organization. In Grand Rapids the Americanization Society took the initiative throughout the campaign. It conducted a publicity campaign only equalled by those of the methods. The strong appeal made to the highly developed civic consciousness of this city brought the largest percentage of registered women of any place in the state.

When we voted for state officials the returns showed that we followed party lines closely, but in local elections we split our ticket in a truly independent fashion. Although Michigan is a one-party state twenty-five of our largest cities have adopted the commission form of government and when some great issue is at stake our men vote independently. Later on we perhaps may follow their example.

THE Republican Party nominated for the State Board of Agriculture Mrs. Dora Stockman and elected her. The Democratic state ticket contained the names of four very able women candidates, but none were elected.

In Detroit and in Grand Rapids two women were candidates for the school board. Campaigns were based on their qualifications for office, but all were defeated; their opponents being re-elected on their records in office. Opinion was expressed in both cities that had there been only one woman running she might have been elected. These and all other women

and Politics

candidates made a spirited, dignified campaign, indulged in no personalities, and accepted defeat gracefully when it came. If there be any criticism it is that their platforms were not so well-defined as to command the attention of the voters. Apparently no woman was elected to a county office except school commissioners. A surprisingly large number were elected to village and township offices as clerks, treasurers, supervisors, constables and justices of the peace. In three villages, Onsted, Tustin, and Harriette, an entire board of women officers was elected.

The men of Sherman refused women's political help and an entire ticket of men was nominated. The new voters held a caucus and announced their own slate which included two women. To their great delight all the "Women's Ticket" was elected by an overwhelming majority.

THE most inspiring story of the entire election comes from Hamtramck, a village of thirty thousand souls. Although entirely surrounded by Detroit in its island-like isolation it is remote and provincial. For years a small group controlled its affairs and dictated who should be elected. The near-beer sold in its saloons smelled suspiciously like the old beverage. Vice was rampant. Women of the underworld, driven from Detroit, were said to have moved there. Much scandal resulted from the lack of Red Cross activity, and Detroit suffragists, through Mrs. Maxwell Grylls and Mrs. Lewis established a workroom, where not only patriotic sewing and knitting united the women of many nationalities but much Americanization work was quietly carried on.

A month before election an observant citizen besought the suffragists to organize the women of Hamtramck as the only hope of improving conditions. Meetings were held and a Woman's Citizens Committee organized. Colored women near whose homes the worst haunts of vice flourished, troubled over the peril of their children, asked admission and were refused by an undemocratic group which withdrew from the committee, but continued to work independently. Threats were made against the new voters in an endeavor to keep them at home, and the state troops were sent to protect them. The reform candidate was elected by a large majority.

AS a whole, the election shows that Michigan women fought the saloon to the bitter end, that they will vote when interested and that their voting simulated the interest of men. The old predictions of disaster haven't yet come true and we believe that our hopes of bettering conditions for other women and children, and the yearnings of a thousand hearts for social justice will be fulfilled.

BELLE BROTHERTON.

Women in Office

Antrim County—Miss Kate Wilson, County Commissioner of Schools.

Arenac County—Miss Lena Herman, County Commissioner of Schools.

Barry County—Miss Miller, County Commissioner of Schools; Miss Edith Fleming, Treasurer of Township.

Crawford County—Miss Margaret Hoyt, County Commissioner of Schools.

Charlevoix County—Miss May Stewart, County Commissioner of Schools; Elma Cook, City Treasurer.

Cass County—Geneva Ratliff, County School Commissioner; Mrs. Schoetzo, Justice of the Peace; Mrs. Chloe McDonald, Township Treasurer; Ida Warren, Member Library Board; May E. Dunning, Member Library Board.

Eaton County—Miss Cynthia Green, School Commissioner of County. (A number elected to township minor offices.)

Gogebic County—Laura Bowden, County School Commissioner; Mrs. Walter Lobb, Water Commissioner (city).

Genesee County—Mrs. Blanche Coon, Township Treasurer; Mrs. Irma Stockton, Justice of the Peace; Mrs. Irma Bertholomew, Justice of the Peace; Mary Nolan, Justice of the Peace; Zetta Lindsay, Constable; Rebecca Conant, Constable; Irma Steinmetz, Constable; Ina Wolf, Constable.

Hillsdale County—Jennie Burnett, Township Clerk; Grace Cahon, Township Clerk; Anna Slack, Township Treasurer; Betsy Norton, Justice of the Peace; Lilly Bradshaw, Justice of the Peace; Mrs. Emma Hackett, Board of Tax Review; Mrs. Kate Searles, Board of Tax Review; Carrie Bleach, Board of Tax Review.

Jackson County—Ten women elected to township offices.

Lenawee County—At least one woman elected to office in every township.

Midland County—Catherine Vennard, Township Treasurer.

Oscoda County—Georgia Fowler, County School Commissioner.

Osceola County—Mrs. Nellie Smith, County School Commissioner; Grace Knolte, Treasurer (city).

Oakland County—Elizabeth Lounsberry, Supervisor of City.

Presque Isle County—Martha Caldwell, County School Commissioner.

Saginaw County—Evangeline Teft, County School Commissioner.

The above have been elected to the offices mentioned in addition to those I mentioned in the preceding article.

BELLE BROTHERTON.

The League of Women Voters

What It Is; What It Is For

May organizations that are not suffrage organizations, and individuals, not members of the state suffrage associations, belong to the League?

They may through the State Leagues. Individual membership, with small dues, is recommended.

Clubs, granges, trade union Leagues, groups of foreign-born should be invited to become members of the League of Women Voters, as each state auxiliary may determine. Each state auxiliary is expected to conduct its work its own way and is free to organize by any preferred plan which is in agreement with the constitution of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

Is the League of Women Voters a Political party of women?

No. It is not the intention of the League of Women Voters, as such, to take part in elections, to endorse or oppose candidates. But it is composed of voters and this gives it the same authority and influence which in times past have attached to the names of male voters when signed to petitions for political action.

Is the League partisan?

It is non-partisan, but this does not mean that any member of the league may not be free to join the party of her choice. It is non-sectarian, but this does not mean that any member of the League may not join the church of her choice.

What does the League hope to gain that political parties have not gained?

Parties are slow-moving. It is hoped that an outside group, non-partisan, unpartisan and all-partisan, may be able to agitate and educate, without fear or favor, on behalf of the needed changes in our fundamental system.

What are the aims of the League of Women Voters?

To complete the full enfranchisement of women in this country.

To support a program of legislation for the purpose of improving the American electorate and, consequently, our entire political system.

To this end the first of eight committees authorized by the League in St. Louis, is to be devoted.

This will be called the committee on American Citizenship. Its program contains ten points, as follows: Compulsory education; education of adults; English, the national language; higher qualifications for citizenship; direct citizenship for women; naturalization for married women; compulsory publication in foreign language newspapers of lessons in citizenship; schools of citizenship; oath of allegiance, and educational qualification for the vote.

What other work was adopted in St. Louis?

A program of nine points for the protection of women in industry. This includes: Abolition of child labor and compulsory education from 6 to 16; 8-hour day and 44-hour week; abolition of night work; minimum wage; equal pay for equal work; right of workers to bargain collectively; state and federal employment systems; adequate appropriation and inspection force; inclusion of women on National and International Labor Commission.

What are the other six of the eight committees adopted in St. Louis?

Child Welfare; Improvement of Election Laws and Methods; Social Hygiene; Unification of Laws Concerning Civil Status of Women; Food Supply and Demand, and Research.

JANE M. BROOKS,
(Mrs. Charles H.)
National Chairman.

THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT UP TO DATE

Waiting for the 66th Congress!

*Proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States Con-
ferring upon Women the
Right of Suffrage.*

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several states as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said Legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

History of Amendment

First introduced in the Senate, January 10, 1878, by Senator A. A. Sargent, of California.

REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE:

In the Senate:

1878, Adverse majority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1889, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1890, Without recommendation.
1893, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Without recommendation.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.
1917, Unanimously.

In the House:

1893, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1896, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1899, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.
1917, Sept. 24, Woman Suffrage Committee created, yes 181, no 107.
1917, Dec. 15, Reported from Judiciary Committee without recommendation.
1918, Jan. 3, Reported favorably from House Suffrage Committee.

VOTED UPON:

In the House:

January 12, 1915: yeas 174, nays 204 (378 voting).
January 10, 1918: yeas 274, nays 136 (410 voting) VICTORY!

In the Senate:

January 25, 1887: yeas 16, nays 34 (50 voting).
March 19, 1914: yeas 35, nays 34 (69 voting).
October 1, 1918: yeas, including pairs, 62; nays 34.
February 10, 1919: yeas, including pairs, 63; nays 33.

A Westerner's View

I AM prompted to write what I think about the controversy over the organization of a Woman Voters League because I have a number of letters from friends in the West asking my opinion about it. It seems rather odd that some of the new voters should feel alarmed about it. Surely no harm could be done by any group of women holding meetings, either as counties, districts, states or national, to discuss all questions of interest to the common welfare. It may be news to some of our new voter friends to know that in the West in the last national campaign for President women of both the Democratic and Republican parties met together to listen to the speakers of each party. Why should they not meet at other times to listen to discussions of public interest as women voters? What is there un-American about it?

Why protest against forming a league of women voters "whose interests as American citizens are identical?"

Is not this the best reason for it rather than against it? Our interests are identical, but the great political parties each have a different way of expressing these interests, and how best to serve these interests.

I SUPPOSE they fear that an organization of women would make out a program, submit it to each party and tell them that they would vote solidly for the party that should adopt that program. This would be an unreasonable fear because it is impossible even to adopt a mixed program that we would all agree upon in our own organization. A majority may agree, but all never, and any organization would sound its own death knell that would attempt to pledge its members to vote solidly for any party.

Meetings of women that would help women to study our laws, political organization, and the methods of administration would help to make a better and more intelligent citizenry; they would help to give our women an opportunity to meet to debate public questions and to form intelligent opinions based on facts. Men and women who know these facts could be asked to present them not from a partisan standpoint, leave that to the party meetings, but from the standpoint of experience. The party leaders would have an opportunity to show wherein any measures that might be recommended by the women were fallacious, and if they could not show they were not for the best interests then that would be an argument for them.

Meetings of women from all walks of life and of varying interests would certainly tend to make for the political education of each and everyone. Nothing is more needed at the present time than the political education of women.

The writer belongs to and advocates the principles of one of the great political parties and feels that those principles can be maintained in

the face of all the arguments that could be advanced in a non-partisan league, and if they can't be then they had better go into the discard and new ones be adopted.

Pittsburg, Kas. MAGDALEN B. MUNSON.

A World Citizen Dares Us

I HAVE read with interest your statement as to the aims of your Women's League and if I may be allowed to criticize your course will say that like we menfolks, your greatest danger lies in an over-dose of national, political and patriotic citizenship. If Leaguism means loyalty and legalized liberty produced by war the less we have of it, the happier the human family will be without it. Ladies, please balance the scales of justice by putting all the order produced by law on one side and all the disorder produced by law on the reverse side and hand me the result either in abnormal, or as normal times, as the world has ever experienced.

Law is the foundation of international and civil strife and patriotism is the pulmotor that sets it going and never allows it to cease for one moment. Friends, it is useless to expect our dyed-in-the-wool policy-dodging males to reason, but seeing that you women folks are fresh in the field of human affairs I am looking for more liberality and generosity toward the inevitable changes that must be adopted before peace and harmony can take the place of conflict

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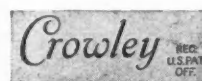
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Julia Ward Howe

By Alice Stone Blackwell

(Read at the Celebration of Mrs. Howe's 80th Birthday at the New England Women's Club.)

WHAT shall we say on this glad day,
Mid love, and smiles, and tears,
To her whose birth has blessed the earth
For eighty glorious years?

With every year she grows more dear,
More sweet, more wise, more weighty;
For "sweet sixteen" is good, but green—
Far richer is sweet eighty!

Let poets praise her silvery lays;
Let scholars praise her learning;
Let patriots speak, with flushing cheek,
Of war-songs grand and burning.

Yet more, far more than student-lore,
Or songs that she has sung us
Of peace or strife, we prize the life
That she has lived among us—

A life so white, the fiercest light
That fame can cast upon her
Can but display in clearer ray
Her purity and honor.

O shades of night, and error's blight!
This dame was born to trouble you,
Through twenty years of hope and fears
She led the A. A. W.*

O'er all the land that noble band
The sparks of light have scattered,
Till splendid pyres and beacon-fires
The realm of shades have shattered.

When truths were new, and friends were few,
And women's need was sorest,
They sowed the seed that now indeed
Is grown a stately forest.

When here we meet, one voice most sweet
In vain our ears desire;
I speak to-day as best I may
For one now "gone up higher."

O comrade tried, who kept her side
When press and pulpit fought her!
One grateful word must here be heard
From Lucy Stone's one daughter.

Our good cause grows, despite its foes;
Blithe, brave and self-reliant;
'Tis now upsprung a stripling strong,
And soon will be a giant.

But when 'twas yet a babe, beset
By ridicule and danger,
Puny and small, despised by all—
She loved the little stranger.

Through all disguise, her prophet eyes
Discerned the hidden angel,
And from that hour, with truth and power,
She preached our glad evangel.

Steep were the ways and dark the days
When she took up our quarrel;
Let none forget this day-leaf, set
Among her wreath of laurel!

Let others praise her wit and grace,
Her genius in its splendor,
Her skill in art, her tender heart—
I praise the faith's defender!

SOLDIER of truth in age and youth,
Keen in each high endeavor,
Her valiant soul yet seeks the goal
Where wars shall cease forever.

Full many a gem her diadem
Bears in its brilliant cluster,
But which among the glittering throng
Shines with the brightest lustre?

Which is most dear to hearts sincere—
Which holds the highest station
Of all the names by which she claims
Our love and veneration?

The list is long—the titles throng—
Mother and saint and teacher,
Thinker and seer and pioneer,
And patriot and preacher;

A hero's bride, a nation's pride,
A scholar and a statish,
A queen of song, a foe of wrong—
The last is still the greatest!

The world today has had its say;
When angels write her story
With pens that shine, what golden line
Will glow with richest glory!

THAT, though her life was full and rife
With pleasures in possession,
She strove to save the wronged, the slave,
The victims of oppression.

She felt for all in tyrant thrall—
The Ethiop and the Fenian,
Cretan and Jew, and Russian, too—
Italian and Armenian;

Cuban and Greek alike can speak
How, in a dull and sodden
And selfish time, in every clime
She feels for the down-trodden.

Each fleeting hour confirms her power,
Each day we love her better;
Each year departs, and leaves our hearts
Bound in a stronger fetter.

These golden ties we dearly prize;
Late, late may they be sundered!
Dear Mrs. Howe, do make a vow
To live to be a hundred!

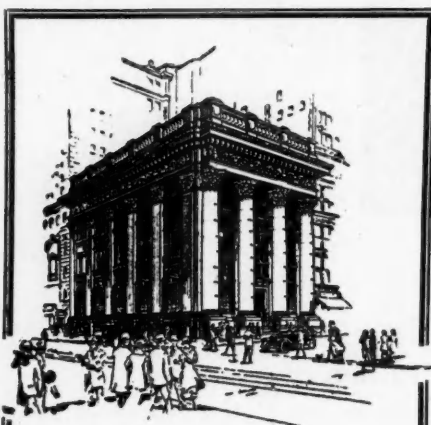
* The Association for the Advancement of Women.



The Book Stall

The Modern Novel

THERE is no doubt but that one begins the reading of Wilson Follett's *Modern Novel* (Alfred A. Knopf Co., New York), with greater courage because the writer acknowledges on the very first page that he does not mean to drag his readers through well-worn ruts of literary evolution, classicism, romanticism, realism, up to the neo-romantic Chauvinist school of contemporary French and British writers.



MISS FURMAN, in charge of our Women's Department, can tell women who may be away from home how we can take care of securities, collect income from whatever source and credit it to your checking account.

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Mr. Follett owns that he is unable to draw a ring around the novelist and label him as a romantic, or a realist. After this the reader begins to breathe comfortably and stretch himself in his armchair. The literary tag-day game he is glad to believe over, and so he may now read his Nexo and Andreer and Beresford without being obliged to card-catalogue them. Mr. Follett seems quite willing to saunter with him in that "misty mid-region between romance and realism," whose "boundaries are indefinable rather than precise, movable rather than fixed."

It is true that the author of "the purpose and meaning of fiction" does some defining on his own account; but it is not of the hard and fast variety, and it conforms to the general scheme of human development and not to mere literary shibboleths.

Mr. Follett concedes that a new mood in novel writing came into being with George Eliot; a change too fundamental, however, to be dismissed as "realism." It conformed to such on-sweeping human movements as Herbert's "states-of-consciousness" psychology; to the modernist movement in religion; to the trend towards democracy and social readjustment.

MR. FOLLETT'S pet system of novel-writing preceding George Eliot and Henry James is boxed off in compartments which he labels sentimentalism and satire. The first represented the novel of optimism which set up the first person singular with its loves and vanities and hypocrisies as its theme. Emotions preponderated. The second represented the reflecting mind, objectively studying life and hating its shams. It gained a social point of view.

With the entrance of George Meredith's serenely feminist theories into literature, sentimentalism received a body blow. Meredith saw "comedy as the laughter of the mind," and used it as a heaven-inspired scourge to do away, among other things, with false standards about women. "Where the veil is thrown over women's faces," he protests, "you cannot have society, without which the senses are barbarous and the comic spirit is driven to the gutters of grossness to slake its thirst." "The semi-barbarism of merely giddy communities and feverish emotional periods" repel the great comic poet, says Meredith, as does also "a state of marked special inequality of the sexes."

For this reason he called upon cultivated women not to be so blind to their own interests as to swell the ranks of the sentimentalists.

THE last estate of the novel is that described by Joseph Conrad as "the detached curiosity of a subtle mind." This "unwearied self-forgotten attention to every phase of the living universe reflected in our consciousness may be our appointed task on this earth," sums up the author of *Chance* and *Lord Jim*.

Mr. Follett does not quite lay down his theme here. If he did, he would after all have capitulated to relentless advocates of realism as an end in itself. He has further chapters on design and structure, on the humanistic philosophy with which great novels must be informed if they are really to be great.

These chapters lead up to the acceptance of a new unity in novel technique, higher and better than that which has been replaced. This is unity through principle and purpose, making the novel conform to life itself. In real life romance and realism are never altogether dissociated. They are sometimes interchangeable.

A Story of Poland

BEATRICE BASKERVILLE'S "The Playground of Satan" (W. J. Watt and Company) is a story of Poland, crushed between Germany and Russia—literally the shuttlecock between two enemies, for Russia has never been a friend to the Poles.

The story has the stamp of actuality, and seems like an account of real occurrences. It

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of the
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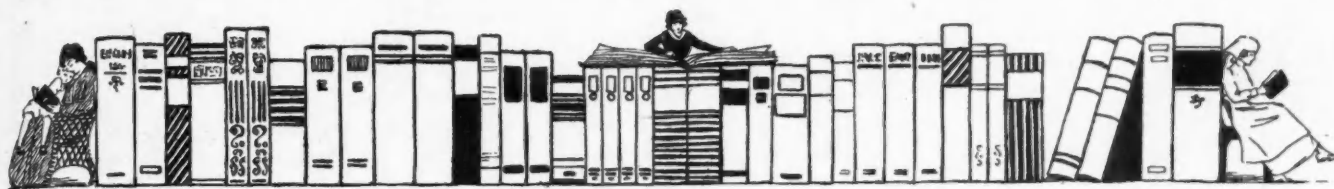
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depicts one of those tragic incidents, common to border territory in any war—very common to some parts of the United States in the Civil War—where brothers fought on two sides of a cause.

IT gives the picture of an enormous Polish estate, overrun and looted by Prussians and Russians, in turn, during the early part of the war, when the Grand Duke Nicholas was leading the Muscovites against the Germans.

It is easy to see that what little faith the author has in the Russians is anchored in the aristocratic class.

One phase of her story tells of the famous Vera Petrovna, who personally led great enterprises for the protection of the Russians of her villages and, afterwards, lost her life at the hands of the Reds.

Miss Baskerville is familiar with the Russian language of the Cossacks, having been the translator of Nikolai Gogol's "Taras Bulba." She is not as familiar with English as she might be, having as much trouble with her pronominal antecedents at times as the proverbial centipede who contemplated the question of which leg came after which until he lay distracted in the ditch.

The story is not at all a great story, nor has it literary merit; but it gives a realistic picture of the sufferings of Poland.

A Woman of Adventure

"A WOMAN OF ADVENTURE" is the subject of a long and interesting book review in "The Common Cause." This new type of adventuress is Mary Slessor, of Calabar; Pioneer Missionary. (By W. P. Livingstone. Hodder and Stoughton). Mary was a mill girl, with six brothers and sisters, a saintly mother and a drunken father. At twelve years she was the main bread winner of her family. At 28 she set out as a missionary for West Africa and there she worked for the rest of her life, almost 40 years. She set out a pioneer, with no one belonging to her, but she soon gathered her own together. The natives believed that one in every pair of twins was a devil, and having no way to tell which one, they had the custom of killing both at birth and outlawing the mother. Mary, who had a will of iron, and no fear, broke rudely into this custom. She made the husbands take back these mothers and she herself adopted the babies. Sometimes she had as many as nine babies at once to take care of, as she went about the work of the Lord.

Mr. Livingstone describes a missionary journey with five of her children:

"The light was fading ere they reached the landing beach for Ekenge, and there was yet the journey of four miles through the dripping forest to be undertaken. It was decided that she should go on ahead with the children in order to get them food and put them to sleep, and that Mr. Bishop and one or two men should follow with dry clothes, cooking utensils, and the door and window needed for the hut, whilst the carriers would come on later with the loads. As Mary faced the forest, now dark and mysterious, and filled with the noises of night, a feeling of helplessness and fear came over her. . . .

"SURELY no stranger procession had ever footed it through the African forest. First came a boy, about 11 years of age, tired and afraid, a box containing tea, sugar and bread upon his head, his garments, soaked with the rain, clinging to his body, his feet slipping in the black mud. Behind him was another boy, eight years old, in tears, bearing a kettle and pots. With these a little fellow of three, weeping loudly, tried hard to keep up, and close at his heels trotted a maiden of five, also shaken with sobs. Their white mother formed the rear. On one arm was slung a bundle, and astride her shoulders sat a baby girl, no light burden, so that she had to pull herself along with the aid of branches and twigs. She was singing nonsense-snatches to lighten the way for the little ones, but the tears were perilously near her own eyes. Had ever such a company marched out against the entrenched forces of evil?"

Twin killing was not the only tribal religious custom Mary broke rudely in upon without fear.

"The blood feuds," says the reviewer, "the sacrifices of wives and dependents on a chief's grave to give him comfort and company in the next world, the ordeal of the poison bean or of boiling oil for those who might be implicated in witchcraft, nay, even the punishment of erring wives by flogging to death—all the most time-honored institutions and necessary customs would be suddenly interfered with, and in the end often stopped altogether by the sudden arrival on the spot of a little, bare-headed, bare-footed white woman, coming panting through the bush, snatching the poison away, stamping out the fires, forbidding the execution, carrying off the culprits, and altogether upsetting the whole place. Yet she was such a comfort to

them, with her medicine for their sickness, her sympathy with their griefs, her Solomon's judgments in their affairs, that when she wanted to take up her abode with them they received her eagerly, and when she went away again they continued to obey her teaching, or at any rate returned hurriedly to it when they thought there was a chance that she might reappear."

Mary Slessor died in Calabar, January, 1915, "surrounded by her black children," of whom in her career she accumulated some two score.

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TO meet a great need for capable workers in a new and uncrowded profession and one of great promise for women, Columbia University is cooperating with the National League of Women Workers in offering a course in organization and leadership of recreational and community activities for working girls. The course, which began at Columbia University, New York city, May 12, will last until June 14, 1919.

Recreation as an essential need in the lives of the people was demonstrated during the war. The leisure time of thousands of soldiers was organized efficiently, planned on a big scale and supervised by trained leaders. Girls all over the country were organized in groups for dancing and other entertainments for soldiers. This wartime experience has opened the way to develop community recreation.

The new vision in community recreation demands that it be democratic, all-inclusive and well-organized. To apply these principles to the reconstruction period, when industrial unrest, endangered labor standards and unemployment are making life hard for the worker—the soldier

Doors of Opportunity

no more than the woman who works—is a need of the hour, and requires trained leadership. To meet this need in the field of girls' recreation the National League of Women Workers, which has been organizing non-sectarian, self-governing clubs for girls for over thirty years, has given to Miss Jean Hamilton, general secretary of the National League of Women Workers, direct supervision of the course. Miss Hamilton, who is a Vassar graduate, has had 15 years' experience in organizing self-governing clubs for girls. She knows girls all over the country and the needs of girls. She has made a close study of reconstruction conditions as they affect wage-earning women. Her plans for the course include intensive training for all phases of girls' club work. Special stress is being placed on the part recreation may play in the trying period of the reconstruction.

The course includes lectures, field work and round table discussions. Movements touching the lives of working women have been brought into the course as giving an intelligent background.

The field of girls' recreation is constantly expanding and opportunities for jobs are becoming more numerous. It is held that students completing this course will be prepared for positions with any of the big recreation organizations, for girls' club work in settlements, for welfare work in stores and industrial plants, for leadership of girls' activities in social centers, churches, and schools and for positions under public recreation commissions in cities and towns all over the country.

She Inspects

DURING the war, a special industrial inspector, Mrs. Arthur T. Cox, the first woman in the Indiana Labor Department, was appointed by Governor Goodrich. Of her work the report says: "The results accomplished by the special industrial inspector, the only woman in the bureau of inspection during the war, are noteworthy. Her work demonstrates the necessity for extending it, and for making special provision for the administration and enforcement of measures of protection for women workers by women directly responsible to the industrial board."

The report recommends legislation setting maximum hours and minimum sanitation and

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comfort and recommends also the establishment of an Industrial Welfare Commission, like that of Wisconsin, to administer existing laws and establish further regulation of industry.

"WOMAN knocking at the closed door of opportunity," says *The Public*, "has long marked the pathos of progress; woman forced out of industry by the men returning from war marks its tragedy. But she is silent no longer; neither is she helpless. She has the ballot in a sufficient number of states to command the attention of politicians; and soon they must give heed. The first word heard after the end of the war was that women could now return to their household duties. But many have no household duties, and others do not choose to assume them. Those who wish to continue in industrial work resent their discharge to make room for the returning men."

G.F.W.C. Mid-Biennial Council

GENERAL ANNOUNCEMENT

THE Mid-Biennial Council of the General Federation of Women's Clubs will be held in Asheville, N. C., May 27-30, 1919, both dates inclusive.

All members of the General Federation are invited to attend the meeting and assist in carrying out the object of the Council, which is, "to consider and to promote the interests of the General Federation of Women's Clubs."

EXTRACT FROM THE BY-LAWS

Article VII, Section 1. The Board of Directors, past presidents of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, presidents of State Federations, of Territorial Federations, of clubs, and of kindred organizations, and General Federation state secretaries shall constitute a Council to consider and promote the interests of the General Federation of Women's Clubs.

Sec. 2. A president may, in her absence, be represented by her appointees.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

The Credentials Room in the Battery Park Hotel will be open for general registration, Tuesday, May 27, from 9.00 a. m. to 5.00 p. m., and on Wednesday, May 28, at 9.00 a. m.

Club women will please present their visiting cards with their Asheville addresses when registering.

The Credentials Room will be open for local club women May 26, from 10.00 a. m. to 4.00 p. m.

Special tables will be provided for the registration of visiting club women. Council members and visiting club women are requested to register as soon as possible.

Mrs. H. O. GARVEY, Chairman.

Credentials Committee.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF TRANSPORTATION COMMITTEE

SPECIAL reduced fares are not obtainable for the Council meeting of the General Federation of Women's Clubs to be held at Asheville, N. C., May 27 to May 30. It is not in accordance with the policy of the railroads to authorize special fares on account of conventions. However, round trip, all-year excursion fares are in effect from all important stations in the New England, southeast, and central trunk lines territory to Asheville. Tickets on sale daily with limit of six months. No general all-year-round-trip fares available to Asheville from territory west of the Missouri River. The State Federation directors and State Federation presidents are asked to co-operate in arranging for the club women going to Asheville from their states to travel together. When possible, of course, the club women of adjoining states will enjoy making the trip together.

Mrs. FELIX T. McWHIRTER, Chairman.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF PROGRAM COMMITTEE

ON Tuesday, at 1.00 o'clock, a luncheon will be given by the North Carolina State Federation, complimentary to the Board of Directors, Past Presidents, and other distinguished guests.

The opening session will take place Tuesday night at 8.30. There will also be sessions Wednesday and Thursday nights when musical programs will be rendered and addresses will be given by distinguished speakers on the spirit of America and the reconstruction program for Americanization.

Wednesday afternoon will be devoted to a conference at which time the general subjects under discussion will be:

The Future Policies of the General Federation.

Problems of State Federations.

Mobilizing the Departments of Work for an Americanization Program.

Evening sessions will be held in the Auditorium and day sessions in the Battery Park Hotel.

A reception will be given by the Chamber of Commerce at the Battery Park Hotel, Tuesday night, following the opening session, complimentary to the members of the General Federation Mid-Biennial Council.

By courtesy of the Asheville Federation and Country Club a garden party will be given at the Asheville Country Club at 5.00 o'clock.

At 2.00 o'clock, Thursday afternoon, a trip to Biltmore and Sunset Mountain has been arranged by the Rotary Club.

The North Carolina Forestry Association is planning for a trip to Mt. Mitchell, starting Saturday at 8.30 a. m. and returning the same evening at 8.00 o'clock. The trip will cost \$3.50. Details may be obtained from the chairman, Miss Julia A. Thorns, Raleigh, N. C.

Mrs. EUGENE REILLEY, Chairman,
Charlotte, North Carolina.

Reservations can be made for hotel and boarding house accommodations by addressing Mrs. J. C. Ernst, chairman, Asheville, N. C.

By order of the Board of Directors,
Mrs. JOSIAH EVANS COWLES, President.
Mrs. ADAM WEISS, Recording Secy.

THE *Woman's Medical Journal* tells the story of Shih Maiyu, or Dr. "Mary Stone," to use the name she adopted as a medi-

cal student in America, a young Chinese woman surgeon and physician, now head of the Elizabeth Skelton Danforth Hospital in Kiukiong, China. The hospital has, besides a well equipped central plant filled to capacity, a visiting service under Dr. Kathleen Hwang, who "with her big traveling medicine chest, goes from city to city, dispensing, visiting, lecturing and even operating."

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College Women's War Work

IN its *Journal* the Association of Collegiate Alumnae gives a brief resumé of its war work, which was done under the guidance of a committee, of which M. Carey Thomas, of Bryn Mawr, was chairman. As member of the Speaking Division of the Public Information Committee, the Association founded speakers' bureaus and sent out hundreds of speakers, who addressed schools, colleges, movies, granges, factories, and innumerable other groups of people, on the fundamental issues of the war and the necessity for entering it and carrying it through to a successful issue. Other methods of patriotic propaganda used by the association were literature and current events classes.

Besides this educational work the one hundred and fifteen branches of the association worked for the Food Administration; the

Children's Bureau in its Children's Year Campaign and adopted 125 French orphans, whom various branches propose to aid until their education is completed.

The association has also provided trained women for many branches of government war work, overseas and at home. Not long before peace was declared, the association, taking pattern by the successful summer nursing course at Vassar, was arranging pre-nursing course in many colleges.

The association also co-operated financially with the Association of American Colleges in bringing a hundred young French women to be educated in American colleges.

The Educated Woman

THE educated woman must play an even larger part in the solving of the big world problems, in the opinion of President Mary E. Wooley of Mount Holyoke College, who addressed the Mount Holyoke Alumnae Association recently on the subject of "The College Woman as a World Citizen."

President Wooley declared that she had no fear for the home as the result of the increased activity of women in world affairs. The American woman today enjoys more nearly an equal opportunity with men in any chosen field than ever before, she declared in the course of her address.

Cambridge and Suffrage

S EVEN masters of colleges and twenty-two professors were among the signers of the memorial presented to Cambridge University urging the admission of women to full university membership. Women, it is suggested, should be subject to the same conditions and discipline as men students and should wear the cap and gown.

Arrange for Playgrounds

TO meet the demand for an increased number of playgrounds the New York City Woman Suffrage Party has organized a movement to secure vacant street spaces and convert them into playgrounds. Mrs. Walter Timme, district leader, has made arrangements to fence off a block, possibly more, in a congested part of her district and has arranged for an attendant who will direct the children's play. Other places will also be provided. This movement is in line with the program for recreational activities as suggested by the League of Women Voters through the Com-

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Personal

MRS. HARRIET ROSS NEWELL, whose death occurred at Derry, New Hampshire, on Easter morning, was a pioneer suffragist who had labored long and faithfully for suffrage and other progressive movements. Mrs. Newell achieved success as a nurse, being in advance of her time in her belief and practice of hydrotherapy and fresh air treatment. She was a loyal worker in the W. C. T. U.

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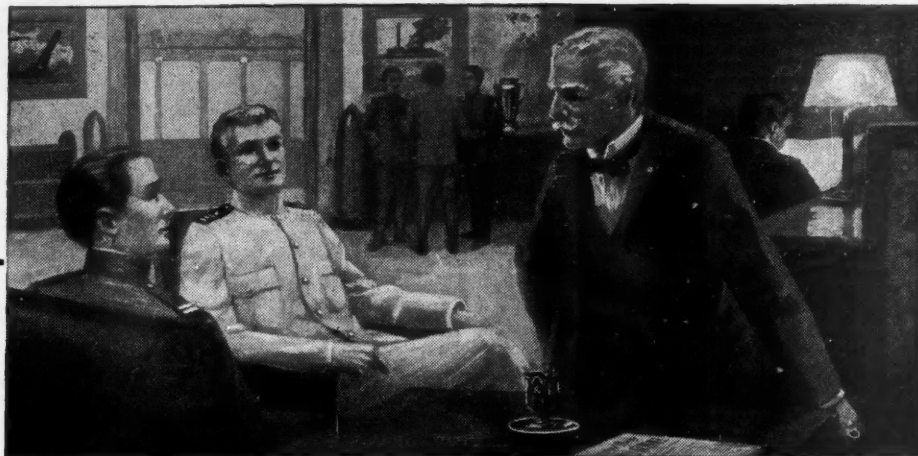
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The Last Word About the War

And How Colonel Sibley Was Helped to Write It

SCENE: (Army and Navy Club, New York, where Commander Ellsworth, U. S. N., and Captain Trowbridge, U. S. A., are having a conference and an after-dinner cigar in the Club Library and are joined by Colonel Sibley, U. S. A., retired)

The Colonel: Well, comrades, I win!

The Commander: Been fighting again, Colonel? Who says you're retired?

Colonel: I was retired, but now I'm in action again or soon will be, and this time with the pen instead of the sword.

Captain: How's that?

Colonel (Drawing closer to the table and glancing around): Well, comrades, I don't mind telling you in confidence that I just signed up with the Editor-in-Chief of a big magazine (name censored for the present) to write a series of articles on the Great War.

Commander: Tell us about it.

Colonel: Well, it's going to be a long campaign. The Editor, whom I have just left, wants an extended series of articles, to begin with an exhaustive survey of the causes which led up to the War.

Captain: The causes? All of them? Well, you've sure got your work laid out for you.

Commander: I should say you had.

Colonel: The Editor feels that way

himself. He's now concerned chiefly about what has happened up-to-date and the authority upon which my statements will be based. The Editor's a big gun in the business, you know, and his rivals will be getting his range if he exposes himself. He wants to secure a strategic position so that he can't be successfully attacked on anything he prints.

Captain: Well, what did you suggest?

Colonel: I'll tell you. While he was talking I was thinking and I finally told him that what he wanted as a reserve-force was some late general reference work of recognized reliability that he could fall back on. "That's it," he said, and then asked: "Which one?"

Commander (Turning his head and glancing at a set of The New International Encyclopaedia in its special case): I'll bet I can tell which one you named.

Captain (Glancing at the set): Ours, of course.

Colonel: You're both good guessers. Of course I named The New

International and the Editor nodded his head and said: "That's the very work I had in mind, not only as an authority on the causes of the War and what has already happened, but when peace comes I hear the publishers are to bring the war-volume down to date at once and are to send it to all subscribers in exchange for the war-volume now in their possession so they'll know the last word about the conflict."

Commander: Well, that settled it, I suppose.

Colonel: Yes, I told the Editor that the selection of The New International as our authority simplified the problem and he added that it not only simplified the articles, but solidified them and made them so authoritative that he would be able to follow out with safety his plan to publish the series of articles in book form.

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Old Style. Vol. XLIX

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regard to the

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in this issue of

THE WOMAN CITIZEN?

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in the program of this organization
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"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

From the President's Message

"WILL you not permit me, turning from these matters, to speak once more and very earnestly of the proposed amendment to the Constitution which would extend the suffrage to women, and which passed the House of Representatives at the last session of Congress? It seems to me that every consideration of justice and of public advantage calls for the immediate adoption of that amendment and its submission forthwith to the Legislatures of the several states. Throughout all the world this long delayed extension of the suffrage is looked for; in the United States, longer, I believe, than anywhere else, the necessity for it and the immense advantage of it to the national life has been urged and debated by women and men who saw the need for it and urged the policy of it when it required steadfast courage to be so much beforehand with the common conviction; and I, for one, covet for our country the distinction of being among the first to act in a great reform."

The Answer

THE House of Representatives, Republican in majority though it is, was so prompt in realizing the President's recommendation as to be almost ahead of it. The very day that his appeal reached Washington, the House placed the Federal Suffrage Amendment at the top of the calendar and at this historic hour, Wednesday noon, the House of Representatives of the United States is scheduled to take up the Federal Suffrage Amendment for consideration.

It is also, alas, the historic hour when the *Woman Citizen* must go to press. Before these lines are read, the House vote on the measure may possibly have been cast. Possibly the Senate vote as well. Suffragists are not today concerned about the fortunes of the measure in House or Senate. Today to vote on it is to pass it.

It was the suffrage bill, as introduced by Representative Mann, Chairman of the House Woman Suffrage Committee, that was made No. One on the House program.

Representative Mann's bill reads:

"Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein) that the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several states.

"The rights of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

Besides the resolution of Representative Mann, suffrage bills were put in by Representative Raker, of California; Taylor, of Colorado, and Hayden, of Arizona.

NEW ENGLAND is not to be outdone by the South. Following hard upon the heels of the announcement of Senator W. J. Harris of Georgia that he intends to vote for the Federal Suffrage Amendment, comes the announcement of Senator Henry W. Keyes of New Hampshire that he likewise will vote for it. Mrs. Maud Wood Park, Chairman of the National's Congressional Committee, has issued a statement pointing out that Senator Keyes's pledge insures a total of eleven of the thirteen new Senators who have declared for the amendment. Suffrage bills were introduced into the Senate on Tuesday by Senators Jones, of New Mexico; Jones, of Washington, and Johnson, of California.

Dr. Shaw Honored

ON Monday, the opening day of the 66th Congress, which stands pledged to the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, for which she has worked so long, Secretary Baker presented the Distinguished Service Medal to Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, Honorary President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Dr. Shaw served during the war as Chairman of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense, and it was inevitable that her remarkable record in that capacity should be officially recognized. Suffragists the world over rejoice in her honor. And she, characteristically, says:

"I realize that in conferring upon me the Distinguished Service Medal, the President and Secretary of War are not expressing their appreciation of what I as an individual have done but of the collective service of the women of the country. As it is impossible to decorate all women who have served equally with the Chairman of the Woman's Committee, I have been chosen and while I appreciate the honor and am prouder to wear this decoration than to receive any other recognition save my political freedom, which is the first desire of a loyal American, I nevertheless look upon this as the beginning of the recognition by the country of the service and loyalty of women. And above all that the part women are called upon to take in times of war is recognized as equally necessary in times of peace. This departure on the part of the national government through the President and Secretary of War gives the greater promise of the time near at hand when every citizen of the United States will be esteemed a government asset because of his or her loyalty and service rather than because of sex."

Texas the Sixteenth?

ALTHOUGH the tension of it has not materially effected the equilibrium of the East, Texas for weeks has been in a gallant campaign for full suffrage for women.

Today, May 24th, Texas men are deciding at the polls whether or not Texas women shall be admitted to full political equality with Texas men. As the campaign ends and the vote begins, everything looks so propitious that it is safe to assume that Texas will be the sixteenth full suffrage state.

Texas women, it will be remembered, already have primary suffrage. Naturally that has helped some in the campaign for full suffrage, for it is a rather forlorn politician who wants to jeopard his own or his candidate's chances at the polls by resisting women's just claim to full suffrage in a state where women's vote at the primaries may be all decisive.

Another thing that has helped some has been the character of the opposition. Inspired and directed by one Ferguson, an impeached ex-Governor of Texas, whose political obsequies were chanted in the primaries by the votes of Texas women, the antis have fairly outdone themselves in vituperation and vicious suggestion. So raw, so crude, have they been that the Texas press has repeatedly arisen during the campaign to administer scathing rebukes. For example, the San Antonio *Express*, commenting on this anti-suffrage quality, said that "such attacks as this, in attempted derogation and defamation of the minds, hearts and characters of millions of men and women in state and nation who do their full duty of maintenance of all that is good and right in the laws, institutions and customs of their land, should give the suffrage amendment to be adopted on May 24 victory by such a vote as never before has been cast for any governmental measure submitted to the will of Texas men!"

It was this same quality in the anti-suffrage material which, placed on the desks of House members one day, led the House to vote overwhelmingly for a resolution condemning such campaign literature.

Again, President Wilson has helped. From far away France he cabled to Mrs. Minnie Fisher Cunningham, president of the Texas Woman Suffrage Association, "I am looking forward with the greatest interest to the referendum of May 24th on woman suffrage and entertain the confident hope that the men of Texas will, by a very great majority, render gallant justice to the women of the state."

Last, and not least, indeed most of all, the Texas suffragists have helped. Led by Mrs. Cunningham, they have conducted the campaign with the same political acumen and tireless energy that was manifest in the conduct of the campaign for primary suffrage.

Is Home-Making Hazardous?

IT IS informally reported that from 40% to 60% of the patients in several New York hospitals last year were broken down housewives.

If this is so, is anything being done to stop it?

It is evident why there should be great casualties among home-making women and it is easy to predict that these casualties will increase until there is a housewives' merger of some sort.

Naturally the first thing to be tackled is the High Cost of Living, that Hun whose submarine warfare has sunk the individual home beneath a sea of troubles.

Women have been driven by the high cost of living, plus government regulations, plus patriotism, in the last four years to: Do their own marketing; their own cooking and general house-

work; to carry home their own packages; to contribute to war funds, while they pay income and luxury taxes.

There has been no commission of women appointed to find out whether the business of home-making can stand the strain which has been put upon it.

There are few, or no, women on federal boards cognate to the housekeeper's affairs, such as: food, fuel, luxury and income tax boards. Even when women were local assistant food administrators, as they were very generally, throughout the war, they were allowed to offer services only, but never advice.

No women are now commissioned to investigate the high rents, which are literally driving the household into the streets, the churches and the open fields.

The demands of the government for women in the last four years have worked real hardships. Mothers who could neither afford nor procure domestic service were forced to leave their housework unfinished while they stood for hours in line to be waited on at the cheapest market, carried home packages, often much too heavy, and then worked hours overtime to complete interrupted household tasks.

THERE is no doubt whatever that excessive overwork, unusual hardships, and constant deprivations produced many casualties among women; that it killed many and broke down more. If something were to come out of these casualties among housewives, such as, for example, a recognition by the government that every detail of life, from the income tax to the federal employment bureau, is an affair needing the counsel and help of women, the casualties will not have been in vain. But the only results on the horizon at present are obvious even to a male politician, if it was worth his while to stop and look. Standards of beauty, comfort, health, even of decency, are lowered.

The generation before this saw women brave in their desire to lift their homes to exquisiteness. This generation of housewives is exhausting enough good gray matter to run the nation over trifling economies and labor-saving devices in order to keep the home from falling to pieces.

The only relief in sight for women is what they will gain for themselves in getting and using their votes to create new conditions. And the sooner they do it the better for the race and for the nation; for the present status of the educated housewife is that of a poor relation in the house of life, expected to do all the odd jobs no one else wants to do, without having any voice whatever in the vital councils which form the policy under which she contributes her services.

Women's place should be on every council board of the nation which is regulating the conditions of living.

THE Woman Citizen

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Problems of Peace

JUST as the 65th Congress had the final responsibility of meeting the problems of war, so the 66th Congress has the enormous opportunity of meeting the problems of peace. Every citizen of the United States has a duty to develop intelligent public opinion, for only through such opinion can there be unselfish political action."

So spoke Maud Wood Park, chairman of the National's Congressional Committee, in opening the series of conferences on reconstruction problems by means of which the principles of the new League of Women Voters are being given a point of application. Since the conferences opened three meetings have been held in Washington, each of which has made notable contribution to the thought of the hour with regard to the reconstruction problems awaiting the 66th Congress.

Members of Congress, men and women of the various political parties, those with varying shades of opinion within the parties, and persons with expert opinions who have no political designation have been among the speakers at the conferences.

That representatives of the various parties are on the program is in line with the declared non-partisanship of the League of Women Voters, which has been interpreted by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt to mean that the members of the League shall affiliate with the parties of their choice but that the League itself shall not constitute a new party, nor endorse or oppose candidates or parties. The fact that both men and women are taking part in the conferences is in accord with another League principle, that instead of dividing voters on sex lines it will draw men and women together for better citizenship. And since the actual accomplishment of the proposed legislation is to be put up to the present political parties as they are represented in Congress, still a third principle of the League is being fulfilled, namely, to agitate and educate as no political party concerned with appealing for votes has heretofore done, until such public sentiment has been created that all political parties will adopt the desired legislation as their own.

At the meeting on Monday night of this week, Senator Kenyon, Mr. Edward Keating, and Miss Mary Van Kleeck were the star speakers. Extracts from their speeches are reproduced below.

Senator Kenyon's Program

UNITED STATES SENATOR WILLIAM S. KENYON of Iowa outlined for the next Congress a program of constructive legislation for labor, which it is understood the Progressive element in the Senate will back. He paid tribute to Samuel Gompers for his work during the war and his combating trouble-making propaganda among labor organizations. He declared that labor and capital must stand on an equality of partnership, that the United States is behind most of the world in caring for the interest of those who really produce the wealth, that women wage-earners are entitled to the same pay as men for the same service and that they must not perform tasks that undermine their health.

He said that if the Supreme Court held unconstitutional the present child labor law some other method would be devised of stopping gentlemen from grinding up little children into dividends, if not under the constitution then by amending the constitution.

He declared in favor of prohibiting all immigration for two years, during which time there should be assimilated into American citizenship those now here who cannot write, speak or read the English language.

The following he urged as practical matters for Congress:

1. The establishment of boards or commissions of mediation and conciliation under the Department of Labor, whose powers should in no event be extended to compulsory arbitration, which was stated as impossible.

2. A national employment service.

3. A public works commission to provide labor in times of emergency, the building of great public works to be done in times of labor surplus.

4. A plan to assist people of moderate means to build homes and the extension of the project of land for soldiers to include all who desire its benefits.

5. National insurance for old age, sickness and accident.

6. The extension of vocational training to all those disabled by injury or sickness.

7. A federal industrial relations commission to promote industrial peace and prosperity by dealing with the causes of discontent and unrest, the commission to be empowered to fix a minimum wage in all industries over which the constitution permits jurisdiction.

Proletariat and Plutocrat

EDWARD KEATING, member of the joint committee on reclassification of salaries of federal employees, said, "The American workingman is not a Bolshevik. He is too straight a thinker for that. He knows that in a republic wrongs may be righted more effectually and more enduringly with the ballot than with the rifle. He is as much opposed to the dictatorship of the proletariat as to the tyranny of the plutocrats.

"He is the conservative of conservatives among the world's toilers. He demands no special privilege and insists on only the most elemental rights. He has a keen sense of humor but his good nature is sorely tried when some well-fed profiteer—who waved a flag and cheered the boys as they marched away to war and then returned to his office to mark up the price of flour or coal—shouts 'I. W. W.' because the members of a union strike to secure shorter hours, better wages or improved working conditions.

"In turning to Washington for help he is not interested in the squabble over postoffices. He has never acted as postmaster and never expects such a distinguished post.

"He wants a reconstruction program which includes: complete enfranchisement of women through federal action; frank recognition of the workers' right to organize; adequate federal laws, by constitutional amendment if necessary, fixing hours of labor, working conditions, and minimum wage for women and children in industry; a national land policy which places the land in the hands of those who cultivate it, free from landlordism and speculation; wiping out illiteracy; drastic legislation to end profiteering in the necessities of life; raising state and federal revenues through taxes on incomes and inheritance and not on the necessities of life; government ownership of railroads, express companies, telegraph and telephone lines."

Miss Van Kleeck on Women's Wages

MISS MARY VAN KLEECK, director of the Woman in Industry Service, United States Department of Labor, said,

"In spite of their record during the war millions of women in the United States receive less than a living wage and thousands of families are below the poverty line for no reason except that their bread-winner happen to be women earning women's wages. Millions of women are working too long hours for health and

(Continued on page 1125)

The Wisdom of Julia Ward Howe

IN connection with the Julia Ward Howe centenary on May 27, it is worth while to recall some of Mrs. Howe's wise and eloquent words. These are only a few gems out of many:

"A long life has this advantage, of enabling us to measure somewhat the direction and rate of human progress. I have seen the woman suffrage movement grow like the mustard seed mentioned by Christ, which, smallest of seeds at first, became in time a stately tree, a place of rest and relief for the birds of the air.

"It does not appear to me wise in the education of girls to emphasize too strongly the view that they shall all become wives and mothers. So long as wars prevail it will be inevitable that in militant communities a certain proportion of women must remain unmarried. The risks even of some of the pursuits adopted by men tend to render their tenure of life more uncertain than that of women. True education should aim at building up the traits which are sure to be wanted in every civilized community, namely, character, consideration for others, respect for one's self. It becomes us to cultivate all that makes the individual valuable to society. Then, whether marriage occurs or not, women will be sure to bear a dignified part in the life of the community to which they belong.

"Many of the women who join us in petitioning for suffrage are women who earn their own living, often supporting their families, including an aged father or an impecunious husband. They teach, write, sew, cook, do their own house-work, care for their children, and they know that they could find the little time required to vote. You ladies do not cook your dinners, nor make your own clothes, nor sweep and dust your mansions, nor sit at the weary desk of the teacher day in and day out, and yet you have no time to vote; and because you have not, you with your delicate fingers would wring from the hard hand of labor its only guarantee of freedom.

"The Oriental imagination pictured woman as the source of evil in the world. By her, it was said, came sin and death. Yes, but by her came also the new spirit which brought us the resurrection and the life.

* * * * *

"I CAN well recall the years in which I felt myself averse to the participation of women in political life. The feminine type appeared to me so precious, so indispensable to humanity that I dreaded any enlargement of its functions, lest something of its charm and real power should therein be lost. I have often felt as if some sudden and unlooked-for revelation had been vouchsafed to me, for on my first real contact with the suffragists of say forty years ago I was made to feel that womanhood is not only static, but also and much more dynamic—a power to move as well as a power to stay. True womanliness must grow and not diminish in its larger and freer exercise.

* * * * *

"We who believe in suffrage with our whole hearts are not a frantic, shrieking mob. We are not contemners of marriage, nor neglecters of home and offspring. We are individually allowed to be men and women of sound intellect, of reputable life, having the same stake and interest in the well-being of the community that others have. We have had, or hope to have, our holy fire-side, our joyful cradle, our decent bank account. Why should any consider us as enemies of society, we who have everything to gain by its good government?

* * * * *

"A reform which implies a revolution is first seen to be just.

It is then seen to be possible. Last of all, it is seen to be providential. The claim of woman to an equal opportunity with man was seen to be just when Plato, the greatest of philosophers, so stated it in terms which the subtlest of his hearers could not gainsay. It was so seen when Paul said that in the Christian dispensation there is neither male nor female. It was seen when Mary Wollstonecraft published her daring thesis, and later, when the strong-souled men and women who arose to help the slave made their banner broad and bright with the motto, 'Equal rights for all.' It was seen to be possible when we, of this country, had learned the lesson of the great triumph of conscience which was taught us in our war. Slavery was then seen to be a weaker relic of barbarism, and freedom to be the destiny of the human race. And now we see that it is providential, because it fits in with all the social and moral ameliorations which are establishing themselves in the order of the civilized world.

* * * * *

"ONE aspect of this (the argument that women must not vote because they do not fight) would make the protection which men give to women in time of war the equivalent for the political rights denied them. But, gentlemen, let me ask what protection can you give us which shall compare with the protection we give you when you are born, little helpless creatures, into the world, without feet to stand upon, or hands to help yourselves? Without this tender, this unceasing protection, no man of you would live to grow up. It may easily happen that no man of a whole generation shall ever be called upon to defend the women of this country in the field. But it cannot happen that the women of any generation shall fail to give their unwearied and energetic protection to the infant men born of it. Some of us know how full of labor and detail this protection is; what anxious days, what sleepless nights it involves. The mothers are busy at home, not only building up the bodies of the little men, but building up their minds, too, teaching them to be gentle, pure and honest, cultivating the elements of the human will, that great moralizing power on which the State and the Church depend. A man is very happy if he can ever repay to his mother the protection she gave him in his infancy.

* * * * *

"I have sat in the little chapel at Bethlehem in which tradition places the birth of the Saviour. It seemed fitting that it should be adorned with offerings of beautiful things. But while I mused there, a voice seemed to say to me: 'Look abroad! This divine child is a child no more. He has grown to be a man and a deliverer. Go out into the world! Find his footsteps and follow him. Work, as he did, for the redemption of mankind. Suffer as he did, if need be, derision and obloquy. Make your protest against tyranny, meanness and injustice!' The weapon of Christian warfare is the ballot, which represents the peaceable assertion of conviction and will. Society everywhere is becoming converted to its use. Adopt it, O you women, with clean hands and a pure heart! Verify the best word written by the apostle, 'In Christ Jesus there is neither bond nor free, neither male nor female, but a new creature,' the harbinger of a new creation."

* * * * *

MRS. HOWE worked hard for human rights. To some one who told her she was full of inspiration, she answered, "Inspiration means perspiration." She was a humanist, and not merely a feminist. And she was spirited to the last, and even

peppery upon occasion. "There is still some ginger left in the old blue jar!" she said after one of these ebullitions.

Mrs. Howe was like a many-sided jewel, and every facet shone. She was President of the Friends of Armenia, and the cause of the oppressed nation was especially dear to her heart. On her 77th birthday she said:

"ALMOST as much as I desire to see women take their rightful place in the world's work do I long to see Christendom united for the protection of its own in the remotest regions and under the most barbarous rulers. I feel so much the sufferings of the people in Armenia that I could almost go from door to door begging the rich and the poor to send such contributions as they could for their relief. But far better would it be if measures were taken throughout the world to prevent ignorant superstition from holding a bloody carnival of Christian life whenever it may see fit. I pray heaven that such a movement may be soon and effectually inaugurated."

In her latter years, Mrs. Howe held a unique position. Wherever she appeared, she became the object of an ovation. Every audience whether rich or poor, native or foreign born, rose when she entered, and greeted her with enthusiasm. It would be hard to analyze the universal veneration that she inspired. Many elements went to make it up. To us she was like the flag: she stood for the grand old traditions of the Republic.

Her last speech at the State House was a hearing in behalf of a pure milk bill for Massachusetts babies.

ON the one hundredth anniversary of her birth, the men who still seek to exclude women from equal rights may well recall the lines of her poem, "The Open Door."

The Master said, "I am the Door.

The world is dark with doubt and sin,
Hidden the good that men implore,
But after me ye enter in.

"The ancient barriers I disown,
The distant and the dark control,
Who with your onward steps have thrown
God's sunshine open to the soul."

Another mystic door I know,
The entrance to this world of ours,
And she who opens it bears low
A wondrous weight of pains and powers.

O men that plan the stately pile
Where law and learning hold their sway,
And drive with subterfuge and wile
Your mothers from the door away—

Undo the door! In God's high noon
An equal heritage have we;
Your cold exclusion's out of tune
With nature's hospitality.

See where the word of freedom lives
To bridge the gulf of ages o'er;
Learn how the Eternal Giver gives,
And keep with Christ the open door!

A. S. B.

IT may take one-third of the Senate to block a treaty. It takes a bare majority for the Electoral College to determine the choice of President of the United States, and in the Electoral College the suffrage states hold the balance of power now.

Suffrage in South Africa

IT is difficult to get detailed news as to the scope of the woman suffrage bill which was passed by the Union Parliament of South Africa early in April. The fullest report comes by way of London in the pages of the *Common Cause*, which says that the bill was introduced by Mr. Wyndham—the sponsor of a former unsuccessful bill in 1914. The majority in the Union Parliament against woman suffrage has been steadily decreasing since 1912, when a bill was defeated by seventy votes to thirty. "Mr. Wyndham's first measure never reached a vote. The next effort was Mr. Rockey's motion in 1917, against which the majority was thirty-five; that against Mr. Sampson's, in February, 1918, was only fifteen. The Women's Enfranchisement Association of the Union, which was founded in 1911, is a most active organization. Not only has it labored for the vote; it has also been largely instrumental in promoting such legislation as the Regulation of Wages Act, and the Factory Act, 1918, which ensures the state support of working women before, during, and eight weeks after confinement, and which guards against the sweating of women, children, and apprentices."

The *Woman Citizen* has not so far been able to get authoritative information as to the age and other qualifications imposed on the women by the bill, but expects to present a full review of the situation in an early issue.

Suffrage in South Africa has been much entangled by the color line, but, reversing the American precedent, in Africa it is the northern part of the country, instead of the southern, that feels the question most acutely because of its huge Kaffir population.

Problems of Peace

(Continued from page 1123)

efficiency and many women are working under conditions which are unwholesome and unsafe. In many well-managed establishments, however, standards have greatly improved during the war and the time is ripe to extend these improvements throughout industry. Continuous, careful investigation by a central bureau of information and a governmental policy formulated by women are of the utmost importance for reconstruction in America. Next to the suffrage amendment the measure of greatest importance to women before the new Congress will be to establish on a permanent basis, with an adequate appropriation, the Women's Bureau in the United States Department of Labor.

"Legislation for the protection of women in industry to be introduced in the new session of Congress will have the active backing of the new League of Women Voters, which will have a committee to work for the following measures among others:

1. Abolition of child labor and compulsory education of all children from the age of 6 to 16 years.
2. Eight-hour day, and 44 hour week and a weekly day of rest.
3. Abolition of night work for women and minors.
4. The establishment of minimum wage commissions in every state with representation of employers and employees and both men and women commissioners.
5. Equal pay for equal work and wages based on occupation and upon sex.
6. Right of workers to organize and to bargain collectively through their chosen representatives.
7. The establishment of state and federal employment systems and the establishment upon a permanent basis of the Women in Industry Service of the United States Department of Labor.

Face to Face With Forty Victories

THERE are so few people who have ever known what it feels like to be a World's Champion, that, doubtless, one could gather all their testimony in a few hours.

Perhaps they all feel the same—whether they are prize-fighters, tenors, winners of Nobel prizes, Marathon runners or champion typewriters. Being the only one of anything must bring similar reactions to the human soul.

If you are a prize-contest fan, you may have watched a typewriting marathon some day in Madison Square Garden, or some other place in other cities of the United States where vast crowds foregather. If you ever did join the throng that cheers for the nimblest fingers, you saw enter upon the stage men and women—mostly young girls, a starter with a stop-watch, and most of the paraphernalia for a prize struggle. Noticeably absent were sponges and pails of water belonging to some contests.

At a signal the typewriters were off. Sheets of paper fell on the floor as they fell out of windows of city sky-scrapers on the day when peace was declared, or as they used to fall on the stage when Theodore Roosevelt made a speech.

The greatest speed, and the fewest mistakes, these were the goal.

The prize-winner was apt to be Miss Rose L. Fritz, whose record ran to 230 words a minute of practiced matter, her regular speed keeping up a pace of from 135 to 149 words a minute from ordinary copy.

About a week ago she gave a speed demonstration before the pupils of her school of 157 words a minute, while carrying on a conversation. She also demonstrated 187 words per minute of shorthand.

Miss Fritz has won honors in forty official championship typewriting contests, and has won gold medals and cash prizes. Three times she held the American Championship Cup for Speed and Accuracy in Typewriting, the Penman's Art Journal Trophy, representing the world's championship in speed and accuracy, and the One Thousand Dollar International Championship Trophy.

Last year, having got into an uncontrollable habit of prize-winning, Miss Fritz captured the Isaac Pitman Association Silver Trophy, in open competition with the world's fastest operators, and established an unprecedented record for sustained and absolute accuracy in typewriting.

In the office of the "Rose L. Fritz School for Secretarial Training" there is a silver shield given her by the Underwood Typewriting Company upon which is engraved the long list of honors won by her, when, as world champion, she traveled all over Europe and America demonstrating for them the touch system of typing.

There must be something awe-inspiring about sitting face-to-face with one's own record like that. Being confronted with

triumphs which point their fingers at one and say: "You are one of those who must never fail; because you are a world's champion."

It's so comfortable to come short of perfection. To most people it is, as it were, their native air. To live on mountain tops of super-achievement, one would take it, must be lonely and frosty and rather forbidding.

If one were writing a neat little short story, beginning in the middle of a strangling sentence and coming to the surface, after many paragraphs, with an explanation in its teeth, one would depict the woman who has the distinction of being at the top of the world as a kind of lean, fierce, Simon Lagreeish woman, looking like a cross between a panther and a vulture, anything, in the line of a creature of prey with an atmosphere aloof from human nature's daily food.

And if one started out like that, he'd have to take it all back "too sweet," as the returned doughboy has it, because life has a funny little elusive way of never doing what Schools-of-Journalism and of short-story writing map out for it to do.

Being a super-person at the top is apparently just like being anything else when one gets the hang of it. Miss Fritz has looked down on King George and Queen Mary. It seems that she had very much the upper hand of Queen Mary, who has done something in the way of typewriting and knows a superior when she sees one.

There was also President Wilson, well known as a super-typist himself, who sat breathless while Miss Fritz Padarewskied the keys at the rate of 708 taps of her fingers each minute. This means twelve finger movements each second, and every move the right one.

That the President appreciated this kind of excellence is certain;

for along with the shield of forty victories in her office, Miss Fritz owns an autographed portrait of Mr. Wilson.

As to the requisites for success, Miss Fritz can name them rapidly—concentration and accuracy. These are moral qualities to some extent. Perfect co-ordination between brain and hand and manual flexibility. These last are combinations of mental qualities and of long training.

When Miss Fritz set out to demonstrate the "touch" system, twelve years ago, it was scarcely known. It was under this system that she has acquired her great speed and accuracy.

She went to Europe just before the war, in 1913, to show everyone who wanted to be shown, from kings and queens down or up—as one may see social questions—what this new art was worth.

She went to England, Scotland, France, Germany, Belgium and Switzerland, showing the results of her skill. Germany being further advanced than the other countries in construction of its machines, in Berlin was established a school for teachers from



MISS ROSE L. FRITZ

all over the Central Empire. In ten months these teachers were trained to go back and teach the touch system to their pupils.

From this success, Miss Fritz had planned a similar school in England, but war interfered. The result was her own permanent school in New York city.

As to how it feels to be a world champion, Miss Fritz never tells you. She doesn't seem to think about it at all. Neither is she occupied with theories about women. "Women are bound to come to the front. Nothing but precedent, tradition and prejudice is keeping them back." Of this she is sure.

As to men's keeping women back, Miss Fritz is perfectly certain "there's nothing in that."

Concentration and specialization are Miss Fritz's two watch words. She carries them so far that she believes women must be either domestic specialists or business specialists—"A woman can't be both," Miss Fritz thinks.

EVEN a world champion must give up prize contests, if she goes into matrimony. And she must give up matrimony if she is going in for prize contests.

Miss Fritz is young and choices are possible to herself. She has had all there is in choosing the glory of victory. She is not sure, looking at you with pleasant frank eyes out of a serene face with no lines of care upon it, that she won't some-time throw over all this skill and manual dexterity and settle down to the making of a home.

"Couldn't a woman do both at once?" her questioner coaxes. "It's such an economic waste for a highly trained woman to throw the whole of her training to the winds and take to dusting bric-a-brac."

"No; she can't," Miss Fritz is sure. "I believe too much in specialization to think that. I have tried to be a musician," she explained. "I have even practiced five and six hours a day; but I am no executant."

"But," said her prodding interviewer, "You gained technique by that practicing, didn't you? You also gained a knowledge of music which enriches your life. That's doing two things at once."

But Miss Fritz still shook her modishly coiffured head dubiously at the idea of two simultaneous careers for a woman. "There is nothing the matter with women nor with their vocational success," she protested. "They make better secretaries than do men. They are more patient and accurate as to detail. In initiative they are as good as men."

Certainly she ought to know who has within a little more than a year sent forth 350 graduates—mostly women—to fill places requiring alertness and despatch.

During the war her school undertook emergency classes for highly educated women in order to fit them for special war posts. Thereupon Miss Fritz came into contact with all classes and grades of women, not just girls in business because of an economic pinch. These women have gone forth into banking businesses; into confidential war tasks; to secretaryships in Teachers College and in the Metropolitan Museum.

"Every woman must concentrate and specialize if she wants to succeed." This sums up the philosophy of her own life and of her school system. "I never start my pupils on any course I can't finish them in," she says succinctly.

And it is right there that the visitor began to see what it feels like to be a world champion. It means seeing everything in the light of a 100 per cent excellence. It means getting the habit of mind which thinks in terms of a standard of perfection. That is really what it does to one to sit down every day face to face with forty victories.

Ran Electric Plant

IN the city of Laramie, Wyoming, having a population of 10,000, the electric lighting system heating and lighting the city was, during the epidemic of influenza, entirely run and managed by a woman. Mrs. Hazel Arnold, wife of Collin B. Arnold, was a stenographer when she married an engineer then in charge of the Cheesman Dam, Colorado. Four years ago Mr. and Mrs. Arnold came to Laramie, where the husband served in the capacity of second engineer of the Electric Light Plant. The couple resided close to the plant. Mr. Arnold worked at night and Mrs. Arnold did not care to be alone, so she went evenings to work with her husband, taking her sewing and sitting with him during the night. She early showed a wonderful aptitude for the work and could detect in a very short time by ear if the engines were in danger of running dry of oil. She could do it almost instantaneously.

In addition she became accustomed to see her husband doing the work around the plant and automatically became familiar with all the parts of the machinery and equipment. This Electric Light Company has a number of plants distributed in different parts of this mountain district to which they have sent Mr. Arnold for a period of a few days or even for a few weeks. During his absence if any trouble occurred in the running of the engine Mrs. Arnold was sent for and she could always pull things through. Then, as she became more and more efficient and able to solve Electric Light Plant problems, the company sent her husband away for longer periods and found that Mrs. Arnold was perfectly able to oversee the working of the plant and superintend the men who did the mechanical part of making the machinery go. Any night Mrs. Arnold could be seen covered with grease, oil and dirt just as the men were, but it is interesting to note that she was always feminine and has refused to discard skirts and appear in overalls. Mr. Arnold's reports were always beautifully typewritten in place of the usual rough manuscripts from former foremen. This, of course, was due to the fact that the wife had had special training in stenography and typewriting and could present an unusually acceptable report.

One piece of mechanism or work in the operation of the electric machine requires special nerve and judgment. This is a cutting-in of an additional engine when the load increases. The engineer has to watch the exact moment when the engines synchronize and the voltage is the same, and then instantly throw a switch. A moment's hesitation, a lack of ear, or nerve, would mean danger of considerable extent to the machinery, as well as plunging the city in darkness. Mrs. Arnold has proved to be an expert at this particular and exacting operation and has proved herself much better in this operation than most men.

When operating the machinery or superintending the running of the plant she receives the engineer's salary. Her services during the recent epidemic of the influenza were the more valuable because, with her characteristic orderliness, she had the "flu" first and was well over it when her husband and all of the skilled force in the plant were stricken down. So ill was her husband, who by that time had been made chief engineer of the plant, that for three weeks she ran the entire plant, not only in the physical mechanical work which she did, but in superintending others.

The Electric Light Company esteems her highly for her ability and faithfulness, as well as for the great loyalty and interest which she and her husband take in the work. The two are considered the most loyal of employees and are highly trusted.

GRACE R. HEBARD.

Our Children's Page

The Unfathered Child

THE thesis of "The Illegitimate Child and War Conditions," by Emma O. Lundberg, of the Children's Bureau, is that the war has changed the popular perspective on the question of illegitimacy. "Before the war," says Miss Lundberg, "this subject had been widely discussed, but with the emphasis most largely on the one of its aspects that concerned the moral or causative side. Since the war the emphasis has shifted to the other phase, more strictly anthropological—the national value of such a child and the present unfavorable prospects for the proper bringing up of such children." She believes that "not because of relative numerical importance, but because of better understanding and greater necessity have these children of unsanctioned conception received the particular attention of the legislative assemblies of probably most of the countries at war, as a fundamental measure of protection of child life."

Statistics before the war show that on account of conditions created by the social stigma, a high illegitimacy rate has meant a high infant death rate; in general, in European countries the death rate for illegitimate children has been twice as high as for legitimate. The countries at war have taken extraordinary precautions to protect the lives of these infants and have greatly extended their efforts to provide them a larger measure of normal upbringing and training.

Statistical data on war illegitimacy are meagre, but before the war such data were carefully kept by most European countries and two tables show, one, the actual decrease in all births in most European countries over a generation, and the other the number of illegitimate births and their proportion to legitimate in these countries in 1914. The highest rate shown is in Denmark, followed in descending order by Germany, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Hungary, Finland, Scotland and Norway. No percentage is given for France in 1914, but the last figure given (1911) shows her between Hungary and Finland. The Netherlands has the lowest rate, probably because methods of birth control are most universal in that country.

SUCH data as are available for the period of the war show that the illegitimacy rate was little affected in Great Britain.

From Germany no official figures can be obtained for the war period, except for Berlin, and these do not show any considerable war increase. However, Miss Lundberg believes that there is probably truth in the testimony of various writers who had access to more or less first-hand information that there has been an increase of considerable proportions. For Austria and Hungary the rate is slightly higher.

So much for the meagre war figures. On the side of increased protection of the children since the war began, we have full facts from many countries. The changes have been along three lines: (1) Improvement in legal status, making the process of determining paternity more easy and available; changes in methods of legitimation; removal of the illegitimacy record from birth certificates; and placing illegitimate children on an equality with legitimate children as to government allowances and support. (2) Provision of facilities for maternity care, and for care of children; establishment of orphanages and extension of placing dependent children in family homes. (2) Recognition of public responsibility for the welfare of all children.

In Germany, Russia, Austria-Hungary and England war allowances were extended to cover illegitimate children, where pa-

ternity could be established. In France and Italy marriage by proxy was instituted, largely for the purpose of legitimating children and thus providing for their support. During the war all the German state governments abolished the illegitimate birth certificate. In Germany, England and Austria an effort was made to cut the illegitimate infant death rate by maternity and other benefits to unmarried mothers and in France, Italy, Austria and Germany by the assumption of guardianship by the state, in the latter country by the extension of an existing system.

It appears to have been Germany's policy to mobilize the children of the country for every sort of work during the war. According to a memorandum of the Prussian Minister of Education, on a large number of farms boys of twelve and thirteen were the only assistants of their mothers and did the heaviest sort of farm work. They harvested the crops and brought large areas of waste land into cultivation. Besides that they were invaluable in many sorts of thrift work. They collected, for instance, more than 953 tons of fruit stones as well as many other waste articles that could be converted to use. In the sixth and seventh war loans elementary and secondary schools gathered subscriptions for about 377,000,000 marks (about \$90,000,000).

Injurious to the Race

THE report of the Secretary of the United States Department of Labor for 1918 emphasizes the injury to the race because of industrial work by pregnant women and mothers with young children to care for at home. Injury to their own health and injury or neglect of the welfare of their children is the apparently reasonable ground, but in this solicitude there is an element of unconscious hypocrisy on the part of men, who see mature women threatening to take a permanent place in industry side by side with themselves.

These men have given little thought to the laborious pregnancy of the housekeeping wives of the poor. It would be hard to make a case against factory work at factory hours and conditions to equal the prenatal labors of the North Carolina farmers' wives described in a recent Children's Bureau Report.

"One mother," says the report, "had done a washing the day before her second baby was born; she is a regular field hand and chopped cotton all day, five days a week, up to the day before confinement. Another, a mother of five children, continued her housework, field work and chores up to the date of confinement, and the morning of the day the baby was born picked 45 pounds of cotton and cooked a big dinner for her family of seven. A negro woman worked until that night, hoed potatoes, and had all her crop "right clean." Another, who had always kept on with her work up to the time of confinement, had had seven pregnancies, of which one resulted in stillbirth and five miscarriages (four to six months' term). "I went because I had it to do, but I wasn't able," said a negro mother of six children who continued field work until three days before confinement. Her baby was born in September and her daily work that autumn, in "cotton-picking time," included getting up before dawn to cook breakfast and dinner together (dinners are taken along to the field), and then a long day in the cotton field, picking cotton from "sun to sun."

IN the south, or for that matter wherever the poor farmer lives, there are myriads of mothers the history of whose pregnancy is like these.

As for the homekeeping wife of the industrial worker in the cities, her pregnancy is no less laborious. Witness these cases from many hundred letters from mothers collected in the British Co-operative Guild's report on maternity:

"I had a miscarriage," says one, "resulting in having to attend the hospital nearly two years. The doctor says the miscarriage was caused by heavy washdays, one of the things I think an expectant mother ought not to have to do. I think if the mother could only be allowed to take care of herself the first three months of the time, many both deformed and deficient children might be avoided. I do not mean for a mother to lead an idle life for three months, because exercise is most necessary in a proper way; but such work as washing, whitewashing and hanging clothes up to dry, is the work that has serious results with the mother."

"I did all my own work all the while," says another. "I had little appetite, and was not able to sleep well. During confinement I had a very hard time, and was a long time in recovering, and have always, since my first child, suffered, although I had a doctor and midwife in the house three weeks. It is owing to working women having to take on household duties too soon after confinement that is responsible for the greatest part of the sufferings which we are subject to."

"WHEN I was expecting my baby," said a third, "I think it was with going such a long time, and the others, some of them at work, and coming in to meals. I know I used to get the dinner cooked and struggled through the serving, then I was done, and was obliged to lie down a bit, often without my dinner, as I was too exhausted to eat, and the pleasure of the rest was partly spoiled by the thought of the dinner-table still laid. A bit of help then would have been a boon. But having a good husband smoothed many things over. But this shows that many a woman is unable to do her work, and if the husband is a thoughtless man, or even a bad one, her lot is a hard one indeed. Then, after confinement, women should not be obliged to work, in my opinion, for three weeks, but most working women have to do."

EVIDENCE that the women war workers were recruited largely from industry and not from the home is given by Mary Van Kleck, head of the Women in Industry Service: "In one plant in the war industries," says she, "65 per cent had come from other factories, 25 per cent from domestic service and restaurants, and 5 per cent from laundries, and only five per cent had not been employed previously." Many of those who are new have probably come to stay. "The expansion of their activities at this time may be regarded not as a radical innovation, but as an acceleration of a normal development."

So much of a normal development has the woman in industry become indeed that President Charles F. Thwing, Western Reserve University, in an article on reconstruction (*Hibbert Journal*) ventures to predict that in family life the wage earner's wife will some day threaten if not dethrone, will at any rate share sovereignty, with the husband in the family.

RED CROSS children to the number of nine million are to aid the children of the countries devastated by war. The reconstruction and extension of the school systems is their task, and the propagating of a spirit of kinship with American children among the children of the Allies.

**"ATLANTA
WOMEN VOTE—
WHAT'S THE MAT-
TER WITH AU-
GUSTA?"**

LITTLE Miss Wallace Wingfield North, who participated in the suffrage demonstration in the Victory Loan Parade at Augusta, Georgia, wants to know the reason.



The Home and the Work

THE British Ministry of Reconstruction has taken the women in the home within the scope of its plans. Its committee on industrial and social conditions in relation to adult education says of the architecture of the home: "Her difficulties are aggravated by the present ill-arranged houses, built without thought of convenience and innocent of labor-saving devices."

The Women's Housing Sub-committee demands more frontage, a minimum six-room house, one room to be a living room, a bathroom and hot water supply. What the latter items would mean to the British housewife appears in the following passage from the report: "The extra time, trouble and expense when water must be heated in kettles and carried to the bath, wash tub, or sink is a serious addition to the housewife's burden. A great part of the everyday work of the house, as well as the laundry work, is doubled by the lack of a proper supply of hot water. The extra strain on the woman's strength, coupled with the waste of time, leaves her without either the opportunity or the energy to attend to other household tasks or to secure any form of recreation for herself."

THE National Women's Trade Union League has issued a call for its Sixth Biennial, June 2, 1919. The program to be discussed covers work planned for two years ahead: (1) To organize all working women into trade unions; (2) to make possible for women an equality with men in industrial and professional opportunity; (3) to make equal pay for equal work a fact and not a theory; (4) to translate our nation's war work standards for women into legislative action, so as to assure for women in the constructive work of peace the same protection that was given them when on the destructive work of war."

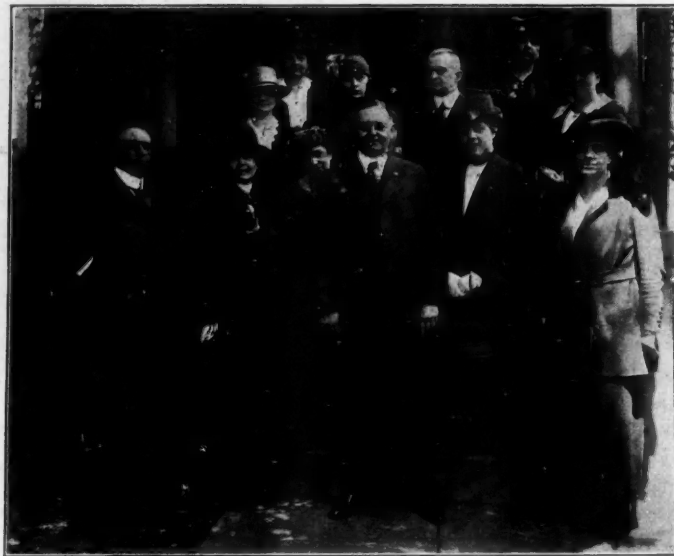
A NOTICE posted in the Central Library of the New York Public Library reads somewhat to this effect: "On account of the increased cost of living the salary appropriation has been increased \$66,000. In view of this increased expenditure the staff of the Library will be cut by fifty-five members." How about the increased cost of living for the other fifty-five women?

THE United States Employment Service estimates on the basis of the percentage of increase in the last three decennial periods between censuses that there are now some 12,500,000 women in gainful occupations. This is an increase of four and a half millions since 1910.

State Suffrage News

Senator Oscar Underwood is shown here, standing on the steps of his home at Birmingham, Alabama, surrounded by a delegation of prominent Birmingham suffragists. The suffragists called in the interest of the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

Reading from left to right, bottom row: Rev. T. P. Byrnes, Unitarian minister; Mrs. John D. McNeel, State Chairman Woman's Liberty Loan Committee; Mrs. W. L. Murdoch, State Chairman Child Labor Committee, and President Birmingham Equal Suffrage Asso-



SENATOR UNDERWOOD "AT HOME" TO SUFFRAGISTS

ciation; Senator Underwood; Mrs. Pattie Ruffner Jacobs, President of the Alabama Equal Suffrage Association; Mrs. A. J. Bowron.

Second row: Mrs. W. D. Nesbitt, wife of Chairman Alabama Executive Democratic Committee; Mrs. T. P. Byrnes, Secretary Birmingham Equal Suffrage Association; Miss Frieda Avant, Canteen Worker; Mr. A. C. Crowder, President Chamber of Commerce; Mrs. H. H. Snell, Chairman Jefferson County Council of Defense; Miss Mollie Dowd, business woman.

Municipal Suffrage Cities

THE municipal primary vote just granted the women of Atlanta is indicative of the ingenuity with which women have gained their ballot rights.

This is the second city of Georgia, a state supposed to be locked and barred against equal suffrage, to grant city primary suffrage to women. The other city is Waycross which capitulated two years ago before the old American principle that "taxation without representation is tyranny." So many women in Waycross paid large taxes that the city invited white women in to the white primary elections.

By a majority vote, with only one dissenting voice, the Democratic City Committee of Atlanta bestowed the same right on white women on May 3rd of this year.

This Committee is made up of a certain number of men from each ward and one of its principal duties is to decide on the regulations governing primaries.

"Theoretically we have obtained a small share of what we should have," said Miss Eleanor Raoul, a young woman law student in Atlanta, and a former member of the National Woman Suffrage Association's Research Department. "But practically we have, as far as municipal politics goes, gained as much as we would have under broader rights, because it will be a long, long time before there is more than one party in Georgia."

The efforts of Atlanta women to gain this local right began in 1915, two years before Waycross women got it.

What happened this year is an indication of the changed point of view of the male politician and it is also an indication of women's growing shrewdness in political matters.

The newly-elected chairman of the Fulton County Suffrage Association, Mrs. A. G. Helmar, and her committee, canvassed the whole City Committee. Then they asked that a special extra session of the executive committee be called, and got it. They asked for a hearing so that the three state leaders of the suffrage cause in Georgia, Mrs. Mary McLendon, "the mother of suffrage in Georgia," Mrs. Emily McDougald, and Mrs. White-

side, might present their claims. This also the women obtained.

"No speeches were made against suffrage and the whole atmosphere was cordial and pleasant," said Miss Raoul. "This was quite a surprise to me as I have not been in close touch with suffrage work since I left the National office and I expected the kind of reception which I had formerly been familiar with. Of course there was great enthusiasm on the part of the women who crowded the room, and there were a great many jeers and laughter when the one man voted against the resolution. All the men had just as good a time as when they used to be against suffrage, for they all talked to their hearts' content and used all the same sentiments about the dear little mother whose judgment had never failed, etc., and so on. The only difference was that for once they were standing on the right side of the fence. If they had just known how easy it was and how pleased they were going to feel with themselves they would never have let the grass grow under their feet in this manner. Even the Mayor, James L. Key, came up and made his speech in due order."

THE significance of the Atlanta act was enhanced by the cablegram from Paris, announcing that Senator William J. Harris of Georgia had pledged himself to vote for the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

This appeared almost simultaneously with the gain of women's right to enter into Atlanta primaries.

Both victories coming together have tremendously heartened the women of Georgia, who feel that the wedge of equal suffrage has been driven deep into the mind of the Georgia electorate.

They point to the infinitesimal speck of equality gained in Tennessee when Lookout Mountain—one little town near Chattanooga—gained municipal suffrage two years ago; now Tennessee has state-wide municipal and presidential suffrage.

Two home-rule cities of Ohio—East Cleveland and Columbus—have granted women the municipal vote. Ten small cities and towns of Florida have, by changes in their charters, given women the same political rights as men. The first of these

towns was Fellsmere in 1915, the last was Orlando, just the other day. The remaining eight were gained in 1917.

After every one of these grants surprised men are finding like their fellows in Atlanta, Georgia, that they are "having just as good a time as when they used to be against suffrage."

Georgia Sentiment Strong

WOMEN'S organizations of Georgia are hastening to join the steadily growing list of influential organizations that have endorsed suffrage. In response to a letter from Mrs. Emily McDougald, president of the Equal Suffrage Party of Georgia, which pointed out the need for suffrage as an aid to reconstruction work and to effective legislation, the prominent women's organizations of the state have come out strongly for suffrage.

The First District of Clubs of the Georgia State Federation of Women's Clubs endorsed suffrage at its recent meeting in Savannah. Other leading club organizations that have taken the same course in Savannah are: the Savannah Federation of Women's Organizations, Women's Auxiliary of St. Joseph's Hospital, Young Women's Aid Society, State Association for Education of Georgia Mountaineers, the Kindergarten Club, Savannah Council of Parent-Teacher Associations, Pope School Parent-Teacher Association.

In Atlanta the endorsing organizations include: The Atlanta Women's Club, Council of Jewish Women, Home for Old Women Association, Fulton High School Improvement Club, Twentieth Century Coterie, Saturday Morning History Class, Atlanta Council of Parent-Teacher Association, and the Parent-Teacher Associations in the several schools of the city.

Other organizations are the Woman's Reading Club, the Students' Club, the Orpheus Club, the City Federation of Women's Clubs, in Columbus; the Johnson Street School Improvement Club, in Dublin; the Waycross Health Club; the Young Matrons' Club, of Windsor; Acworth's Carrie Dyer Reading Club; Woman's Club, of Clayton; New Era Study Club, in Decatur; Woman's Club, in Athens; Worth While Club, in Moultrie, and the Teachers Club, Augusta Woman's Club and Philomathic Club, in Augusta.

THERE are several millions of American women—a sufficient number to 'swing' any national election—eager for the ballot and their rights to be recognized as citizens.

"For the most part, these women care not a picayune from which political party they receive the ballot, but it is only human nature that they will have a decidedly friendly feeling toward the party that gives it to them, and that, once the ballot is obtained, they should be constrained in gratitude to employ it on the side of the party whence it came."—*Constitution*, Atlanta, Ga.

Maryland Suffragists to Convene

THE Maryland Woman Suffrage League will meet June 10th in Baltimore. The Baltimore City Committee met recently to elect officers and to appoint a delegation for the convention. The officers elected include:

Mrs. Charles E. Ellicott, chairman of Baltimore City Committee; Mrs. Caleb N. Athey, chairman of First Legislative District of Baltimore; Mrs. Edwin W. Rouse, chairman of Second Legislative District; Mrs. Harvey L. Bickel, chairman of Third Legislative District; Mrs. William W. Emmart, chairman of Fourth Legislative District; Mrs. Charles Pepper, secretary; Miss Esther Moses, treasurer; Mrs. John W. Putts and Mrs. John N. Parker, auditors; Mrs. William Milnes Maloy, chairman of pub-

AUGUSTA AWARDS SUFFRAGIST CAR FIRST HONORS



PRIZE WINNER IN VICTORY LOAN FLORAL PARADE

Smothered in California poppies of a golden hue, the car was a striking reminder that Georgia women want the franchise. The occupants of the car were: Mrs. S. B. Owens, president of the Augusta Equal Suffrage League; Mrs. W. D. Cutter, treasurer; Miss Annie G. Wright, auditor; Mrs. Noel Moore, Mrs. Henry C. Broten, and Wallace Wingfield North. The parade was held in Augusta, Georgia, May 6.

licity; Mrs. Frank Ramey, chairman of house committee; Miss Esther Katz, chairman of petition committee.

One of the important steps showing the state-wide approval and interest among the women of the state for the suffrage cause was a resolution passed by the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs, at their convention in April. This federation includes 80 prominent women's clubs. The action of the Federation followed an address by Miss Marjorie Shuler, a member of the Congressional Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, who made a strong plea for political equality for women. Miss Shuler's topic was "After the War—What?"

Shortly afterward the Federation of Jewish Women's Organizations passed a similar resolution endorsing the Federal Suffrage Amendment and recommending its immediate ratification, after passage by Congress, by the Maryland Legislature. This Federation represents a membership of 3,000 women.

Similar resolutions are being passed by women's organizations throughout the state.

Rhode Island Convention

THE Rhode Island Equal Suffrage Association will hold its annual convention May 28th, at Providence. Miss Mary B. Anthony, president of the association, is chairman of the program committee, and Miss Eleanor B. Green, chairman of general arrangements.

On the evening of May 28th the Rhode Island Equal Suffrage Association, the Rhode Island Women's Committee on Civic Welfare, and the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Party have joint charge of arrangements for a mass meeting at which Dr. Anna Howard Shaw will preside.

Unique Honor for Mrs. Dudley

MANY expressions of approval of the recent suffrage victory which gave to the women of Tennessee the right to vote in presidential and municipal elections have been given by the men and women of the state, but none pithier than the action of a fire company in Nashville which gave to its new motorized fire engine the name of a woman.

Mrs. Guilford Dudley, one of the most active and prominent suffragists in the state and a national suffrage leader, being a vice president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, is the woman to whom this honor has been given. Hereafter, when fire calls are answered by the Waverly-Belmont fire department station, Fire Engine "Anne Dallas Dudley" will take its place in the van of the fire fighters. As a result Nashville enjoys the distinction of being one of the first cities to adopt formally a feminine name for a fire-fighting apparatus.

When the new fire station was completed recently and the equipment installed, one of the drivers suggested that the new women voters be honored by having the fire engine named after one of them. The idea was quickly approved by the city officials, and the Nashville Suffrage Association was invited to assist in finding a name for the engine. A suffrage committee selected from the ward in which the new station stands was charged with the responsibility of naming the new engine, and quickly chose Mrs. Dudley for the honor.

The christening of the fire engine was made a formal ceremony, in which the suffragists participated. Judith Winston Folk, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Reau E. Folk, aged six, the youngest member of the Nashville suffrage organization, was the sponsor, pioneer suffragists being her maids of honor. The fire hall was decorated with suffrage colors, and refreshments were served at the conclusion of the ceremony. Governor and Mrs. A. H. Roberts, Mayor Gupton, other city officials, and many prominent men and women of the city, witnessed the christening of the "Anne Dallas Dudley."

At the request of the firemen, a portrait of Mrs. Dudley was presented to the fire station by the Nashville Suffrage Association.

Becomes League of Women Voters

THE Woman Suffrage Party of New York City is now the League of Women Voters of New York city. In each district in the five Boroughs the League name will be substituted for that of the Party, thus making uniform the name of this important unit of the League down to its smallest affiliated group. Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Chairman of the New York City League of Women Voters, says "City suffragists will work as faithfully as ever for the Federal Suffrage Amendment and its ratification by the states and in addition will take a strong interest in industrial legislation, in Americanization problems, in the unification of laws and in election methods and reforms."

Celebrate Victory

MRS. ANDREAS UELAND, president of the Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association, presided on the gala occasion when the Minnesota suffragists celebrated their presidential suffrage victory with an all-day jubilee in the roof garden of the Hotel Radisson. It was an occasion which brought together prominent suffragists from all parts of the state. Honor guests

were Mrs. J. A. A. Burnquist, wife of Governor Burnquist, and Mrs. Frank B. Kellogg, wife of Senator Kellogg.

Mrs. Nellie McClung, of Edmonton, Canada, gave an address at the luncheon hour. Dr. L. L. Coffman, of the University of Minnesota, was one of the speakers during the day's session.

Senator Kellogg spoke at the morning session.

A part of the program was devoted to a presentation of the program of the League of Women Voters.

About \$8,000 was pledged at the luncheon for future suffrage work.

Suffragists Raise Big Sum

THE Milwaukee County Woman Suffrage Association took subscriptions to the amount of \$100,000 in the various patriotic drives from April, 1918, to April, 1919. This includes Liberty Bonds, Red Cross and other patriotic undertakings. In the Victory Loan just closed, Mrs. J. E. Birkhaeuser, chairman, announced that the Milwaukee County Suffrage Association had taken subscriptions for \$16,900, one of the largest amounts secured by any women's organization in Milwaukee.

Oshkosh joins with Milwaukee and Madison in forming a trio each of which is utilizing the services of women on the school board. The Oshkosh school board now includes four women, three of them elected and one appointed.

Women Make Good Showing

SEVENTY-TWO per cent of the registered women in the city of Saginaw voted at the recent election while but 58% of the registered men voted. In one ward the women voters outnumbered the men in actual numbers. Of the large cities of the state, Grand Rapids had the largest proportion of its women registered, and Saginaw came second.

The women voters added greatly to the Republican majority in Saginaw County. The dry majority was 2,962.

MRS. FRANCES MAGNEW, 72 YEARS YOUNG,

She has watched the change in suffrage sentiment from the days when the Godey Ladies' Books caricatured Susan B. Anthony, to this year when 40,000,000 women have been enfranchised in various countries in the world.

Mrs. Agnew has campaigned for the vote in her native state, Missouri, for ten years, has been active in suffrage work in Oklahoma, and has served as vice-president of the Oklahoma State Woman Suffrage Association.

Gives Valiant Service



Work After the War

IN the "Making of Woman" a collection of essays by several men and women, called "Oxford Essays in Feminism," one article called "The Remuneration of Women" applies to conditions after the war. It is argued on the assumption that money is paid for labor simply on the theory that people must live; that labor is a measurable commodity that is handed around—well—in chunks, and is only to be given out as necessity demands.

The real truth is that all life is activity in some form or another. When a child is born it moves and gains strength only by motion; as it develops, its motions become more vigorous, and from year to year it increases its power and vitality and usefulness, at first in play, toned down by study, until it begins to ask itself, why not get some value out of my force and strength? The little tasks performed at home for helpfulness, if performed for outsiders, take on a value that is estimated in dollars and cents, and then becomes work!

And if it can properly be called work how does it differ from play? It doesn't; we only think it does.

People who are called rich wish to exercise and move in order to keep alive, so what they do is called play, but people who are what is called poor exercise and use motion to provide subsistence—this is called work and they are called working people, and often have to work beyond their powers. As Eleanor Burns expresses it, "the wages of the worker represent not only the value of his services to his employer, and through him to the community, but also the value of his wife's services to him, and their children, and through them to the community, and, in addition the value to the state of the children themselves. His wages, in short, are the channel by which the community, indirectly and only half consciously, pays for the continuance of its own existence and the rearing of fresh generations."

OBJECT to this attitude. The wages are not paid for this reason at all. They are paid because the man has done something for the community which is worth that sum to the community, and the community feels that he must receive a sum which will enable him to do what is called—"live!" But the fact that he is married or single, has one child or ten, is not recognized in paying wages.

It is the value of the work to the community that counts, and it is the only right and proper basis upon which to count; and this must be the basis upon which the work will be adjusted between the sexes after the war. Work will not be given to people because they are men or women, but because of ability to do the work.

Every soul that comes into the world adds so much to the necessity for work being done, adds to the work of the world for which people must be paid, the services of a doctor and nurse, the cost of clothing for the child. If people have the money to pay for these expenses, if they get proper wages they can pay this expense, but if they are poor, the child is neglected and living conditions are bad.

If the workers do not receive a sufficient wage to pay their expenses, even the employer who grinds down the wage to the lowest point must contribute in other ways to their upkeep.

So this question of paying women living wages, and permitting or not permitting them to engage in the occupations into which the war precipitated them, resolves itself into the question of whether their work is of value to a community, and whether they wish to continue in it. It is not a question of crowding men out of work, but should be a question of providing work for all, so that all may enjoy the same economic independence.

ANNE B. STEWART.

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The League of Women Voters

What It Is; What It Is For

When was it organized?

In St. Louis, March 24, 1919, at the 50th Annual Convention of the N. A. W. S. A. in commemoration of the first grant to women of suffrage on equal terms with men.

What Critical Question was then before the women of the country?

Rapid increase of presidential and full suffrage; the near prospect of the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment made women ask, What next? Shall we dissolve after the ratification of the amendment or is there reason for continuance?

What were some reasons for continuance?

Inefficient measures for good citizenship; appalling degree of illiteracy as shown by Government reports of examinations of men for army; inequalities in women's status; unequal laws; needs of women and of children.

Who may belong to the League?

State suffrage associations in fully enfranchised states, who will, for the sake of uniformity, be expected to change the name of the state, county, city, ward and election district organization to League of Women Voters.

The auxiliaries to the National American Woman Suffrage Association will, therefore, in the fifteen full suffrage states, be united in a section by themselves known as the League of Women Voters.

This section has its own chairman and secretary elected by the League in St. Louis.

What becomes of the auxiliaries to the National American Woman Suffrage Association in other states?

All state associations auxiliary to the National American Woman Suffrage Association in unenfranchised and in partial suffrage states, will continue their auxiliaryship on the same terms and conditions as before. The present name of these associations should not be changed.

Where do the partial suffrage states come in?

The delegates to the St. Louis Convention from the fifteen full suffrage states invited the State Suffrage Associations from the presidential suffrage states to unite with the League of Women Voters. *These Associations will not change their names or conditions of auxiliaryship to the National American Woman Suffrage Association until such time as they become fully enfranchised.*

They will, however, be permitted to share in the new work undertaken by the fully enfranchised states and their delegates will, at annual meetings, sit in the House of Voters.

What is the House of Voters?

It is made up of delegates from the various State Leagues of Women Voters and is a part of the Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

How do states gain representation in the House of Voters?

Automatically, as fast as they become fully enfranchised and their state suffrage associations become State Leagues of Women Voters.

Is the League of Women Voters an organization within an organization?

It is. The parent organization is the National American Woman Suffrage Association and will continue its name and functions for the present. The League of Women Voters is a section of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

Your Vote and How to Use It

PERHAPS women have no sense of humor. But men's lack of knowledge as to where theirs begins and ends often strikes women as the funniest thing in the world.

Probably the men of Connecticut see nothing amusing at all in the fact that about the most efficient book yet published on government in practice is Mrs. Nancy Schoonmaker's "*The Actual Government of Connecticut*"* and that it was being put into several high schools of the state as a text book at the same moment when the Connecticut Senate by a majority of one was deciding that women were not capable of taking any part at all in government.

That titillates women's sense of the ridiculous.

In plain terms, here is one of the sex incapable of using the ballot who is very creditably teaching the young males of the state how to use theirs.

If Mrs. Schoonmaker's were the only book of its kind, men might argue that she is the one exception to the rule of women's incompetency to understand affairs of government. But the generic quality of this book is as of great an interest as is its individual merit. It is just such a work as women—not men—are in many states putting before the public for the express purpose of educating the electorate. In few instances, perhaps, has the work been done more ably or comprehensively than now. Certainly in no non-voting state has it been attempted on such permanent lines.

IN many states studies of local government for the use of women, as new voters or as suffrage campaigners, have been a logical part of the official bulletins prepared by suffrage leaders.

Crystallizing this tentative material into permanent book form was a necessary next step. These books—be it noticed—are none of them academic studies of theories of government. They follow woman's pragmatic bent of genius and take the form of direct first aid to citizenry.

Mrs. Schoonmaker has set an example for a thoroughly useful book, covering every detail of the government in the state. It shows how each unit is carried on, beginning with the town meeting and ending with the form of election for state and national officers.

The town-meeting, often reckoned the nearest approach in the world, unless one excepts the Soviet, to an absolutely popular government, is a purely democratic body, not a representative one. But only in Vermont—and in some special cases in other parts of New England—is it actually democratic; since it is usually composed only of males.

In Connecticut the town figures largely even

in state elections, for, unlike most other states, representatives to the lower house of the Connecticut Legislature are reckoned from the town as such instead of being proportioned to the population. The general rule, according to the old law, was two representatives from each town. The revised law allows two members in the House of Representatives from towns over 5,000. This "gives the rural districts a very great power over the cities," says Mrs. Schoonmaker. It also gives the rather slow-moving minds of the state a chance to impede reforms. This is an example of one of Connecticut's little divergencies from type.

MRS. SCHOONMAKER'S excellent little book offers the simplest possible explanation of every such divergence and of all the detail of the various branches of government throughout the state. It defines offices and points out the proper official to be approached in working for any needed reform. In fact, it is as directly usable as a cook-book. It is a model in its way, being simple, easily handled, lucid and brief. It gives the male voter of the state a concrete picture of the government of which he is a part, and tells him things he never knew before. It ought to make very clear to him the fact that the women of Connecticut are quite as prepared to handle the machinery of government as is he.

It also sets a standard for other states. Every state in the Union should have available just such a summary of its branches of government.

Other books on state governments are:

FOR NEW YORK STATE

Your Vote and How to Use It, by Mrs. Raymond Brown.

The Voters' Manual, by Forman and Shuler.

FOR CALIFORNIA

The Voters' Hand Book—1911, by Fay Coughlin, San Francisco, Cal.

FOR ILLINOIS

Voters' Hand Book—1914, by Mrs. L. Belle Goodman, Champaign, Ill.

FOR KANSAS

Kansas Voters' Manual, by Mary E. Dobbs, Wichita, Kansas.

FOR MICHIGAN

Hand-Book for Women Voters of Michigan—1919, State Normal College, Ypsilanti, Mich.
What Michigan Women Should Know About Voting, by Judson Grenell.

FOR MISSOURI

An Aid to The Woman Voter in Missouri—1918, by Mary E. Buckley.

FOR ALL STATES

The WOMAN CITIZEN by Mary Sumner Boyd.

* National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co., 171 Madison Avenue, N. Y.

Swift's Rate of Profit

AN editorial appearing in the March 22nd number of the WOMAN CITIZEN, entitled "Congress and the Woman," touches on the price situation in foods. In commenting on meat prices, the impression is created that high meat prices are caused by profits made in the packing industry. That impression is wrong, as Swift & Company's profit figures for the last year clearly show. On a business volume of over a billion dollars, the profit of 21 million dollars was equal to only 1-3/4 cents per dollar of sales. Or, to put it on a per pound basis, the profit was only a fraction of a cent per pound. A profit of a fraction of a cent per pound has no appreciable effect on the prices and therefore cannot be held as responsible for high prices.

The great difficulty in judging profits is that most people consider only the amount of profit, and not the rate of profit. When mention of a 21 million dollar profit is made to some people, they immediately conclude that it is inordinate and represents an unreasonable tax on the consuming public. People easily go wrong on big figures.

To show what effects a tremendous volume has on a margin of profit, let us point out that if Swift & Company's 1918 sales had been made 1 cent per pound less than realized, Swift & Company's financial statement would have presented a loss of 27 million instead of a profit of 21 million dollars.

THE profits of Swift & Company have always been consistently low. The records show that for the past ten years they have amounted to less than 3 cents on the dollar of sales,—as narrow a margin as prevails in any successful business enterprise.

Francis J. Heney, in attempting to bolster up the Federal Trade Commission's report on the so-called investigation of the packers, sought to prejudice the public against the large packers by comparing pre-war net profits with war-period gross profits. Not only that, but he omitted to take into account the large increase in the volume of business done during the war period, which would result in a larger profit total at the same rate of profit realized prior to the war.

But it will be said "Why, then, are meat prices so much higher than in former years?" Meat prices are higher mainly because live animals are higher in price. It costs more to produce live stock now than in former years. Statistics show that cattle prices have advanced 73 per cent, and hog prices 147 per cent, in the past three years. It also costs more for labor and material to prepare the meats and by-products, and for freight.

Reference is also made in the editorial to the increase in the quantity of meats in storage January of this year as compared with a year ago.

The Bureau of Markets of the U. S. Department of Agriculture reports approximately 1 1/2 billion pounds of meats and lard in storage on April 1st, this year. Of this amount, 65 per cent consists of meats in process curing. These meats must remain in pickle or salt for a period of from thirty to sixty days and more before they are ready for the smoke-house, or for shipment, and therefore were not in marketable condition at that time. Ten per cent of the total is frozen pork, which later on must be put through the curing process. A further 7 per cent consists of lard, the remaining 18 per cent represents frozen beef and mutton put away mainly for over-seas shipment. Even though this 225,000,000 pounds of frozen beef and mutton were available for, and wanted in, domestic trade channels, it would be of little consequence, as it only amounts to slightly over 2 pounds per capita.

The annual per capita consumption of meat in the United States is reported as 17 pounds. At this rate the total amount of meats consumed would equal over 20 billion pounds, and the present stock of meats in storage immediately available is only equal to about 2 per cent of the yearly production.

In fairness to your readers, as well as to Swift & Company and the packing industry, we ask that you publish this letter of explanation. We believe it will be of considerable interest to the progressive women of America.

We are enclosing a copy of our 1919 Year Book, which contains a wealth of information relative to our 1918 operations. A copy may be obtained by any of your readers by applying to Swift & Company, Union Stock Yards, Chicago.

Very truly yours,

SWIFT & COMPANY,

(Signed) Per L. D. H. Weld, Manager,

Commercial Research Department.

Are You Making Good As a Citizen?

BELOW we reproduce a report of a woman's citizenship campaign as conducted by Mrs. Wilbur Brotherton, chairman of the Michigan League of Women Voters. In it she shows how Lansing suffragists stimulated the interest of all Lansing women in a campaign "to make Lansing a better city to live in." Never was

(Continued on page 1136)

The League of Women Voters

What It Is; What It Is For

May organizations that are not suffrage organizations, and individuals, not members of the state suffrage associations, belong to the League?

They may through the State Leagues. Individual membership, with small dues, is recommended.

Clubs, granges, trade union Leagues, groups of foreign-born should be invited to become members of the League of Women Voters, as each state auxiliary may determine. Each state auxiliary is expected to conduct its work its own way and is free to organize by any preferred plan which is in agreement with the constitution of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

Is the League of Women Voters a Political party of women?

No. It is not the intention of the League of Women Voters, as such, to take part in elections, to endorse or oppose candidates.

But it is composed of voters and this gives it the same authority and influence which in times past have attached to the names of male voters when signed to petitions for political action.

Is the League partisan?

It is non-partisan, but this does not mean that any member of the league may not be free to join the party of her choice. It is non-sectarian, but this does not mean that any member of the League may not join the church of her choice.

What does the League hope to gain that political parties have not gained?

Parties are slow-moving. It is hoped that an outside group, non-partisan, unpartisan and all-partisan, may be able to agitate and educate, without fear or favor, on behalf of the needed changes in our fundamental system.

What are the aims of the League of Women Voters?

To complete the full enfranchisement of women in this country.

To support a program of legislation for the purpose of improving the American electorate and, consequently, our entire political system.

To this end the first of eight committees authorized by the League in St. Louis, is to be devoted.

This will be called the committee on American Citizenship. Its program contains ten points, as follows: Compulsory education; education of adults; English, the national language; higher qualifications for citizenship; direct citizenship for women; naturalization for married women; compulsory publication in foreign language newspapers of lessons in citizenship; schools of citizenship; oath of allegiance, and educational qualification for the vote.

What other work was adopted in St. Louis?

A program of nine points for the protection of women in industry. This includes: Abolition of child labor and compulsory education from 6 to 16; 8-hour day and 44-hour week; abolition of night work; minimum wage; equal pay for equal work; right of workers to bargain collectively; state and federal employment systems; adequate appropriation and inspection force; inclusion of women on National and International Labor Commission.

What are the other six of the eight committees adopted in St. Louis?

Child Welfare; Improvement of Election Laws and Methods; Social Hygiene; Unification of Laws Concerning Civil Status of Women; Food Supply and Demand, and Research.

JANE M. BROOKS,

(Mrs. Charles H.)

National Chairman.

KEEPING UP WITH SUFFRAGE

This table has changed since you saw it last!

Where Women
Vote
ABROAD

Women were granted full suffrage	
in	in
Australia	1902
Austria	1918
*Belgium	1919
Canada	1918
Czecho-Slovakia	1918
Denmark	1915
England	1918
Finland	1906
Germany	1918
Holland	1919
Hungary	1918
Iceland	1913
Ireland	1918
Isle of Man	1881
New Zealand	1893
Norway	1907
Poland	1918
Russia	1917
Scotland	1918
South Africa	1919
Sweden	1919
Wales	1918
(Twenty-two countries in all.)	

* Electoral Reform Bill just passed grants suffrage to widows who have not re-married and mothers of soldiers killed in battle, or civilians shot by Germans.

IN THE UNITED STATES

Women Were Granted Full Suffrage

in	in
Wyoming	1899
Colorado	1893
Idaho	1896
Utah	1910
Washington	1911
California	1912
Arizona	1912
Kansas	1912
Oregon	1912
Montana	1914
Nevada	1914
New York	1917
Oklahoma	1918
Michigan	1918
South Dakota	1918
(15 states.)	
Alaska	1913

Women Were Granted Presidential and
Municipal Suffrage

in	in
Illinois	1913
North Dakota	1917
Nebraska	1917
Vermont	1917
Municipal	
**Presidential	
(5 states.)	
Tennessee	1919

** Governor vetoed presidential bill. His veto under challenge.

Presidential Suffrage

in	in
Rhode Island	1917
Indiana	1919
Iowa	1919
Maine	1919
Minnesota	1919
Missouri	1919
Wisconsin	1919
(7 states.)	

Primary Suffrage

in	in
Arkansas	1917
Texas	1918

School or Tax Suffrage

in	in
Kentucky	1838
Minnesota	1875
New Hampshire	1878
Massachusetts	1879
Mississippi	1880
New Jersey	1887
Connecticut	1894
Iowa	1894
Ohio	1894
Delaware	1898
Louisiana	1898
Wisconsin	1900
New Mexico	1910
(18 states.)	

Women Voters of the World!

There are approximately one hundred million women voters in the world today. Fifteen and one-half million of them in 29 states have been given the right to vote for the next president of the United States.

Where Women Have Municipal Suffrage

MUNICIPAL suffrage, in conjunction with presidential suffrage, has been granted women by the Legislatures of Illinois, North Dakota, Nebraska and Tennessee. It was also given the women of Vermont by legislative grant on March 21, 1917, two years before their Legislature gave them presidential suffrage.

Women now vote at municipal elections in:

Vermont

All incorporated towns in Vermont.

Ohio

In Columbus, East Cleveland and Lakewood, Ohio — (1917.)

These are all Home Rule Cities, which, under Ohio's new constitution, can make their own charters. The woman's ballot was gained therefore in these cities by referendum to the voters at the polls and not by the Legislature.

Florida

In Florida the following charter towns have equal municipal suffrage:

Fellsmere, 1915, in St. Lucie County, Aurlantia and Cocoa, in Brevard County, Orange City and Deland, in Volusia County, West Palm Beach and Delray, in Palm Beach County, Florence Villa, in Polk County, Moore Haven, in De Soto County, Clearwater, in Pinellas County. All these in 1917. Orlando in Orange County in 1919. All these are charter towns. Precedent was set when the Legislature granted a charter

including woman suffrage to Fellsmere. Since then similar charters have been granted to the remaining towns. Governor Catts signed the Orlando Woman Suffrage charter in April.

Tennessee

Lookout Mountain, Tennessee, also won municipal suffrage for women by legislative grant. The bill was signed by Governor Thomas C. Rye in April 1917. It was the first woman suffrage bill ever brought before a Tennessee governor for ratification, and it grew out of the expressed wish of the women on the mountain to have a woman on their school board.

Maryland

In Annapolis, Maryland, taxpaying women were given the charter right of woman suffrage by the Legislature of 1900.

Georgia

In Waycross, Georgia, in 1917 suffrage for women in white primaries was granted upon a resolution from the Waycross City Council to the representatives from Ware County, of which Waycross is County seat. It was given in justice to the large number of women tax-payers in that city.

In Atlanta, Georgia, on May 3, 1919, the right to vote at white primaries was granted white women by the City Democratic Executive Committee.

Are You Making Good?

(Continued from page 1135)

women's ability to finance a campaign with a shoe-string more notably demonstrated than in her resumé of what was done and what it cost. Other state leagues are invited to use these columns in which to report their campaigns for citizenship.

REPORT OF

WOMEN'S CITIZENSHIP CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE
OF THE CLUBHOUSE ASSOCIATION

Purpose of Campaign

To interest every woman in and assist her in exercising her right of franchise.

To make Lansing a better city in which to live.

The first time the Club House Association has furnished such a service.

The Campaign

12,000 Programs and printed information distributed.

27,000 Anti-saloon literature distributed.

1,000 Suffrage literature distributed.

12,000 Good roads literature distributed.

1 Organization meeting held.

10 Meetings for instruction held.

Approximately 200 letters of appreciation mailed.

Approximately 150 letters to ministers mailed—announcements.

15 News items in State Journal.

Articles of information to women running in State Journal from March 8 to March 25.

36 Special programs to speakers mailed.

Results

9,000 Women voters registered.

8,500 Ballots cast by women.

All good matter to be voted on carried.

Subjects not touched by campaign not carried.

Cost of Campaign

Printing	\$ 70.50
Signs	7.90
Transportation and delivery	33.35
Telephone	23.18
Office supplies and incidentals	5.00
Clerical	10.00
Postage	5.00

\$154.93

MRS. WALTER P. SMITH of St. Johnsbury, Vermont, has the honor of being the first woman appointed to a state board in that state. She has been appointed Chairman of the State Library Commission by Governor Percival W. Clement.

The Oldest Pioneers

THE pioneer woman voter in America, as far as historical records show, was "Lady" Deborah Moody, the oldest patentee of the colony of New York, who voted at Gravesend, L. I., in the middle of the eighteenth century.

For the pioneer suffragist the State of Virginia sets up a competition with Maryland and Massachusetts. This is Hannah Lee Corbin, sister of Richard Henry Lee. Mrs. Corbin's demand for votes for women has not been preserved, but her brother's response has. It reads (as published in his Letters, edited by J. C. Ballagh, Macmillan):

"MY dear Sister,

Distressed as my mind is and has been by a variety of attentions, I am illy able by letter to give you the satisfaction I could wish on the several subjects of your letter. Reasonable as you are and friendly to the freedom and happiness of your country, I should have no doubt of giving you perfect comfort in a few hours' conversation. You complain that widows are not represented, and that being temporary possessors of their estates ought not to be liable to the tax. The doctrine of representation is a large subject, and it is certain that it ought to be extended as far as wisdom and policy can allow; nor do I see that either of these forbid widows having property from voting, notwithstanding it has never been the practice either here or in England. Perhaps 'twas thought rather out of character for women to press into those tumultuous assemblages of men where the business of choosing representatives is conducted. And it might also have been considered as not so necessary, seeing that the representatives themselves, as their immediate constituents, must suffer the tax imposed in exact proportion as does all other taxed, and that, therefore, it could not be supposed that taxes would be laid where the public good did not demand it. This, then, is the widow's security as well as that of the never married women, who have lands in their own right, for both of whom I have the highest respect, and would at any time give my consent to establish their right of voting. . . . With respect to Mr. Fauntleroy, if he spoke as you say, it is a very good reason why he ought not to be assessor. But if he should be the law has wisely provided a remedy against the mistakes or the injustice of assessors by giving the injured party appeal to the commissioners of the tax, which commissioners are annually chosen by the freeholders and housekeepers, and in the choice of whom you have as legal a right to vote as any other person. . . .

I am, my dear Sister,

Most sincerely and affectionately yours."

Susan B. at Omaha

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

DURING the World's Fair at Omaha there was held a Congress of Liberal Religions. Following it was a convention of suffragists and Miss Anthony attended the closing night session of the former assembly. After the program was finished the crowd which filled the large church to its capacity called for Miss Anthony. It was a very intelligent, well-dressed audience, largely of visitors to the exposition from all parts of the world. As Miss Anthony walked slowly to the pulpit the immense crowd arose and cheered lustily, waving handkerchiefs and making a most vigorous demonstration of honor. Miss Anthony finally raised her hand for silence but the uproar only increased and continued some minutes. Finally silence came and such perfect silence that if one were blindfolded he would hardly know that there was any one present.

Then Miss Anthony said: "Not so many years ago the wild Indian had his trails across these fertile prairies. When he went out in search of game his squaw must follow to carry home his kill. But she dared not to follow him in the same path lest she injure the dignity of his majesty. So she slipped around a hill

or through a timber skirting a stream. And when she heard him shoot she came to him and carried home the game.

"THE white man advanced one step beyond the savage in that he does permit his squaw to follow him in the same path." Loud cheering. Then she proceeded: "But I hope I may yet live to see the day when man shall so discover woman with her intuitive judgment, her spiritual insight and knowledge of the needs of women and children and public education, that he shall feel that he needs her help and he will invite her to leave the trail and to walk side by side with him in the vast and beautiful task of human betterment."

Further remarks I cannot remember but these taught a profound lesson.

St. Louis, Mo.

E. H. COLLINS

Appointment Pleases

THE Wisconsin Woman Suffrage Association is pleased at the appointment of Representative A. P. Nelson to a place on the House Woman Suffrage Committee. Its state bulletin says that the appointment is a "great gratification to friends of the woman suffrage cause." During his pre-election campaign Mr. Nelson came out squarely for woman suffrage.



892—Smart beyond compare, bewitching in its attractive and harmonious coloring, is the new "Autumn" decoration created on fine Lenox china. This beautiful china is correct for either breakfast or the formal dinner. There is a wide border of blue-gray scrolls on an ivory ground broken by panels of raised enamel flowers in natural colors with a similarly embellished basket on the center of the plate. The ivory tint of Lenox china is most distinctive, and its quality is surpassed by no other. Open stock pattern. Dinner set of 103 pieces, special price, \$360.00. Cake set of 7 pieces, special price, \$20.00. Chop set of 7 pieces, special price, \$27.50. Tea set of 23 pieces, special price, \$60.00.

CHINA

LONG before you were born, Ovington's was well established as a china-house where smart designs and reasonable prices went hand in hand.

To-day it is known throughout America as the pre-eminent place to buy smart gifts, but Ovington's china is still equaled by few in variety and beauty and by none in value.

OVINGTON'S

"The Gift Shop of Fifth Avenue"

312-314 FIFTH AVENUE,

NEW YORK



The Book Stall

Four Detective Stories

MOST of the world reads stories instead of drinking bromides to quiet the strain of life, or to escape from its drab monotony. Therefore almost any book which can accomplish one of these two objects gets past the book review censor and perches for a while on the burdened shelves of the free public library

during its passage to the literary junk heap. The use to which these books are put is legitimate enough. The real question is, how badly may a book be written and still be endured by a fiction-hungry public?

To glance over four new detective novels it would seem as if what story-writers may do, what they daily do, in the way of drugging to death standards of good workmanship and of ethical judgments is about as bad as any of the murders they write about.

Elements of mystery and horror in a story capture public attention as surely as does the element of love, and these three are a triumvirate of themes that triumph, even when the writer is indifferent to parts of speech or to rhetorical construction.

Out of four late "shilling shockers," *The Twenty-Six Clues* by Isabel Ostrander (W. J. Watt & Co., New York), has the element of suspense best in hand, for the real perpetrator of the crime is scarcely suspected until the last.

To produce this end Miss Ostrander overworks the imbecility of all the crime experts, except her chosen one, Dennis Riordan—a method familiarized by Conan Doyle, whose ordinary police force would fail in a twelve-year-old Binet test, in order to make a foil for the brilliancy of Sherlock Holmes.

Isabel Ostrander's "Island of Intrigue," now a photo-play, is a good example of a story which rattles along with the cheap machinery of a literary "flivver" over impossible situations and with ghoulish glee. But it is a good story. One is obliged to own that it is while scoring its methods. It is a story of adventure, with crimes etched in the background. *The Twenty-Six Clues* is less good; it is a terror story for the sole end of untangling an intricate police problem.

ANNA KATHERINE GREEN'S *Room Number 3* (Dodd, Mead & Co., New York), is a collection of nine short stories, the best of which from the point of construction is "Midnight in Beauchamp Row." Here the element of surprise is well sustained and the story has admirable brevity. It suggests a French model and carries off its slight plot and intensity of horrors almost skilfully.

Blue Aloes, by Cynthia Stockley (G. P. Putnam's Sons) another collection of short stories,

escapes mediocrity by its setting. The writer, in choosing South Africa for her background, has by the charm of novel scenes and customs braced up her slender skill in portrayal of real incidents. Remoteness makes more believable such a character as the half-breed fiend in woman's shape at Blue Aloes farm.

Leprosy, negro superstition, poison snakes and sheer brutality enter into the *mise-en-scene* of this group of stories. Yet it would be a safe wager that they will all be read with gusto because they arrest the reader's attention and hold it.

OF the four books, *The Man Nobody Knew*, by Holworthy Hall, is the best constructed and the most skilful. Mr. Hall has seized upon an incident which is bound to feature largely in post-war mystery novels—the changed face of a man who was wounded at the front and reconstructed by surgeons.

He went to war in disgrace and came back with a hating soul. His transfigured face made him outwardly another man but inwardly a potential criminal. What this book lacks is a standard of common honesty. It has about as much regard for business decency as has a burglar with a "jimmy" or a watered-stock corporation. But from a writer who doesn't scruple to use woman as a clinging vine, even if he has to tack her fingers to the trellis, one is not to expect too keen a sense of business ethics.

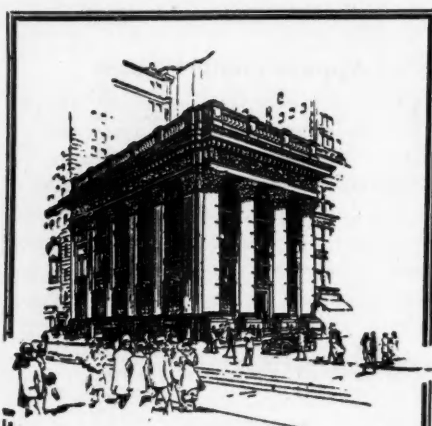
Her Sorry Triumph

"THE SHELLEYS OF GEORGIA"

(Lothrop, Lee and Shepard, Boston) is much advertised as a story with a purpose—the purpose of advocating a single standard of morals. It has taken two people—a man and a woman—to write this story and neither one seems to have jumped the chasm between the standard of morals set for men and that set for women. Indeed the book makes the cleavage sharper than ever.

Beatrice York Houghton is responsible for the story itself; the name of her coadjutor is not published.

The authors feel strongly that they have introduced a wedge into Georgian prejudices and have done something daring and adventurous towards the equalization of the status of man and woman. If they have, views of life in the non-suffrage state of Georgia need jacking up.



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THE moral standard problem is very briefly this: that a handsome and dissolute rake, whose amatory excursions have been frequent and none too discriminating, has seduced a young mountaineer woman of uncouth prettiness.

The struggle then begins to persuade the unprincipled rascal "to make an honest woman" of mountain Minnie and own to the fatherhood of her child. To achieve this several high-minded people set forth to educate Minnie and make her socially "fit" for the high honor of becoming the wife of the dissolute man. She herself submits to insult after insult, disguises herself under a pseudonym to serve him and win his love, and finally marries, in triumph, her rake, reformed.

A Horrible Affair

By HENRY EDWARD WARNER

(The following lament by a kid in our neighborhood is straight from the heart!)

They ain't no use in talkin', this is a crew ol' life!

I think I'll go hunt Injuns 'ith a muskit an' a knife!

They've got things twisted turrible up at our house, you bet,

'Cause

My dad's a ladies' tailor
and

My maw's a suffragette!

My dad, he takes in sewin', an' my maw goes out t' clubs—

They ain't nobody left at home t' give th' kids their tubs!

My dad cuts yokes an' patterns, an' waists an' shirts an' sleeves,

An' maw goes 'lectioneerin' on th' bunk 'at she believes!

I uset t' think 'at wimmen, they was made t' sing an' sew,

But grandma says 'at times have changed sence she first had a beau;

These days th' wimmen lecture an' keep things in a whirl—

I wish 'at I'd been born 'way back when grandma was a girl!

My granny says: "Don't worry," she says, "it ain't so bad,

'Cause all this suffragettin'll die out like every fad";

But they sure have got things twisted, an' it makes a feller fret

When

His dad's a ladies' tailor
and

His maw's a suffragette!

Mr. Henry Edward Warner

To the l'il tad you wrote abow'

A 'fussin' and a'frettin'

Cause his dad had gone a tailorin'

His mam a'suffragettin'.

*There, little boy, don't weep and lament
Nor shoulder your "muskit" with murd'rous intent*

*And go forth to kill because you are mad
At suffragette mamma and scam-sewing dad.*

*If daddy sews seams, why then it is clear
He's fitted for that and that is his sphere.
The thing we do best—whether woman or man,
Is what we should do, in heaven's wise plan.*

*And too, little boy, you mustn't be fretting
Because your dear mamma has gone suffragetting—*

You see, daddy's choosing from voting to save her

Has kept her from using the talents God gave her.

*Not having the vote, she's unfree to choose
The talents our Father meant her to use;
And so she determined the vote she would get,
And that's why your mamma has turned suffragette.*

*'Twill come out all right, don't worry, my lad.
Believe in your mother—be proud of your dad.
Have faith in the teaching that all should be free*

To work out unhampered their true destiny.

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Excerpt from a Book Catalogue of 1807

THE EXCELLENCY OF THE FEMALE CHARACTER VINDICATED, being an investigation relative to the Cause and Effects of the Encroachments of Men upon the Rights of Women and the too frequent Degradation and consequent Misfortunes of the Fair Sex.

By THOMAS BRANAGAN.

New York, 1807.

Men of Old on the Feeble Sex

DEAN Swift. (Letter to new married lady):

"I am ignorant of any one quality that is amiable in man which is not equally so in a woman; I do not except even modesty and gentleness of nature."

Castiglione in The Courtier (1508), says: "Whatever men can know and understand, women can also; and where the intellect of one can penetrate, there also can the other."

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Firing and Quitting

"NOT knowing how to do a job has two results: First—low efficiency and, second, quittance or discharge—labor turnover. Each of these operates to increase the cost of production. Both worker and employer pay a penalty for this condition, just as each would profit by its correction."

The above is one of the interesting statements in a vest-pocket bulletin entitled "Labor Turnover and Industrial Training," which has been issued by the U. S. Training Service of the Department of Labor. The pamphlet contains many observations of value to manufacturers and labor men, as well as to all others interested in modern economic questions.

Doors of Opportunity

In discussing the present enormous turnover in industry the bulletin says:

"It may be convenient to ascribe this excessive and burdensome labor turnover entirely to restlessness, instability, and perversity of the workers. * * * The truth is that labor turnover is not wholly or even largely the fault of the workers."

THE publication goes on to tell of an illuminating study of the causes of discharges and quittances in a large manufacturing plant. But 10 per cent of the separations, it was found, were due to slacking, while 90 per cent were attributable to shortcomings and defects of one kind and another in the management of the plant. The special point which the bulletin makes in this connection is that industrial training conducted in the plant results in the worker being better fitted for his job. Hence he earns better wages, produces more for his employer, has a greater sense of self-respect, and remains at his task instead of periodically shifting from job to job.

The U. S. Training Service is devoting special attention to preparing courses in the proper methods of training in various industries so that interested manufacturers may be supplied with adequate material for operating training departments. In addition to the bulletin mentioned here the Training Service has issued several other pamphlets on training which will be mailed to anyone addressing the Service, care of the Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.

Fitting the Woman to the Job

A NEW attempt to estimate the fitness of women workers for men's processes has been made by the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce. The industries covered are metal, clothing and miscellaneous. "The Cleveland experience," says a summary in the *Monthly Labor Review*, "differed from that of Great Britain in that it had not been found necessary when introducing women to subdivide processes to any great extent, possibly on account of the greater subdivision of processes already existing in the United States."

On the side of general comfort and decency, rest rooms, first aid, restaurants and a general humanizing of the factory was recom-

mended and in most cases had been actually put into effect on the introduction of women in Cleveland. British reports show this same tendency and many British employers have declared that their experience with women in their plants has taught them that like decencies ought to be provided for men.

IN Cleveland the women in most cases received equal pay on piece work, but not on time work. The basis of equal pay is efficiency, so the Cleveland reports on this matter are espe-

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cially interesting. As in most other studies, the majority of employers believed the women either more productive than men or equal to them in this respect. In metal and miscellaneous industries no employers believed women less productive than men; twelve per cent would make no statement, fifty-one per cent believed them more productive, the rest claiming equality. In the clothing industries twenty per cent believed them more productive; forty per cent equal to men, twenty per cent less productive and in twenty per cent of the cases their processes were not comparable to those of men.

Forty-one per cent of employers, taking all these classes of industries together, believed them less regular in attendance than men, as against nineteen per cent who believed them more regular. The proportion who believed women less prompt in attendance was fifty-two per cent, but thirty-seven per cent believed them more prompt than men.

TO sum up the percentages for and against in two other tables, women appear to have shown themselves about as easy to transfer from process to process as men and—contrary to our preconceived idea that women only enter industry while waiting for marriage—quite as apt as their brothers to stick to the job for a reasonable length of time. This latter conclusion is the more interesting as the group of industries chosen included not only the temporary war industries but the older women's employment of the clothing trades. The exact figures for permanency in this trade are: thirty-three per cent of employers believed women more permanent; thirty-three per cent believed them less permanent, and thirty-four per cent believed them equal to men in this respect.

In Memoriam

Elizabeth Allen

EVERY step upward for the last generation in the cause of the woman teacher in New Jersey—and so in the United States—has been taken because of Elizabeth Allen, principal of Public School Number 4, Hoboken.

When Miss Allen died on Saturday, May 3rd, it was after fifty years of as steadfast a fight for better conditions as any woman in America ever put up.

New Jersey is not a pioneer state in many things when it comes to the welfare of women. It was a pioneer state in its Tenure of Office

Bill and its Teachers' Retirement Fund Bill; only, however, because Elizabeth Allen led the state to it.

By one of those unprepared dramatic coincidences which sometimes make real life more poignant than fiction, it was when Elizabeth Allen was literally at her last breath that the latter of these bills was finally adjusted and carried through the New Jersey Legislature.

Miss Allen, like one of her great family relatives—Ethan Allen—was born a resister of injustice. It was not merely tenure of office and the teachers' retirement pensions that became possible through her; hers was a gallant stand for every right and privilege of the teachers of New Jersey. And she was the most intrepid of fighters. She jeopardized her living, if not her life, more than once for the cause she served.

One of her first struggles for fair play is typical. A teacher of good renown was suddenly dismissed from her post in a small New Jersey school for no alleged reason, and for no real reason except to make political capital for some members of a board of education. The teacher turned at once, as every teacher in New Jersey has turned ever since, to Elizabeth Allen. Inside of twenty-four hours Miss Allen was on the spot; in less than thirty-six she had seen each man on that board of education and had told him such an unjust dismissal, without reasons assigned, as had been given to the teacher in question would ruin her professionally; that unless they could give adequate cause for dismissing her, every newspaper in the state should have the story of the injustice done to a teacher after long and good service.

INSIDE of two days the teacher was reinstated and that board of education played its politics less insolently thereafter.

But this was the start of the Tenure of Office Bill which New Jersey was one of the first states, if not the first, to put into effect.

Miss Allen was a tower of strength to the cause of woman suffrage in New Jersey, where suffrage towers have never been gently treated. But her main objective was that the professional woman should be free to give her best.

As intrepid as she was, Miss Allen never lacked sagacity in her protests. She became so formidable an opponent because of her judicial attitude and careful mastery of facts, that the state law-makers thought twice before they opposed a measure led by Elizabeth Allen.

Her death was indirectly due to overstrain during the war. She offered her services to her

country, served some months on a mission to France and was never wholly well after her return.

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Wabash Valley Conference

THE Terre Haute Franchise League will be the hostess league for the Wabash Valley conference which will be held at Terre Haute May 24th. The gathering will be in the form of a celebration of the gaining of presidential suffrage by Indiana at the last session of the State Legislature. Mrs. B. B. White, President of the League, and her committees have made elaborate preparations for the affair. A luncheon at the Hotel Deming followed by speeches will be one of the features. Mrs. George Gellhorn of St. Louis, a director of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, will deliver one of the principal addresses. Mrs. Richard E. Edwards of Peru, former state president of Indiana and a director of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and Miss Helen Benbridge, president of the Woman's Franchise League, will also be present to make addresses. It is expected that Congressman Everett Sanders will be present.

The Terre Haute League has grown fast during the past two years, having added more than

400 new members during that period. One of the features planned during the year by the Terre Haute suffragists was upon invitation of Mr. Herz, who was celebrating the 50th anniversary of the establishment of his dry-goods house. Among the features planned to celebrate the anniversary was a "Suffrage Day." The affair was planned without the solicitation of the suffragists, which made it all the more enjoyable and showed something of the suffrage sentiment of Indiana.

A Screen Message to Europe

TO show women of France and Italy and Great Britain and Scandinavia how the other half of the world lives is the object of a scheme now being carried out by women of the United States.

This is the Foreign Films Unit, soon to go abroad and show on the screen to the women of Europe how women in America do things; how they live and work and take care of their babies; how their houses are equipped, and how public schools are run.

This is not to be done on the basis of "showing Europe how." It is not expected that the daughter-world is to preach to the mother-world. But there are many material comforts in America which will be novel to the women of small European villages, just as there are beautiful old world customs which would delight women of America.

And as the plan is one of reciprocity, the Foreign Film Unit will not only give, but receive. It will bring back pictures of European conditions which should interest Americans.

On Saturday, May 24, at 10:15 o'clock, there is to be a benefit performance of the motion picture play: "What is to become of the children?" in the Rivoli Theatre on Broadway, New York, the proceeds of which are to be used for this Foreign Films plan. This is the first appearance of this play which is by Cora Beach, the wife of Walter Shunway, moving picture actor.

It is not a propaganda picture but one to arouse women's interest in children.

The Foreign Film Unit has grown out of the activities of the Better Film Committee of the National Council of Women. The Unit is being invited over to Europe by Madame Sainte-Croix of the French Council of Women, and by the Countess of Aberdeen of the British Council.

On the advice of Lady Aberdeen, the Unit will delay its start until fall when reconstruction plans are further forward than they will be

this summer.

The object of the Foreign Films Unit will be an interchange of ideals of living between the two hemispheres. The unit, in addition to industrial pictures and pictures of sanitation and hygiene, intends to carry over some of the beauties of scenery in the United States and some photo plays purely for *divertissement*.

In the personnel of the unit will be the chairman of the National Federation of Better Films Workers, Mrs. Harriell Barry of California, who is also chairman of the Better Films Committee of the Federation of College Women.

Miss Dorothy Barnes Egbert of San Francisco, a Leland Stanford M. S., is to make one of the Unit. Miss Egbert is an entomologist by profession. She was the promoter of the Stanford Overseas Unit which was assembled to work for the women and children of France.

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The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie
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New Style. Vol. III, May 31, 1919. No. 53

Old Style. Vol. XLIX

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The Woman Citizen

The Woman's National Political Weekly

NEW STYLE VOL. III

MAY 31, 1919

NUMBER 53

In this issue of the Woman Citizen we give the story of the great victory for Federal suffrage in the House of Representatives. In the next issue we expect to give the story of an equally great Senate victory.

The Size of the Victory

THE great big feature of the House victory last week was its bigness. Everybody knew that the suffrage amendment had more than enough votes in the House. But even to a suffragist fed up on the poll there was food for elation in the size of the surplus. Forty-two more than enough has a thrill of its own, which the watchful women in the galleries did not fail to get.

Of course there was not the same old gripping of the front rail, or the old hushed gasps as the tension tightened or let down; nobody was pale with suspense and you couldn't hear the heart thumps of your neighbor. Contrasting Wednesday's vote with the House vote on January 10, 1918, you might even say that the emotional reaction to Wednesday's crisis was in inverse ratio to the great numerical gain made by suffrage.

Still the day had its moments. One came with the break in the Solid South way up in the A's when Aswell, of Louisiana answered aye, and another down in the O's, when Oliver, of Alabama, voted right. Then, Representative Longworth's aye was a nice old thing to hear, remembering the loudness of his former no. There was a thrill, too, in ex-speaker Champ Clark's speech for the cause, especially when one recalled how last year he had held in reserve the Speaker's extra vote to use if the amendment needed it. And when Judge Raker voted, more of last year came rushing back. He was chairman of the House Suffrage Committee last time.

ON the 1918 occasion, 410 votes were cast and the measure got through with only 274 in favor to 136 against. Fifty-four speeches were made, and the tension of the day was terrific. Women sat immovably fixed in the House galleries from nine in the morning until seven in the evening. To leave your seat was to lose it.

Nobody could foretell the outcome of the vote. Up to the last minute the result was in doubt. One dramatic incident after another piled up to increase the tension. Representative Mann's entry upon the floor was one. A desperately sick man, he had himself brought from the hospital to cast his vote for suffrage. How the women blessed him as he tottered down the aisle!

Texas Women Win?

Wednesday a. m.

The great Lone Star State has probably been won to full suffrage!

In some respects the victory is the most remarkable state victory that suffrage has ever scored, if victory it is.

For one thing Texas is the first state in the far South to give women full suffrage; it is the largest state in area; it had the shortest pre-campaign period of preparation; it met with the bitterest opposition.

In point of area Texas has 265,896 square miles. This means that you could pick up the 243,327 square miles of Great Britain, Belgium, Continental Italy, and put them down in Texas with a nice wide fringe of 22,569 miles hanging over—enough to let European Turkey, Montenegro, and Alsace-Lorraine rattle around in.

In the number of women enfranchised, Texas's victory would be one of the greatest, the total number of women in Texas over voting age being close to a million, 999,166. The victory is the more flattering to Texas women because Texas has already tried the experiment of women at the polls by giving them primary suffrage.

Texas would be the 16th state won to full suffrage by the National Suffrage Association through its state branches, as a part of the National's program to secure the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

In the result, there is now a force of fifteen and a half million women over voting age back of the demand for the passage and ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

And over on the Democratic side sat Representative Sims, of Tennessee, swathed in bandages, white as a sheet from the pain of fractured bones, but holding hard to his determination to stick it out until roll-call. He did stick it out, too. Representative Barnhart, of Indiana, and Crosser, of Ohio, completed the Hospital Brigade. Then were men like Johnson, of Washington, who had torn across country to reach Washington in time to cast his vote. Not a vote could be spared and every man friendly to suffrage knew it and assumed full responsibility for having his own vote on hand.

ON Wednesday, with almost half a hundred votes to spare, there was no tension at all. The thrill of the situation had been discounted long before. Long before, suffragists knew that the House vote was entirely safe. The fact that the suffrage program was to be in the skilled hands of Representative Mann made assurance doubly sure.

On Wednesday 393 votes were cast. Of these 262 ($\frac{2}{3}$) were needed to win. With its record of 304 aye votes the amendment therefore got 42 more votes than were needed.

Prohibitionists crowed when national prohibition scored 282 favorable votes, eight more than were needed to carry, out of total House vote of 410. Suffragists may be forgiven for their elation in their huge surplus of forty-two.

This Time

Special Correspondence to the WOMAN CITIZEN

WASHINGTON—Once more we have climbed Congress Hill in Washington.

But this time with what a difference!

This time we knew that there would be no retracing of steps. The hill became a hill in Woman's Progress. And that for which we climbed our forever possession.

This time there was no suspense. That most cautious and dependable of lobbyists, our own congressional chairman, Maud Wood Park, had announced, while other organizations were proclaiming the issue in doubt and before Senators Harris of Georgia and Keyes of New Hampshire had made their public pledges for the amendment, that she had definite assurances of its passage in both houses in the extra session of Congress, and, resting on that assurance, this time there was no prodding and pushing and pleading for the votes of House members on the part of the suffragists.

Representative Mann of Illinois, Chairman of the Woman Suffrage Committee, called up the measure suddenly, even before the Democratic members had been appointed on the committee. In spite of the suddenness this time there was no shortage of pro-suffrage votes. Our only anxiety was for the absentees. Some of our friends were in Europe. Others were at their homes too distant from Washington to arrive within the twenty-four hours' notice given by Mr. Mann. Could we get enough men back from nearby states and persuade those who intended leaving to remain over? We could and we did.

This time there were no speeches attacking women. Only one Republican (Representative Focht of Pennsylvania) spoke against the amendment. The Democrats in opposition were therefore mainly concerned with using their time to prove that the members of the Democratic party had been the better friends to suffrage and that the members of the Republican party were band-wagon converts. The appealing voice of our long-time bitter opponent, Representative Kitchin of North Carolina, pleading with his hearers to remember the staunch support of suffrage Democrats, will go down in history as one of the rarest happenings in the House.

THIS time there was no uncertainty among our friends. The leader of the opposition, representative Clark of Florida, said in his speech that he knew the measure was sure to be passed. How many, many times have our leaders stood on that floor fighting our fight although the victory of the opposition was sure!

This time there was no filibuster against the amendment. Amendments to the amendment introduced by Representative Clark of Florida and Saunders of Virginia were overwhelmingly voted down, and since not enough ayes and nays could be mustered to demand a roll call there was no further incentive to offer amendments as a means of delay.

This time there were no last-minute defections. Representative Blanton of Texas stated in his speech at 2.15 o'clock that the committee had polled 301 men on the floor ready to vote in favor. At 3.15 o'clock 304 men were recorded in favor to 89 against, 42 more than the required two-thirds to carry. And on the yes side were such notable converts as Representative Longworth of Ohio, whose speech for the amendment was the big surprise of the day to the opposition; Representative Winslow and Dallinger of Massachusetts, Lonergan of Connecticut, Kincheloe of Kentucky and Welty of Ohio.

Representative Little of Kansas, ranking Republican member on the Woman Suffrage Committee, opened the debate with a tribute to women in which he said:

"The gentleman who leads the opposition today said once that she [woman] could not have the rights of a man and the privileges of a woman. Why can she not? That can not be true. If we are going to be the gentlemen we assume to be, why should she not have the rights of a man and privileges of a woman? Men retained all the male privileges of drinking whisky, playing poker and racing horses when they cast the ballot. Why can not she still retain the privilege of being treated like a lady, a wife, a mother, even if she votes? God Almighty placed upon her certain duties from which you escape, and you are wonderfully fortunate that you do, and every time you think of it you should blush for shame that you would deny any rights you have because of the responsibility that God has placed upon her."

NEXT came Mr. Kitchin, who had, previous to the opening of the debate named Democratic Representatives Raker of California, Clark of Florida, Mays of Utah, Sullivan of New York and Blanton of Texas, to serve with the Republican Representatives, Mann of Illinois, Little of Kansas, Elliott of Indiana, Nolan of California, Edmonds of Pennsylvania, Burroughs of New Hampshire, Nelson of Wisconsin and McCrate of New York, on the Suffrage Committee, and whose chief business in the debate seemed to be to point out what other Democrats have done for the amendment, though he was going to vote against it:

"For 14 years the Republicans of the House turned a deaf ear to the men and women of this country who desired woman suffrage. For 14 years, with absolute control of every branch of the Government, the Republicans in the House not only refused to allow them to have the suffrage amendment considered in the House—to have a vote on it—but refused even to allow a Woman Suffrage Committee to be created in the House before which they could submit reasons and arguments for their cause. But it was reserved for a Democratic Rules Committee and for a Democratic House to give the suffragists of this country a Woman Suffrage Committee before which they could go and put their case. [Applause on the Democratic side.] They did go before this Woman Suffrage Committee, composed of a majority of Democrats, who gladly heard them day after day and week after week and month after month plead their cause. Be it known that it was a Democratic Woman Suffrage Committee that for the first time favorably reported this very resolution to the House and gave the advocates of woman suffrage a chance to have their cause considered and voted on in the House." [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Representative Hardy of Texas spoke for the opposition, basing his argument on states rights.

Representative Raker of California, who led the winning fight for the woman suffrage amendment in the House during the last session, reviewed the progress of woman suffrage.

Representative Nelson of Wisconsin urged that the amendment be adopted.

Representative McCrate of New York made his maiden speech for the amendment.

Representative Focht of Pennsylvania, in opposition, said:

"I want to enter the protest of one Member from Pennsylvania against going so far afield at this particular time in this un-

chartered matter, simply because a few states out West have adopted the suffrage program. And with all respect for the members who come from those states where they have had woman suffrage, I do not believe many appeals come to them or much concern is felt for the franchise by most women.

"A NOTHER reason why women in their good sense are not here appealing for the vote and sphere of political activity may be that they have a better conception of the biological and physiological laws than some gentlemen who will vote in the affirmative on account of coming from states where women now vote—laws ordained by God, and which the vote of Congress nor an amendment to the Constitution cannot change or set aside."

Representative Small of North Carolina and Black of Texas spoke against the amendment and Representative Blanton of Texas in favor.

Representative Vaile of Colorado named the women who have been elected to state offices in his state, reviewing their service to the commonwealth and their service in their own homes, concluding with these words: "Colorado has gained by electing the mothers of men to help make her laws, and, gentlemen of Dixie, I ask you men to help your own mothers re-elect you—you may need their votes." [Applause.]

Champ Clark received a tremendous ovation when he rose to make a speech in favor of the amendment, his first since returning to the floor from the Speaker's chair. He said: "I think my wife and my daughter are as capable of voting as most men in this country are." Whereupon Mr. Mann from the other side of the house shouted, "More." And Mr. Clark finished, "I would be ashamed to raise a daughter who was not."

A NOTHER ovation from the House greeted Mr. Mann when he rose to speak in behalf of the amendment. He said: "Two years ago when a similar resolution was pending in this body I took my life in my hands and came over to vote, and for a week thereafter I did not know whether it would kill me or not. But today, strong and healthy [applause], I appear in the advocacy of a great cause, with the time ripe, with the people ready, with the beneficiaries eager, intelligent, and willing to perform their share in the functioning of good government. [Applause.]

"This is not a partisan question on either side of the House. If it were, it would not have any chance. Let both sides, Republicans and Democrats, feel their responsibility to civilization, to enlightenment, to progress, to the movement ahead. You can no more stop the wave of progress than you can roll back the sea with a broom, and which was tried once. Women will receive the suffrage; they will take their share in the management of the Government, and, in my judgment, good citizens everywhere will thank God shortly that we have the conservatism and good sense of women, the home-makers, and remaining mostly in the homes, standing against the wave of unreasonable wildness which seems now to be dominating the world in many quarters.

"I hope that the Republican side of the House may vote almost as a unit, if not as a unit, in favor of the amendment, and I pray that the majority of the Democratic side of the House will see the light and vote accordingly." [Applause.]

Mr. Clark of Florida concluded for the opposition, making a burlesque out of his speech by referring by name to "the many gentlemen who have lately been over the road to Damascus" and begging that if all about should do the same that the Speaker would stand firmly with him against this dire measure. He praised Senator Penrose and Senator Root as notable examples of intelligence in the Republican party.

Representative Taylor of Colorado prayed that the Lord might forgive the opposition "for they know not what they do." He paid high tribute to the women of Colorado, whom he said "have cast not one unpatriotic vote but who have added intelligence to the electorate."

Representative Longworth of Ohio said: "It is true that upon the occasion when this resolution was last before the House I voted against it, but my vote was predicated upon a doubt as to the opportuneness of the time rather than upon the essential justice of the question. I have for a long time believed that suffrage was inevitable, that it would come soon, and that it ought to come. I am now convinced that the time has arrived when we ought to give suffrage to the women of the country."

REPRESENTATIVE MONDELL of Wyoming concluding for the affirmative said: "Mr. Speaker, I bring the balm of consolation to the agonized soul of the gentleman from Florida [Mr. Clark]. I have been voting, lo these many years, and I have never voted except where women voted. I came from a Commonwealth whose women have been exercising the elective franchise for a little more than half a century, and there are certainly no more patriotic, law-abiding, progressive folks on earth than those of the Commonwealth that first granted full suffrage to women. [Applause.] I think it is a splendid omen that this session of Congress, in which we hope to write upon the statute books a progressive, constructive legislative program, that we begin with the prompt adoption of this great measure of franchise reform.

"I want to congratulate the good women who fought the good fight all these years, and who now see the dawn of the day of final victory. Before this session closes, in my opinion, this resolution will be upon the statute books of the nation. The resolution is in keeping with the spirit of the times; it is in keeping with the onward march of mankind toward better things."

Immediately at the close of the two-hour debate the vote was taken, the overwhelming victory for suffrage resulting.

That the Senate will take prompt action as soon as possible after its organization is completed seems certain. And that the action will be favorable is beyond doubt. On May 22 Senator Hale of Maine declared that he would vote for the amendment, making the third Senator to declare in its favor within a period of two weeks. Senator Hale's vote makes 66 votes publicly pledged and the amendment needs only 64 votes to pass.

MARJORIE SHULER.

THE Woman Citizen

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Analysis of the House Vote

THE total vote on the Federal Suffrage Amendment on May 21, 1919, was seventeen less than that of January 10, 1918, only 393 voting this year to 410 last. But the affirmative vote this year was 30 greater than last.

While the resolution passed the House with only one vote to spare in 1918, it passed this year with 42 to spare.

The Republican affirmative vote of 1919 was 200—35 more than that of last year. The Democratic vote of this year was actually less by two than was that of 1918, but it was practically greater since there were 32 fewer "no" votes cast by the Democrats than were cast last year.

The Republicans cast 14 fewer negative votes this year than last.

In addition to the above count there were two miscellaneous votes for the amendment this year, and two sets of pairs. Of these Scully (Democrat) of New Jersey and Dooling (Democrat) of New York paired in the affirmative, against Ramsay (Republican) of New Jersey. Charles D. Sullivan (Democrat) of New York, and George S. Graham (Republican) Pennsylvania, paired in the affirmative with Frank L. Greene (Republican) of Vermont.

These pairs give three more Democrats and one more Republican to the "yes" column and add two additional Republicans to the "no" column. The final count is, therefore:

Republicans for	201	
Republicans against	21	
Miscellaneous for	2	
		224
Democrats for	105	
Democrats against	70	175
		399

By states the greatest gains are in unexpected places.

Illinois made the most spectacular showing, its 27 members being all present and all voting in the affirmative. Indiana was next, with its solid 13, and Missouri and Minnesota each with only one absent member and all recorded votes in the affirmative.

The most unexpected results came from the South—no longer the Solid South.

Southern gains this year were shown in Arkansas, which had no negative vote; in Kentucky, where the "no" vote changed from four in 1918 to one in 1919; in Maryland, which has lost one negative since last year, and in Missouri which had no negative at all this year as against one in 1918. North Carolina is one to the good this year.

West Virginia out-did itself, being one of the twenty-six states without a "no." Last year one member was paired against the amendment.

The states showing the largest delegations showed also the greatest advance.

Massachusetts had 10 votes against the amendment in 1918; it cut its negative vote in half this year and increased its affirmative vote by 2.

New Jersey, including pairs, showed 8 "yes" votes this year as against 6 last year. It also cut its "no" vote in two.

New York gave 37 of its 43 votes this year to the amendment, 2 better than last year. It also cut off one of its negative votes. Ohio made a splendid advance. Of its twenty-two votes, 19 went to the affirmative this year. Pennsylvania bettered last year's record by five votes in the affirmative and by cutting down

its negative vote from 19 to 8. Texas had 9 "yes" votes this year as against 6 last year, and only 7 "no" votes, as against 12 last year—an actual gain of 8 votes.

States voting solidly "yes"	20
States with all registered votes "aye" but with some votes not recorded	6

Total states with no "nay" votes 26

These states were solidly for:

Arizona, Colorado, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Maine, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Mexico, North Dakota, Oregon, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Utah, Washington, West Virginia, Wyoming.

States with no votes against:

Arkansas, California, Idaho, Minnesota, Missouri, Oklahoma.

Last year six Southern states voted solidly against. These were: Alabama, Delaware, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina. This year the last is the only state to give all her votes to the "nays." In Mississippi there were 6 nays and two votes unrecorded. All of the other Southern states gave at least one vote to the amendment.

In Georgia, the member from the newly enfranchised city of Atlanta, William D. Upshaw, voted "yes."

Of the 29 states where women have been given the right to vote for President, twenty-two were solidly for suffrage. Three of the remainder made gains over the previous year.

The male suffrage states solidly for the amendment were:

New Mexico, New Hampshire, Delaware and West Virginia.

Neck and Neck for Liberty

IN THE same month, almost in the same fortnight, three sister countries are taking national action to extend their ideals of democracy so as to include women.

On May 9th, the Second Chamber in Holland passed by a vote of 64 to 10—more than six to one—the bill to enfranchise Dutch women. That led the way.

On May 20th the French Chamber of Deputies, by a vote of 344 to 97—more than three to one—adopted the bill granting women the right to vote in all elections for members of communal and departmental assemblies. Later dispatches from Paris indicate that the scope of the bill was extended to give women full political rights before its passage. Mme. Dewitt-Schlumberger wired Mrs. Catt on May 24:

Chambre Vote Suffrage Complete.

That made the second country within the month.

The *Christian Science Monitor* carried a Paris despatch of May 22d, which pointed out that the vote was more remarkable "from the fact that the debate had its beginning in a timid report of the commission advocating municipal franchise and nothing more. The whole tone of the discussion was changed by Mr. René Viviani [former premier], who in a magnificent speech appealed to the justice and patriotism of the deputies, pointing to the danger of France being left behind even Germany in a reform which every consideration, both normal and material, made imperative to the reconstruction of the country. Mr. Aristide Briand spoke in the same vein, and amid the cheers of both House and galleries the motion was adopted."

And now, says Viviani, in another despatch of May 24, the Senate is about to take up the measure. "France lags far behind on this question and it will be a disgrace to the Republic if we wait until Ecuador or some other such small nation grants

votes to women before we step into line. I sincerely hope that this bill will not be rejected. Rhetorical homage will no longer satisfy women. They are entitled to vote for an infinite variety of reasons, particularly now, when grievous war taxation confronts them."

On May 21st the American House of Representatives, for the second time within eighteen months, voted to submit the Federal Women Suffrage Amendment to the several states by a vote of 304 to 89—more than three to one.

The third country within the month!

In Holland women have worked twenty-five years to gain their freedom. The present president of the Holland Suffrage Association is Dr. Aletta Jacobs.

In France the struggle of women for the vote began in 1848. Jeanne Deroine and Pauline Roland were imprisoned in 1851 in the Prison of St. Lagare for working for the pacific enfranchisement of both men and women without distinction of sex or profession. Contrary to the oft-repeated statement that French women do not want the ballot, in February of this year, all of Paris was placarded with posters saying: "French women want to vote in 1919." The placard continued, "While England, America, Australia, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Finland and Russia are giving votes to women; while German women even are about to take part in the constituent elections, French women are still in tutelage."

The poster went on to proclaim that it is "as much to fulfill their duties towards the nation as to protect their own rights that French women want to vote."

Among the French women of note who are ardent feminists is Madame Jacquemaire, the daughter of Premier Clemenceau.

The President of l'Union Francaise pour le Suffrage des Femmes is Madame DeWitt Schlumberger.

Both the Holland and American Associations are branches of the International Suffrage Alliance, whose president is Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, also president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

Ye Men of Pinnacle

IN the town of Pinnacle, where men still say that woman's place is in the home, unless they are talking about the charwoman, the stenographer, the trained nurse and the elusive cook, there has been going on for a long time a denatured course of public lectures. These lectures have been milder than Bevo, less than 2.9% stimulating. They are selected by a board of directors—all men—who run them so no new idea shall ever enter the town of Pinnacle.

The audience of men and women has patiently waited to hear something about: The League of Nations; the revolution in Europe; the growth of suffrage in the United States; the new Labor Party; public ownership, for, even in Pinnacle, people peer over the fences of prejudice and sometimes hear the joyful jazz of new ideas. But nothing like that is allowed to happen, by this lecture committee.

Recently brought to book by a more than commonly exasperated protestant, the selecting committee explained that it would not do to increase the strength of the viands offered the public because of the many women in the audience. "For, you know, taking the women as they come, you will never find ten women mentally equal to ten men," said the head of the lecture board, who liked to believe what he said, so as to find somebody he could look down upon. "And we must not go over the heads of our women auditors," he added chivalrously.

"Mail me a list of any ten men in the town and I'll give you, by return mail, a list of women who are every whit their mental equals," shouted the exasperated protestant, who is not a woman.

And he has made his list. It is a long one. On it are women, now inconspicuously managing their own vacuum cleaners and dustless toasters in these maidless days, who have two or more college degrees, who are educational specialists, who have taught in universities or high schools, who are trained musicians, physicians, or lawyers, who have published verse, shown real talent as actresses, managed businesses, edited magazines. And the list is now on its way to the president of the association, who has no college degree to his own name, not even a little B.A.

But the women of Pinnacle are sitting back and grinning while the men show what's in them. They think there is something the matter with any man's sense of humor who doesn't see how funny it is to adapt public movement to that class of the public whose place is—by the decree of the gentlemen who are doing the adapting—somewhere else than in public and whose alleged inferior taste has never been consulted as to what they want to hear.

If men alone can't tell what kind of public speeches women want to hear why should men alone be able to say whether they want to vote or not?

The men of Pinnacle seem to have stumbled into a hornet's nest. Even their own wives won't believe much longer that their husbands are infallible about what they want and what they don't want.

How History Does Repeat Itself!

WE HAVE a splendid theory of a genuine republic, why not realize it and make our government homogeneous from Maine to California. The Republican party has the power to do this and now is its only opportunity."

This is a fragment of a speech made in Washington concerning the passage of a federal suffrage amendment. But it was not made in the year of our Lord 1919. It was made fifty years ago, and by Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

It shows how long the identical arguments which are closing the issue had to be before the political parties before success came. Fifty years ago, as today, suffrage as a party asset was not lost sight of. Men of that day had chosen as president, after a desolating war, a great general.

"Woman suffrage in 1872 may be as good a card for the Republicans as General Grant was in the last elections," went on Mrs. Stanton, who was making a speech before the National Woman Suffrage Convention in Carroll Hall, on the 19th of January, 1869.

"It is said that the Republican party made him (Grant) president because they were afraid the Democrats would take him if they did not. We would suggest that there may be the same danger of Democrats taking up woman suffrage if they do not. In the next Congress the Democratic party will gain thirty-four new members, hence the Republicans have had their last chance to do justice to women. It will be no enviable record for the Fortieth Congress that in the darkest days of the Republic it placed our free institutions in the care and keeping of every type of manhood, ignoring womanhood . . .

"Now when the attention of the whole world is turned to this question of suffrage, and women of England, France, Germany, Switzerland and Russia are holding their conventions . . . while poets, philosophers, statesmen and men of science are all

pointing to woman as the new hope for the redemption of the race, shall the freest government on the earth be the first to establish an aristocracy based on sex alone?"

Women's Emancipation Act

THE following is the text of the Bill introduced by the British Labor party which has passed the British House of Commons and is accounted sure of passage by the Lords:

WHEREAS: By law certain restraints and disabilities are imposed upon women to which men are not liable; and, whereas, it is expedient that such restraints and disabilities shall be henceforth discontinued:

BE it enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty by and with the consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in this present Parliament assembled and by the authority of the same as follows:

1. A woman shall not be disqualified by sex or marriage from holding any civil or judicial office or place of profit or trust under His Majesty, his heirs or successors or under any authority or body, corporate or incorporate, deriving powers directly from any Acts of Parliament, Order in Council, charter or franchise whatsoever.

2. Any special franchises conferred upon women by the Representation of the People Act, 1918, notwithstanding, a woman shall have and may exercise under that Act all such franchises as are therein conferred upon men which she would have been entitled to have and to exercise if she were a man, and in that Act, save where the context otherwise requires, the word "man" shall include "woman."

3. (a) A woman shall not be disqualified by sex or marriage from sitting and voting in the House of Lords if a Peeress in her own right.

(b) It shall be lawful for a woman being a Peeress of Scotland or Ireland in her own right, to vote at the elections of representative Peers of Scotland or Ireland in her own right, to vote at the elections of representative Peers of Scotland or Ireland respectively and to be an elected representative of the peerage of Scotland or Ireland and as such to sit and vote in the House of Lords.

Teachers in Polish Assembly

FOUR of the five women members of the constituent assembly of Poland are teachers. They are Mde. Gabrjela Balicka, a member of the National Popular Bloc—i.e., a coalition of parties of the Right, with the predominance of Mr. Dmowski's National Democratic Party; Mde. M. Moczydlowska, a member of the Polish People's Union, a clerical peasant's party; Mde. Jadwiga Dziubinska, and Mde. Irena Kosmowska. Both of the latter are prominent members of the Polish People's Party, a radical peasant's party, numerically the strongest party of the Left of the House.

Mde. Zofja Moraczewska, wife of Mr. Moraczewska, formerly Prime Minister in the Radical-Socialist Cabinet which preceded the present Paderewski Ministry, is the fifth woman member. She belongs to the Polish Socialist Party (National Socialists), which forms the extreme Left House. To her fell the honor of making the first speech ever made by a woman in the Polish Assembly. She spoke on the improvement of the conditions in which the working people must live.

All five of the women members have been active in social and educational work.



SECRETARY BAKER DECORATING DR. SHAW WITH THE DISTINGUISHED SERVICE MEDAL

Dr. Shaw On the Peace Terms

TO any woman reading the terms of the peace treaty with Germany if she had had no previous knowledge of the conditions from which they sprung they would doubtless seem severe and she would feel dismayed in the fall of the burdens the children's children for generations must bear to pay the debt imposed, but when one remembers what was back of them, the desolation and ruin which could never be restored, the losses which neither money nor tears nor repenting could repay, the outrages perpetrated against women of a world brought to the verge of bankruptcy, then one could realize, severe as are the terms of peace, they are just and that their justice is tempered with mercy.

If instead of railing at the peace treaty and the Allies, the German people will cease destroying each other, and seek to establish a government based upon sanity, justice, and industry at home and, in a spirit of a national recognition of the unspeakable crimes which she has perpetrated against other countries, will seek international equity and peace, there will arise within herself a new birth of human kindness and self respect which in time will win the respect which she has forfeited by her egoistic arrogance and pride. With all the boasted religious fervor of her Kaiser, neither he nor the people have yet learned the immutable law of life, that the sins of the Fathers shall be visited upon the children to the third and fourth generation. This is the Law of God, and Germany is to learn it, and justly and mercifully bear it. Through the knowledge she may save her soul alive.

ANNA HOWARD SHAW.

A Situation

SPEAKING of the millions of women who will be qualified to vote for President next year, raising the total to something like 15,500,000, the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* says: "They are scattered through all sections from one coast to the other. Three hundred and two of the electoral votes in the next college will represent states where women participate in their selection.

"Here is a situation of much significance in the great contest of 1920. Leaders of both parties must perforce pay heed to the wishes of these millions of women voters, some hundreds of thousands of whom will exercise their franchise for the first time next year. It would seem that no one widely known as an opponent of equal suffrage need harbor any presidential ambitions in the face of this potential power at the polls. Any such man is ruled out by circumstances before even the preliminaries of the battle of 1920 begin."

Notes and Comment by A. S. B.

THE American Woman's Hospitals, organized by the War Service Committee of the Medical Women's National Association, have started on a nation-wide movement to raise \$250,000, to send into Serbia two mobile hospitals, automobile dispensaries, doctors, nurses, and a full tenting equipment. This is in answer to an urgent request from the Serbian Government, setting forth that medical aid is needed at once to combat the fearful diseases and epidemics which it is helpless to fight alone. Unlike most governments, it wants women doctors, and asks particularly for them. This is no wonder, in view of the magnificent service rendered to the suffering Serbians by the Scottish Women's Hospitals in past years.

The women physicians of Massachusetts are organized, with Dr. Emily Clark McLeod as chairman and such women on the executive committee as Doctors Emma B. Culbertson, Marian Coon, Florence W. Duckering, Elizabeth B. Cahill, Helen I. Doherty, Blanche A. Denig, Agnes C. Vietor and Jane Kelly Sabine.

Women's clubs throughout the State are lending their support, and the W. C. T. U., the Y. W. C. A., the Suffrage Association and the Women's Colleges are also aiding the movement. The Massachusetts headquarters is at 24 Newbury Street, Boston. Contributions may be sent to American Women's Hospitals, care Old Colony Trust Co., Bay State Branch, Boston, Mass.

This is a drive of women, by women, for the men, women and children of disease-swept Serbia. The physicians are already assembled, all that is needed is the money for the necessary equipment.

The good service of the American Women's Hospitals in France and the Near East is already well known. They have accomplished wonderful work and many of the doctors have been decorated by the French government.

The women physicians are striving in every possible way to raise the required sum and so to answer at once the urgent call of the Serbian government.

AN ALLUSION was made in a recent editorial to profiteering by the Meat Packers' Combine—the so-called "Beef Trust." This has called out a long letter to the *Woman Citizen* from Swift & Co. claiming that their rate of profit is very low, so low that if they had charged one cent a pound less for meat than they actually did last year, they would have had a deficit of \$27,000,000, instead of making any profit at all. The letter ends with the announcement that a copy of their Year Book may be had on application.

It will be very proper for the readers of the *Woman Citizen* to send for this Year Book, and to read the packers' side of the case. They should also without fail write to their congressmen and secure the official report of the Federal Trade Commission, which was appointed by the government to investigate the activities of the packers. They should also send for the report of the recent Congressional hearings on the same subject.

After reading both sides, in my opinion they will be convinced that the packers have secured a strangle-hold on the meat business of the country, and also on the principal meat substitutes, such as eggs, and that they are fast extending their monopoly grip to cover the whole food supply. They control the machinery of distribution; therefore they are able to say to the raiser of cattle, "Sell to us, at whatever price we choose to give, or you cannot sell at all"; and at the same time they say to the consumer, "Buy from us, at whatever price we choose to ask, or you must, go without food." They are thus in a position which enables

them to profiteer without limit. They declare that they have not done so; but those who have read the report of the government investigation are likely to receive their statements with a good deal of skepticism.

The official representative of the Consumers' League sat through the recent Congressional hearings on this question, and heard the whole testimony. She told me afterwards that the disclosures were not only sensational, but amazing, and that the failure of the press to give them out to the public was a scandal. We all see the huge advertisements which the packers are running in the newspapers, at enormous expense. There is a wide spread belief that it done to dissuade editors from calling attention to the facts that were brought out in the exposures.

But let the women read both sides, and then make up their minds for themselves.

THE splendid vote for the suffrage amendment in the U. S. House of Representatives has been a surprise to suffragists throughout the country. We expected it to pass, but not by the magnificent majority of almost four to one.

To the anti-suffragists the surprise must have been of a less agreeable kind. Up to the last moment, their officers and their official organ had stoutly declared that a reaction against suffrage was setting in, that "inadequate" suffragists were coming over in large numbers to the opposition, and that in several of the enfranchised states equal suffrage was about to be repealed. "There are none so blind as those who will not see"; but in the vote of 304 to 89 it would seem that even the wilfully blind must at last behold the hand writing on the wall.

IN THOSE uncivilized countries where women are still openly treated as chattels, there are curious ways of estimating the value of a wife.

A bear ham is the price of a wife among the Ainus. The Kaffir figure varies from four to eight oxen, according to the competition for the particular bride. A score of cartridges buys a wife in Uganda, the Australian black gives the weight of his better-half in butter, and the Tartars in Turkestan are said to get as many wives as they want at the rate of a box of matches each.

If news from America ever filters through to those Tartars, how bewildered they will be by the vote of the U. S. House of Representatives on woman suffrage!

THE recent adoption of equal suffrage in Oklahoma brought joy to many women, and it put an end to a particularly anomalous situation in the case of one. This was Mrs. S. M. Salter, formerly Mayor of Argonia, Kansas.

When Kansas extended municipal suffrage to women in 1887, she was the first woman in Kansas, and probably the first in the world, to be chosen as mayor. Old newspaper readers will remember the excitement caused by her election. Argonia was a small town of about 600 population. It had been settled by Quakers, and Mrs. Salter was the daughter of its first mayor, Oliver Kinsey.

She made a good mayor, but a few years later she and her husband moved away from Kansas, and she lost her vote. She is now living in Norman, Oklahoma, and at the recent municipal elections she voted again, for the first time in twenty-five years.

At the rate things are now moving, it looks as if it would soon be possible for a woman to migrate to any part of the civilized world without losing her vote.

The House Vote

Yea	Nay	Not Voting	Total Vote
ALABAMA			
Oliver.....D	McDuffie.....D	Huddleston....D	
	Dent.....D		
	Steagall.....D		
	Blackmon.....D		
	Hefflin.....D		
	Almon.....D	(1 not listed)	
	Bankhead.....D		
— 1	— 7	— 2	10

ARIZONA			
Hayden.....D			
— 1			

ARKANSAS			
Goodwin.....D			
Tillman.....D		Caraway.....D	
Wingo.....D			
Oldfield.....D			
Jacoway.....D			
Taylor.....D			
— 6		— 1	7

CALIFORNIA			
Lea.....D		Kahn.....R	
Raker.....D			
Curry.....R			
Nolan.....R			
Elston.....R			
Hersman.....D			
Barbour.....R			
Randall...Prohib.			
Osborne.....R			
Kettner.....D			
— 10		— 1	11

COLORADO			
Vaile.....R			
Timberlake.....R			
Hardy.....R			
Taylor.....D			
— 4		— 4	8

CONNECTICUT			
Loneragan.....D	Tilson.....R	Glynn.....R	
Freeman.....R			
Merritt.....R			
— 3	— 1	— 1	5

DELAWARE			
Layton.....R			
— 1		— 1	2

FLORIDA			
Drane.....D	Clark.....D		
Smithwick.....D			
Sears.....D			
— 3	— 1	— 4	8

GEORGIA			
Upshaw.....D	Overstreet.....D	Lee.....D	
	Park.....D	Larsen.....D	
	Crisp.....D		
	Wright.....D		
	Brand.....D		
	Bell.....D		
	Vinson.....D		
	Lankford.....D		
	Wise.....D		
— 1	— 9	— 2	12

IDAHO			
French.....R		Smith.....R	
— 1		— 1	2

ILLINOIS			
Madden.....R			
Mann.....R			
Wilson.....R			
Rainey (J. W.)...D			
McAndrews.....D			
Sabath.....D			
Juul.....R			
Gallagher.....D			
Britten.....R			
Chindblom.....R			
Copley.....R			
Fuller.....R			
McKenzie.....R			
Graham.....R			
King.....R			
Ireland.....R			
Smith.....R			
Cannon.....R			
McKinley.....R			

Yea	Nay	Not Voting	Total Vote
INDIANA			
Rainey (H. T.)...D			
Wheeler.....R			
Rodenburg.....R			
Brooks.....R			
Williams.....R			
Denison.....R			
Yates.....R			
Mason.....R			
— 27		— 1	28

IOWA			
Kennedy.....R	Hull.....R		
Sweet.....R			
Haugen.....R			
Good.....R			
Ramseyer.....R			
Dowell.....R			
Towner.....R			
Green.....R			
Dickinson.....R			
Boies.....R			
— 10	— 1		11

KANSAS			
Ayres.....D			
Anthony.....R			
Little.....R			
Campbell.....R			
Hoch.....R			
Strong.....R			
Tincher.....R			
White.....R			
— 8		— 1	9

KENTUCKY			
Barkley.....D	Rouse.....D		
Kincheloe.....D			
Thomas.....D			
Johnson.....D			
Ogden.....R			
Cantrill.....D			
Fields.....D			
Langley.....R			
Robison.....R			
— 9	— 1	(1 not listed)	11

LOUISIANA			
Aswell.....D	Martin.....Prog.	Dupre.....D	
	Watkins.....D		
	Wilson.....D		
	Sanders.....D	(1 not listed)	
	Lazaro.....D		
— 1	— 5	— 2	8

MAINE			
Goodall.....R			
White.....R			
Peters.....R			
Hersey.....R			
— 4			4

MARYLAND			
Andrews.....R	Benson.....D		
Linthicum.....D	Coady.....D		
Zihlman.....R	Mudd.....R		
— 3	— 3		6

MASSACHUSETTS			
Treadway.....R	Paige.....R	Gallivan.....D	paired
Winslow.....R	Tinkham.....R	Olney.....D	
Rogers.....R	Luce.....R		
Lufkin.....R	Walsh.....R		
Phelan.....D	Greene.....R		
Dallinger.....R		(Gillett, speaker)	
Fuller.....Indep.			
Fitzgerald.....D			
— 8	— 5	— 3	16

State by State

Total
Vote

27

13

11

8

11

8

4

5

Yea	Nay	Not Voting	Total Vote
MICHIGAN			
Michener.....R	Doremus.....D	James.....R	
Smith.....R			
Hamilton.....R			
Mapes.....R			
Kelley.....R			
Cramton.....R			
Fordney.....R			
McLaughlin.....R			
Currie.....R			
Scott.....R			
Nichols.....R			
— 11	— 1	— 1	— 13
MINNESOTA			
Anderson.....R			
Ellsworth.....R			
Davis.....R			
Newton.....R			
Knutson.....R			
Volstead.....R			
Carss.....I			
Steenerson.....R			
Schall.....R			
— 9		(1 not listed)	— 10
MISSISSIPPI			
Candler.....D	Humphreys.....D		
Stephens.....D	Quin.....D		
Sisson.....D			
Venable.....D			
Johnson.....D			
Collier.....D			
— 6		— 2	— 8
MISSOURI			
Romjue.....D		McPherson...R	
Rucker.....D			
Alexander.....D			
Booher.....D			
Bland.....D			
Dickinson.....D			
Major.....D			
Nelson.....D			
Clark.....D			
Newton.....R			
Igoe.....D			
Dyer.....R			
Rhodes.....R			
Hays.....R			
Rubey.....D			
— 15		— 1	— 16
MONTANA			
Evans.....D			
Riddick.....R			
— 2		— 2	— 2
NEBRASKA			
Reavis.....R			
Jefferies.....R			
McLaughlin.....R			
Andrews.....R			
Kincaid.....R			
Evans.....R			
— 6		— 6	— 6
NEVADA			
Evans.....D			
— 1		— 1	— 1
NEW HAMPSHIRE			
Burroughs.....R			
Wason.....R			
— 2		— 2	— 2
NEW JERSEY			
Bacharach.....R	Browning.....R	Radcliffe.....R	
Hutchinson.....R		Hamill.....D	
Ackerman.....R			
McGlennon.....D			
Minahan.....D			
Lehlbach.....R			
Eagen.....D			
— 7	— 1	— 2	— 12
NEW MEXICO			
Hernandez.....R			
— 1		— 1	— 1
NEW YORK			
Cullen.....D	Riordan.....D	Caldwell.....D	
Hicks.....R	Dunn.....R	Gould.....R	
McCrane.....D	Sanders.....R		

Yea

Nay

Not Voting

Total
Vote

Johnston.....D			
Rowe.....R			
Mead.....D			
Maher.....D			
Clary.....D			
O'Connell.....D			
Haskell.....R			
Goldfogle.....D			
La Guardia.....R			
Smith.....D			
Pell.....D			
Carew.....R			
Rowan.....R			
Siegel.....R			
Reed.....R			
Donovan.....D			
Griffin.....D			
McKinery.....D			
Ganley.....D			
Husted.....R			
Platt.....R			
Ward.....R			
Sanford.....R			
Parker.....R			
Crowther.....R			
Mott.....R			
Snyder.....R			
Hill.....R			
Magee.....R			
MacGregor.....R			
Houghton.....R			
Dempsey.....R			
— 35	— 3	— 2	— 43
NORTH CAROLINA			
Godwin.....D	Small.....D		
Weaver.....R	Kitchin.....D		
	Brinson.....D		
	Pou.....D		
	Stedman.....D		
	Robinson.....D		
	Doughton.....D		
	Webb.....D		
— 2	— 8		— 10
NORTH DAKOTA			
Baer.....Ind			
Young.....R			
Sinclair.....R			
— 3			— 3
OHIO			
Longworth.....R	Gard.....D	Brumbaugh...D	
Emerson.....R	Stephens.....R		
Welty.....D			
Thompson.....R			
Kearns.....R			
Fess.....R			
Cole.....R			
Sherwood.....D			
Foster.....R			
Ricketts.....R			
Begg.....R			
Davey.....D			
Moore.....R			
McCulloch.....R			
Ashbrook.....D			
Murphy.....R			
Cooper.....R			
Mooney.....D			
Babka.....D			
— 19	— 2	— 1	— 22
OKLAHOMA			
Howard.....D		Thompson....D	
Hastings.....D			
Carter.....D			
McKeown.....D			
Ferris.....D			
McClintic.....D			
Morgan.....R			
— 7		— 1	— 8
OREGON			
Hawley.....R			
Sinnott.....R			
McArthur.....R			
— 3			— 3
PENNSYLVANIA			
Vare.....R	Moore.....R	Edmands.....R	
McLane.....D	Watson.....R	Kreider.....R	
McFadden.....R	Dewalt.....D	Morin.....R	

(Continued on page 1159)

Mother, Home, and Politics

CHRISTENING
Nashville's suffrage
fire engine.



MRS. GUILFORD DUDLEY AT THE WHEEL
OF THE "ANNE DALLAS DUDLEY"

Anne Dallas Dudley

WHO speeds at danger's blighting flame?
Anne Dallas Dudley.
To save the home, her worthy aim;
Anne Dallas Dudley.
"The fire is out," her slogan's fame,
Just mark, 'twill ever be the same,
It's in the magic of the name,
Anne Dallas Dudley.

Who never falters in a race?
Anne Dallas Dudley.
Deliverance in her winsome face,
Anne Dallas Dudley.
Whene'er, where'er she sets the pace
It's apt to be the safest place.
Of suffrage, she's our Southern ace—
Anne Dallas Dudley.

BY any other name, we feel,
Anne Dallas Dudley,
This trusty horse of iron and steel,
Anne Dallas Dudley.
Would scarcely have the same appeal,
Or miracles of help reveal—
Anne Dallas Dudley.

So here's to speed you on your way,
Anne Dallas Dudley.
To save the life, to save the day,
Anne Dallas Dudley.
Your namesake never failed us yet;
That you won't fail we'll place our bet,
Eternally we're in your debt,
Anne Dallas Dudley.

—MRS. CLYDE SHROPSHIRE.

Women's Independence Day

WOMEN'S Independence Day will be celebrated in Rhode Island on July 1, 1919. This day marks an important milestone in the political emancipation of the women of that state as it is the first day in the state's history that the women have had the right to register to vote. The State Legislature granted the women the right of Presidential suffrage in 1917 and they will exercise this right for the first time in the 1920 Presidential election. Registration books will be open to women from July 1, 1919, to July 1, 1920.

In order to give fitting recognition to the "first day of freedom," the Rhode Island Women's Citizenship Committee, of which Mrs. James W. Algeo, of Providence, is chairman, has suggested the following program to be carried out throughout the state:

9 A. M. A friendly contest in every town and city in the state at the place of registration, usually the town or city hall, for the opportunity of being the first to register. It has been suggested in Providence that the women draw lots for the first twenty-five lucky numbers.

12 A. M. A meeting at noon in every city and town in front of the city or town hall with music and speakers on citizenship, this meeting to be arranged by a local committee of women.

The movement has been taken up with enthusiasm and each of the thirty-nine towns of the state will celebrate the day. Local committees of women have been appointed and members of the several town councils have been most ready to cooperate in extending a welcome to the new voters into the Rhode Island electorate. A number of speakers from neighboring states will participate in the activities of Women's Independence Day.

Rhode Island has been doing commendable work in preparing the new voters for their new privilege. Mrs. Algeo as Chairman of the Citizenship Committee, which has been working in co-operation with this branch of the work of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, in a letter to suffragists has

summed up something of the work accomplished as follows:

"It was through the unremitting efforts of our Legislative Committee, that the 'Act to Promote Americanization,' providing for compulsory education in English and a director in Americanization under the State Board of Education, was passed by this year's Legislature.

"About five thousand handbooks, 'Suggestions to the Women Voters of Rhode Island,' containing full information about Naturalization and Registration, and costing nearly five hundred dollars, have been distributed to the women of the state. Many more of these could be used to splendid advantage if we had the funds to secure them.

"Through meetings, citizenship classes, newspaper articles and other forms of propaganda we have tried to instill high ideals of American citizenship in the new electorate."

Forty Years Later

ON April 4, 1879, the *Kansas City Times* carried the following item of news: "Some women in Kansas City still think there is a possibility that their sex will be given the voting privilege some day. There will be a national convention of suffrage advocates in St. Louis early in May."

On April 5, 1919, just forty years later, Governor Gardner signed the bill granting presidential suffrage to the women of Missouri. Not for one moment had the Missouri women ceased "to think suffrage was a possibility." In the result the state of Missouri has taken a forward place among the progressive states of the Union.

Women to Take Census

THE naturalization law having failed to pass the last session of the Idaho Legislature, the women's clubs of the state will take a census of aliens, together with the gathering of data as to citizenship and education. It is planned to make a card index of the data thus obtained to be placed in the office of the Secretary of State.

House Vote by States

(Continued from page 1157)

Yea	Nay	Not Voting	Total Vote	Yea	Nay	Not Voting	Total Vote
Darrow.....R	Leshner.....D	Crago.....R		Goodykoontz...R			
Butler.....R	Focht.....R	Burke.....R		Echols.....R			
Griest.....R	Brooks.....R				6		6
Casey.....D	Steele.....D			WISCONSIN			
Reber.....R	Garland.....R			Randall.....R	Voigt.....R		
Kiess.....R				Monahan.....R	Lampert.....R		
Rose.....R				Klecza.....R			
Jones.....R				Esch.....R			
Kendall.....R				Browne.....R			
Temple.....R				Classon.....R			
Shreve.....R				Frear.....R			
Strong.....R				Nelson.....R			
Hulings.....R					8	2	1
Porter.....R				WYOMING			
Campbell.....D				Mondell.....R			
Walters.....R					1		1
Costello.....R				Lanham.....R			
Willson.....R					1		
21	8	5	36				
	(2 paired)						
RHODE ISLAND							
Burdick.....R							
Stiness.....R							
Kennedy.....R							
3			3				
SOUTH CAROLINA							
Whaley.....D							
Byrnes.....D							
Dominick.....D							
Nicholls.....D							
Stevenson.....D							
Ragsdale.....D							
Lever.....D							
7			7				
SOUTH DAKOTA							
Christopherson..R							
Johnson.....R							
Gandy.....D							
3			3				
TENNESSEE							
Sells.....R	Moon.....D						
Taylor.....R	Hull.....D						
Davis.....D	Garrett.....D						
Byrns.....D							
Padgett.....D							
Sims.....D							
Fisher.....D							
7	3		10				
TEXAS							
Box.....D	Black.....D	Connally.....D					
Young.....D	Rayburn.....D						
Summers.....D	Hardy.....D						
Briggs.....D	Eagle.....D						
Parrish.....D	Mansfield.....D						
Bee.....D	Buchanan.....D						
Hudspeth.....D	Garner.....D						
Blanton.....D		(1 not listed)					
Jones.....D							
9	7	2	18				
UTAH							
Welling.....D							
Mays.....D							
2			2				
VERMONT							
		Dale.....R					
		Greene.....R					
		answered present					
		2	2				
VIRGINIA							
Slemp.....R	Bland.....D						
	Holland.....D						
	Montague.....D						
	Watson.....D	(1 not listed)					
	Saunders.....D						
	Harrison.....D						
	Flood.....D						
	Woods.....D						
	8		10				
WASHINGTON							
Miller.....R							
Hadley.....R							
Johnson.....R							
Summers.....R							
Webster.....R							
5			5				
WEST VIRGINIA							
Neely.....D							
Bowers.....R							
Reed.....R							
Woodyard.....R							

Do You Let Women Vote?

IT is growing stylish for women who contemplate moving from one state to another to find out in advance what the status of suffrage is in the commonwealth which they are considering as their future home. The Chamber of Commerce of Jacksonville, Florida, reports receiving a letter from a woman in Culpepper, Virginia, who is manifestly anxious to improve her legal and political position, and manifestly with good reason.

"Do you let women vote in Florida?" she asks pertinently. "In this state 'nearest of kin' can take absolute control of person and property belonging to women, if they appeal to the court—under some pretext—where property is involved—and thus no woman is safe in attempting to do business upon her own responsibility. Large estates are often confiscated by over anxious 'nearest of kin' and women left in reduced circumstances. What rating do you give woman?"

It's a pity—that the secretary of the Chamber of Commerce could not give a very reassuring answer. Florida's Legislature stupidly passed up its opportunity to give Florida women the vote this spring, not realizing probably that women the country over, women of wealth and resource, women who can bring rich contributions, in money, or in talent, watch a state's reaction to the suffrage question and measure its progressiveness thereby. So stupid indeed was the action of the Florida Legislature as seen by prominent Florida women, that state division is now talked of as the way to solve the suffrage situation in Florida. The northwestern part of the state is held responsible for reactionary legislators that pig-headedly resist argument. One of these self-same legislators declared against a referendum for Florida, because "if submitted it would surely pass." The support that suffrage gets comes from other parts of the state.

Mrs. Frank Stranahan, Legislative Chairman of the Florida Equal Suffrage Association, points out that many of the northwestern counties have "double the representation of other counties, and their vote was for the most part divided on the question of suffrage or solidly against. Reapportionment might adjust that. The question is: 'Will those reactionaries agree to reapportionment?'"

To Represent Ohio

MISS FLORENCE E. ALLEN, of Cleveland, has been appointed Ohio's representative on the Women's Committee of the National Democratic Party. Miss Allen is an ardent worker in the Ohio Woman Suffrage Association and enjoys the distinction of being the first woman appointed to a public office in the City of Cleveland, having been appointed assistant in the office of County Prosecutor.

Our Children's Page

A Baby Aristocracy

THE babies of Brockton, Mass., have their own aristocratic circle to which only the most fortunate babies can belong. In a study just made public the Children's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor shows that the baby who belonged to the so-called "aristocracy" had a much better chance of living than the baby who could not qualify.

To be a member of the aristocracy a baby had to meet five requirements, selected because the Bureau's studies of nearly 25,000 babies have proved their worth in saving babies' lives.

First, the father must have earned a fair wage. Second, the mother must not have been gainfully employed either during the year before or the year after the baby's birth. She must in the third place have had at least fair medical care when the baby was born. Fourth, both father and mother must have been able to read and write. Finally, the house the baby lived in must have been well-ventilated, clean, sanitary, and not over-crowded.

Only 205 of the 1,210 babies born alive in Brockton in the year studied could meet these requirements. Fifteen of the 205 died before they were a year old, so that the infant mortality rate for the "aristocracy" was 73 per thousand, 24 points more favorable than the rate for Brockton as a whole. The advantages of belonging to this sort of an aristocracy are further emphasized when it is pointed out that of the 1,005 babies who could not qualify for the "aristocracy" 112 died before they were a year old, making their infant mortality rate 111—a rate fourteen points less favorable than that for Brockton as a whole, and thirty-eight points less favorable than that for the "aristocracy."

Fifty-five per cent of the Brockton babies were barred from the "aristocracy" because their fathers' earnings were less than the standard established. On the other hand, wages in Brockton were comparatively good. Trade union conditions prevailed.

THE mothers of less than a fifth of the Brockton babies were gainfully employed during some part of the baby's first year. In this respect Brockton babies were lucky, for in the neighboring city of New Bedford two-fifths of the mothers included in a similar study had worked to supplement the family income.

Few babies were excluded on the score that their mothers had not had medical care when they were born. On the other hand, the proportion of deaths in the first day and in the first month of life was unusually high. During this early period the baby's chance of life is largely dependent on the care the mother had before the baby was born and at his birth. "Brocton's most crying need," the report includes, "seems to be that of an adequate force of nurses to do prenatal work, as well as a clinic where expectant mothers might obtain advice and medical care."

A number of babies were unable to qualify for the "aristocracy" because their mothers could not read and write. The report points out that invaluable sources of information on the care of her baby are closed to the illiterate mother.

Housing conditions were required to meet a fixed standard, also. The greatest mortality was found among the babies who lived in the most congested homes. But Brockton has as yet no acute housing problem, and the majority of the babies included in the study were comfortably housed. The report recommends the passage of laws to preclude the possibility of future overcrowding.

Although on each point separately the number of babies in

unfavorable surroundings is small, yet 83 per cent of Brocton's babies failed to meet one or more of the requirements, and fell into the larger group where the hazards were greater than among the "Baby Aristocracy."

Child Labor Law

THE new federal child labor law, recently declared unconstitutional by Judge Loyd of the western judicial district of North Carolina, does not contain any reference to interstate commerce, according to the National Child Labor Committee. "There is a misconception in the public mind," says Owen R. Lovejoy, General Secretary of the Committee, in a statement issued today, "concerning the basis of the child labor amendment to the revenue act. While it is true that the child labor law of 1916 confined its prohibition to the shipment in interstate commerce of child-made goods, the present law of 1919 places a ten per cent tax on the profits of establishments employing children, regardless of whether their products are shipped into another state or remain in the state where they are manufactured. The standards—a 14-year-age limit for work in factories, mills, canneries, and manufacturing establishments; a 16-year limit for employment in mines and quarries, and an 8-hour day and no night-work for children between fourteen and sixteen—are the same as those established by the former act, and this fact may have given rise to the confusion about the basis of the law."

Concerning the probable action of the Supreme Court, in the matter, Mr. Lovejoy has this to say: "Unless the Supreme Court goes squarely back on its previous decisions, it will not affirm Judge Boyd's decision of unconstitutionality. The fact that Congress sought to do by indirection what it could not accomplish by direct prohibition, has nothing to do with the case. Congress has in the past laid a prohibitive tax calculated to destroy the article taxed—notably in the case of colored oleomargarine, state bank notes, and the manufacture of phosphorous matches. Its power to do this has twice been upheld by the Court and I have every confidence that the Court will do so for the third time in the child labor case."

Mothering in Montana

A HOMESTEADING county of Montana, its provision or lack of provision for mothers and their babies, is the subject of a recent study by the Children's Bureau. The study covers a county as large as the entire state of Connecticut, which gives some idea of one handicap of these mothers and children, namely, isolation. In this county 463 families where the mothers had borne children within a five-year period were visited. More than a hundred had left their homes to be confined; of the rest only 129 were attended by physicians. The rest had no competent care: eight mothers died and many suffered serious complications. There are no railroads in the county and the picture that appears throughout the study of the desolation and danger of isolation is appalling. Bad winter weather is a tragedy dreaded by whole families. Bad roads or none at all, simply trails not usable at same seasons, winding across wastes of melancholy prairie is one cause of lack of care. One father, in discussing the need of better maternity and infant care, remarked, "First get the county commissioners to put in roads that would make it possible for the doctor to arrive here if we did have him within calling distance. In the spring, when the water is high, and

we can not cross, we are cut off from the world as effectually as though we were on an island." Often long delays in first-class mail create very difficult situations. In one instance a mother decided to go for her confinement to the home of her sister, twenty-five miles away, but within two miles of a physician. The mother wrote to the physician three months in advance to engage him. When she went at the appointed time the physician was away and she was confined without a doctor's services. On account of winter and bad roads he did not receive her letter until a week after the baby was born.

Cattle die of cold and hunger. This shortens the food supply. No help can be got in emergencies and sometimes whole families die in the bitter cold alone. Said one mother: "It is maddening to be tied up the six long months of winter, day after day, with no break, and always in fear that the baby will be taken sick and we should be unable to get her to a doctor. It is dangerous to go after coal, because storms come up suddenly, and then the men get lost easily. Last winter we ran out of coal in January, and we ran out of feed in April, and seventy cows perished from hunger."

LIFE was hard in other ways among these pioneer mothers, who, most of them, did laborious work up to the very hour of childbirth. Theirs was not a matter so much of poverty as of the conditions incident to pioneer life. Housing was necessarily crude and often insanitary, and water scarce and difficult to get. One family hauled drinking water five miles and water for other uses three or four.

Under these conditions the fairly high infant mortality of 71 per thousand was found, lower than the rate for cities, but almost twice as high as that for fertile Kansas. Most of the mothers were intelligent in feeding their babies and so eager for advice that they came many miles to the children's health conferences conducted by the Bureau and the State Board of Health. This intelligence is a fortunate circumstance, in view of the dearth of physicians and their charges, which, like the general cost of living in the state, are exorbitantly high.

At a local health conference a committee of the inhabitants of this county petitioned the State Board of County Commissioners for a visiting nurse, which a law of the 1917 Legislature had empowered the counties to appoint. This law the report especially commends and makes the following comment on the beginnings of work for the welfare of mother and child in Montana: "In any discussion of state activities it must be remembered that Montana is a young and largely rural state, which was practically uninhabited until 1860 and was admitted to the Union only in 1889. These facts increase the credit for her many progressive legislative accomplishments, a few of which affect directly the well-being of mothers and babies in rural districts as well as in cities. Her active State Board of Health; the fact that Montana was among the first states to create a child-welfare division in the state board of health and to encourage rural public-health nursing by a law which permits counties and rural districts to employ public-health nurses; her model birth-registration law, even though it is not yet everywhere enforced—these are among the things to be mentioned."

Crude and difficult as living is shown to be in Montana, the report forms a striking contrast to that of a North Carolina county reviewed in the *Woman Citizen* of May 10, 1919, in that the people show evidence of ambition and higher ideals of living. It is this demand for better things that has made this state of vast areas pass health legislation worthy of the Bureau's commendation.

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The Book Stall

Housewifery as a Business

AMONG Lippincott's Home Manuals—all of which thus far have been scientific and thorough-going, now appears Lydia Ray Balderston's "Housewifery: A Manual and Text Book of Practical Housekeeping."

It presents a course for the woman homemaker which ought to give her a three-lettered title, something like E. E. S.—"Expert in Every Science." Why has no one ever thought up

a degree for these women who must know all sciences at once in order to carry on one?

The author of the text book now offered lays out a program which would floor a mechanical engineer. She starts off by defining Housewifery as "the concern of the person versed in everything pertaining to a group of individuals living under one roof."

The sciences demanded of women include, in addition to the generally accepted housework for women, an understanding of plumbing, heating and lighting; disinfectants and fumigants; household pests, etc.

Of course, in their unclassified and misdirected way, women have always gathered information about these things. To study them now from an authoritative, scientific standpoint ought to ease and steady the housewife's task rather than overburden it.

Chances are, however, that the charts laid out by Mrs. Balderston in her very first chapters will rather frighten than stimulate the average busy house-mother. To ask a woman, rushing to get a twelve o'clock lunch for the school children, to keep a system of score cards indicating "time-and-motion-study" of efficient methods of washing dishes and blacking the stove, would seem like piling Pelion upon Ossa.

IT is, no doubt true that the present chaos about housework rests upon the old tradition that "each house is an individual problem" and that it detracts from the sacrosanct home to make public one's particular methods of carrying it on.

What that incurable pragmatist, woman, will get out of Mrs. Balderston's book will be specific help in time of trouble. She will skip many pages and unerringly put her finger on page 23, for instance, in order to find out how to make hard water soft enough to create a suds and not chap her hands.

Her interest in plumbing will rise to the maximum when she has a burning need to know how to dispose of the household waste at her seashore cottage or summer farm. Then she will eat up dry pages of detail, which otherwise she might shy at.

There is a wealth of such specific information in this book, which ought to be at one's hand. The best way to use it is the easy way and the natural way; first, as a book of reference, to solve daily practical problems which

arise in every home. Afterwards, as interest grows and one finds leisure, its academic features will look less forbidding, and the conscientious intelligent housekeeper will become an expert without knowing it.

FOUR other books of this same series—previously noticed in the *WOMAN CITIZEN*—should be available to women who want to qualify as household experts. They are: "The Business of the Household," by C. W. Taber—a work on home dietetics; "Home and Community Hygiene," by Jean Broadhurst, Ph. D.; "Successful Canning and Preserving," by Ola Powell; "Clothing for Women," by Laura I. Baldt; and "Millinery," by Evelyn Smith Tobey.

One wonders how many men there are who try to understand as many slightly related sciences as are covered in this series in order to carry on successfully their appointed tasks.

Life's Values Awry

THERE is honest sentiment, there is mawkish sentimentality and then there is Temple Bailey's "Tin Soldier," (Penn Publishing Company, Philadelphia.)

This is a story whose mechanism is two-fifths false representation and three-fifths gush. Its *tour de force* is making every one seem to be what he isn't. It's the only trick in the pack of this author whose technique of construction is as naïve as that of children running about with false faces at Hallowe'en.

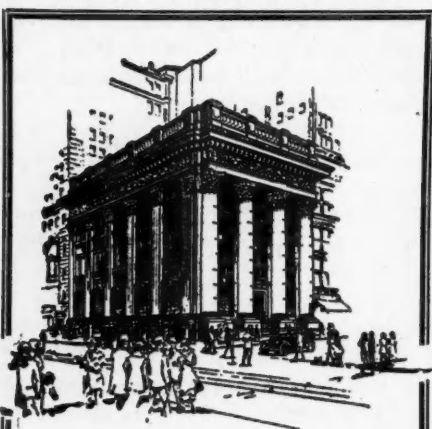
The hero who comes on the scene in shabby clothes with no reason given is rich to boredom. The heroine who sells a home-made brand of little wooden ducks in a toy shop never could have earned any money and never needed to.

Emily of the Toy Shop drops her mask as an old, old maid and becomes a lively young one in time to marry her German, whose name belies him, for he really hates the Kaiser.

As to Hilda, who ought to have been nursing the general in a state where the Prohibition law is enforced, she merely throws her nursing ethics overboard and runs a "Blind Tiger" for her own ends.

Jean, the heroine with the crinkly copper hair and the habit of cutting out ducks with a jig-saw, has a physician father, who lends himself to the stage pose of "daddy-who-is-daughter's-pal."

Jean was awfully womanly and horribly



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patriotic. She yearned to be brave; but when it came to the point of giving up something she really wanted for the good of her country it took the combined coaxing of father and lover and friend to hold her up to it.

The Toy Shop wasn't very serious either: it was put in for stage make-up and local color.

And Derry Drake, whose papa fell a victim once too often to the little habit of singing the Battle Hymn of the Republic in a drunken tenor under the bridge in the damp night air, was the "tin soldier," who had to go about in civilian clothes when all the rest of his set wore khaki uniforms. And all along of his promise to his dead mother, whose portrait hung on the stairs.

CURSED with rolling rrs by this promise, Derry, the embarrassingly rich young lover of Jean of the wooden ducks, just shaved past the tragedy of being misunderstood. People who wore Red Cross veils and khaki puttees began to look askance at Derry. They didn't know the facts about the general or of the promise to mother whose portrait, hanging on the stairs, punctuated every tearful climax in this sopping, mopping novelette. In fact the author's signal for down curtain with slow music is always the portrait on the stairs.

Thus freighted with sentimentalities and unrealities the Tin Soldier moves along to its appointed happy ending; for novel readers who love sentiment will never stand for any really tragic end to such banalities as those of Jean and Derry.

In Temple Bailey's story all the values of life are awry. From it one gets the impression—if the book is strong enough to produce any impression at all—of women without strength and men without principle. Patriotism is the *dernier cri* of the best set, and realities are butchered to make a best-seller.

An Argentine Romance

SPANISH-AMERICA has been coming to the fore with a literature all its own of late, a literature as far away from Valera and Pardo-Bazan as is the Argentine from Andalusia. Ibanez, in his "Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse" maintains the mother-country attitude towards South America with very much the same inclusive gesture as English writers, like Mrs. Steel, sweep India into British scenery.

But there is a background of history and romance in South and Central America which will be the better for gaining its own interpreters. It is capable of as distinctive a production as Olive Schreiner's South Africa, although it has found no great voice as yet. José Marmol's "Amalia" (E. P. Dutton, New York) is an Argentinian classic, valuable rather for its portrayal of a strenuous moment in the

history of the Republic than for its qualities as a novel.

Its setting is Buenos Aires in the middle of the nineteenth century during the dictatorship of Rosas, a native tyrant who successfully carried on a reign of terror.

The story itself is of the sentimental early Victorian type, oozing love and sighs at every pore. All its women are outwardly beautiful in proportion as they are inwardly worthy. They wear tiny slippers and roses in their hair at the uncouth court of a brute who insults by his presence.

Realism is to the author merely an accident. Once in a while the intensity of his hate rides down his lack of conscious construction and shows an arresting picture of the strangest court the civilized world ever saw—a sneering, shirt-sleeved court, before which diplomats from great nations cringed.

As the tyranny of Rosas is a fact and one of the outstanding memories of the grandfathers of present-day Argentinians, Signor Marmol's novel has had a large place for itself for three quarters of a century, but never in the English-speaking world. It has for years been accessible in Russian, in Polish and in German, but only in a very shortened form for use as a school reading-book in English, until the present translation by Mary J. Serano put it on the library shelves of North America—a noteworthy incident in pan-American understanding.

The American Child

WITH the May issue a new magazine *The American Child* comes into the field. It will be published quarterly by the National Child Labor Committee as successor to *The Child Labor Bulletin*. The editors have outlined the program of the magazine in a leading editorial; "The time has come in this work," they say, "when the child, not industry, not the state, not the convenience of manufacturers or parents, not the size of our pockets but the child must be thought of. What degree of protection does he need for his development in health, in mind, in his immeasurable potential qualities? Let us find out and give him that protection. The editors of *The American Child* propose to get the fruit of the investigations and opinions of experts on this subject and place these questions before their readers, frequently in the form of contributions from experts in different allied fields."

NOW that women are being dispossessed of the men's work they entered during the war, the Pennsylvania Division of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense has issued a Directory of Opportunities for the Vocational Training of Women.

A Result of War

FIFTY thousand Finnish women have been made widows by the war and 25,000 children have been made orphans. According to the Finnish Government Information Service, under normal conditions there are about 125,000 people in Finland who must be cared for by the various municipalities. This number has been so greatly increased by war orphans and widows that the total number today is over 200,000, an extremely high figure for a country having a population of three and a half million.

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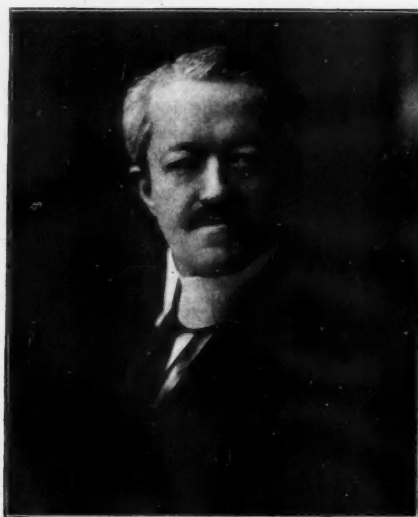
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The Rhode Island Record

THE work of Americanizing the illiterate residents of the state of Rhode Island is to be undertaken by the state, as the result of the adoption of the Americanization act put forward by the Rhode Island Suffrage Party during the recent session of the Legislature. This new law, which is sweeping in its provisions for the education of those who are unable to read, write, or speak the English language intelligently, becomes effective in 1920.

Under the provisions of the law evening schools for the teaching of reading and writing in English and American citizenship must be established in all communities having more than twenty persons between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one who cannot speak or write English. Attendance at these schools for at least 200 hours of each school year, until the student is able to comply with the standards

Americanization



HON. JACOB EATON
Who sponsored the Rhode Island Americanization Bill approved by the State Board of Education, is made compulsory by this law. The management of these Americanization schools is placed under the supervision of the state.

Provision is also made for the establishment of day continuation schools for the teaching of the English language, which may be attended by persons beyond the school age. These schools may be held in factories and shops, but must be under the control of the school committee. Persons between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one who are affected by this act may attend either the day continuation or the evening school but attendance for at least 200 hours is compulsory. Attendance at the day continuation schools is optional with those beyond the compulsory age.

An important clause in the law reads:

"Any person who has completed sixteen years of life, and who has not completed twenty-one years of life and who does not speak, read and write English in accord with standards approved by the State Board of Education, who resides in a town in which the school committee has made provision for the teaching of the English language in compliance with this act, who habitually absents himself from public instruction, is sufficiently irregular to make it impossible for him to complete two hundred hours of instruction annually within the time set by the school committee for conducting such schools, and who is not attending private in-

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struction approved by the school committee, may be fined for each wilful absence one dollar and not exceeding twenty dollars in the aggregate during one year or for persistent refusal to attend such instruction, may be committed to an institution during his minority."

The Americanization bill, conceded to be one of the most important bills passed at this session, sponsored by Representative Jacob Eaton, an influential member of the Legislature, early in April, was passed by a unanimous vote of the House on April 8. It was held up in the Senate, however, and was only passed by the Senate in the closing hours of the session. Governor Beekman signed the bill April 24. Members of the Rhode Island Suffrage Party actively supported the bill and urged its passage during the session of the Legislature, Miss Mabel E. Orgelman being the legislative chairman.

Americanization

MRS. FREDERICK P. BAGLEY of Boston, Chairman of the Americanization Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, is making a national investigation preparatory to outlining a program of legislation for submission at the next convention of the League of Women Voters. The proposed legislation is planned to combine one of the foundation principles of the League, "to improve the electorate," with the aims of the Americanization committee, "to make English the language of the country," and "to promote the citizenship of aliens."

Speeding up the granting of preliminary naturalization papers, the organization of an Americanization Committee, "to make English workers of Lawrence, Mass., and the establishment of a school to instruct American women in the teaching of citizenship to aliens are some of the results which the committee has accomplished this year.

IN Boston there have been successfully completed a series of experiments upon which will be based the work of the committee throughout the country. There a school for citizenship has been started and now has 150 graduates. These graduates have themselves instructed large classes of foreigners, one woman having within three months taught 450 aliens and assisted them to get their naturalization papers. One class of 38 aliens taught by a graduate of the school was given a record of 100 per cent. by the federal examiner. The classes have been conducted in public schools, settlements and factories. The factory employers have further cooperated by providing trucks to transport the men to the naturalization court, where the system worked out by the women has reduced the time required to get first papers from the ordinary waiting about for several days to one and a half minutes.

Personal

MISS HELEN FRASER, one of the best known of the British suffragists, is planning to run for parliament. This announcement was made by Miss Fraser on the eve of her recent departure for England after a successful lecture tour in America. Miss Fraser has made some 400 speeches in all parts of the United States during her visits to this country and has delved into the study of the woman movement, gathering much valuable information

which she intends to incorporate in a book. Upon the completion of this task Miss Fraser will devote her attention to political affairs.

It is the hope of Miss Fraser to establish "Women's Centers" in the large English cities where women can have offices, bureaus of information, lecture halls. The bureaus of women's service, which were of great assistance during the war in aiding women to find the work to which they were suited, will be continued.

DR. ALETTA H. JACOBS, head of the Vereeniging Voor Vrouwen-kiesrecht of Holland, has moved from Amsterdam to Van Aerssenstraat 46, The Hague, Holland.

In Memoriam

ANOTHER pioneer suffragist passed away from earth when Helen M. Eacker died on April 21st at her home in Lawrence, Kansas. Miss Eacker, who was born in Erie County, New York, sixty-eight years ago, was a friend of Susan B. Anthony. Afterwards, in 1870, when Miss Eacker went to Kansas, she was a co-worker with Miss Anthony in the various suffrage campaigns.

Miss Eacker was called by the Kansas City "Star" "the most active woman, politically, in Kansas." She was a former president of the Kansas Woman Suffrage Association and one of the women instrumental in putting the suffrage amendment through the Legislature and also in gaining the large majority by which the bill passed at the polls.

In 1913 she was state secretary of the Progressive Party, and aided in forming Progressive organizations throughout the state. At the time of her death she was secretary of the women's Republican organization of the state and a member of the legislative department of the Federation of Clubs.

Her career—like that of many suffrage leaders—began as a teacher. She was superintendent of the Ottawa County public schools for four years, and closely allied all her life with legislative and educational progress.

Increase of Pay

THE Board of Education of Louisville, Kentucky, has announced an increase in the salaries of teachers ranging from 7 to 33 per cent. This makes the minimum salary \$70 per month instead of \$55. The school year has been cut from ten months to eight and one third months with no reduction in pay.

Increase in Pay

THE teachers in the public schools of Atlanta, Georgia, have been granted an increase in salaries of approximately fifteen per cent.

4,000 of Them

TO those people who keep on calling women on the land farmerettes and envisaging them as a comic opera for man's amusement, it must come as a shock to read that the woman's section of the Saskatchewan Grain Growers Association numbers more than 4,000.

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Women in Industry

INVESTIGATIONS of women's wages by the New York State Industrial Welfare Commission in six hundred establishments employing over 60,000 women in making paper boxes, shirts and collars, confectionery, in tobacco factories and in stores, show a little under ten per cent getting less than \$6 a week, a median wage ranging up-state from \$9 to \$10.50, in New York City from \$12 to \$12.50, and less than eight per cent earning \$20 or more.

The annual report of the Director General of Railroads on the employment of women on the railroads shows that their numbers increased during the year 1918 from 60,555 to

101,296, and they were employed in more than a score of operations, including trucking, switch tending, and yard and track work, watchwomen and women in the roundhouses, shops and the signal service. By far the greater number were employed in clerical work. Of the women's ability in hitherto untried occupations the report says: "In the shops, too, there is evidence that women have been equal to the new jobs, not only in processes requiring little skill but in some of the trades calling for a high degree of intelligence and training. They are, for instance, doing electric welding, having advanced from flat work to welding of all kinds. They are also doing acetylene burning and welding. In one shop twenty welders are employed. The fact that some are earning the full mechanic's rate is a proof of their efficiency."

other positions in war work. In clerical occupations, however, a considerable part of the additional workers, especially in the government service, were no doubt girls who had never worked before. The wives and mothers of soldiers, influenced in some cases by patriotic motives and in others by economic necessity, formed a third important source of additional war time workers."

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MARGARET A. HOBBS has summarized interesting facts and figures in regard to the employment of American women during the war and of the efforts by state and federal government to meet the problems of women's entrance into new industries. On the uncertain question of the actual numbers employed she says: "In 1914 1,650,000 women were found in manufacturing industries. Allowing for the normal increase of 100,000 a year, it is likely that nearly 2,000,000 American women were at work in factories when the United States entered the war. The total number gainfully employed in all occupations was probably not far from 10,000,000.

"IT is unfortunate that, unlike England, the United States did not collect figures showing the changes in the number of women workers during the war. However, some interesting estimates were made in October, 1918, by Miss Marie Obenauer, chief woman examiner of the National War Labor Board, and long a close student of the problems of women in industry. She set the increase in the number of women workers since the beginning of 1915 at about 1,000,000, of which 400,000 entered manufacturing and 500,000 clerical occupations.

"Much higher estimates of the increase fail to allow for a large amount of shifting to war industry by women already employed. Many domestic servants, for instance, and girls from non-essential industries changed to the more highly paid war jobs, and it is said that 100,000 teachers left the schools for clerical and

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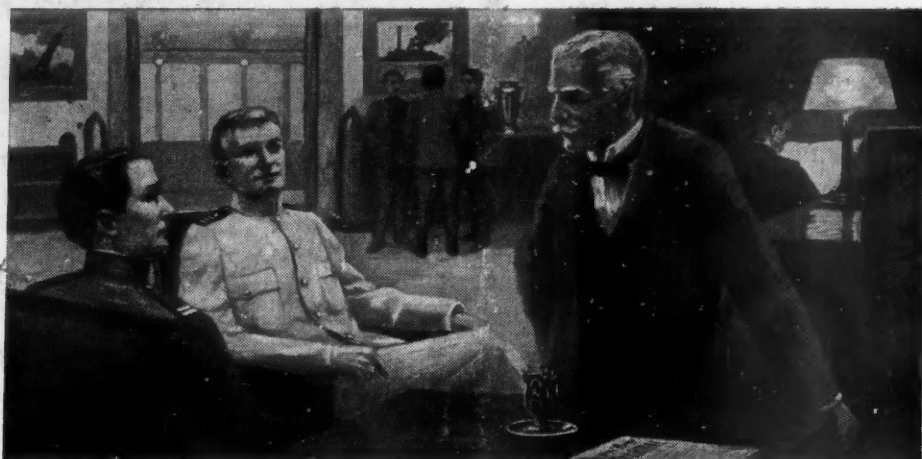
WHAT WE TALK ABOUT IN THE WOMAN CITIZEN

(See issue of June 7, on news-stands, or write for sample copy).

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The Last Word About the War

And How Colonel Sibley Was Helped to Write It

SCENE: (Army and Navy Club, New York, where Commander Ellsworth, U. S. N., and Captain Trowbridge, U. S. A., are having a conference and an after-dinner cigar in the Club Library and are joined by Colonel Sibley, U. S. A., retired)

The Colonel: Well, comrades, I win!

The Commander: Been fighting again, Colonel? Who says you're retired?

Colonel: I was retired, but now I'm in action again or soon will be, and this time with the pen instead of the sword.

Captain: How's that?

Colonel (Drawing closer to the table and glancing around): Well, comrades, I don't mind telling you in confidence that I just signed up with the Editor-in-Chief of a big magazine (name censored for the present) to write a series of articles on the Great War.

Commander: Tell us about it.

Colonel: Well, it's going to be a long campaign. The Editor, whom I have just left, wants an extended series of articles, to begin with an exhaustive survey of the causes which led up to the War.

Captain: The causes? All of them? Well, you've sure got your work laid out for you.

Commander: I should say you had.

Colonel: The Editor feels that way

himself. He's now concerned chiefly about what has happened up-to-date and the authority upon which my statements will be based. The Editor's a big gun in the business, you know, and his rivals will be getting his range if he exposes himself. He wants to secure a strategic position so that he can't be successfully attacked on anything he prints.

Captain: Well, what did you suggest?

Colonel: I'll tell you. While he was talking I was thinking and I finally told him that what he wanted as a reserve-force was some late general reference work of recognized reliability that he could fall back on. "That's it," he said, and then asked: "Which one?"

Commander (Turning his head and glancing at a set of The New International Encyclopaedia in its special case): I'll bet I can tell which one you named.

Captain (Glancing at the set): Ours, of course.

Colonel: You're both good guessers. Of course I named The New

International and the Editor nodded his head and said: "That's the very work I had in mind, not only as an authority on the causes of the War and what has already happened, but when peace comes I hear the publishers are to bring the war-volume down to date at once and are to send it to all subscribers in exchange for the war-volume now in their possession so they'll know the last word about the conflict."

Commander: Well, that settled it, I suppose.

Colonel: Yes, I told the Editor that the selection of The New International as our authority simplified the problem and he added that it not only simplified the articles, but solidified them and made them so authoritative that he would be able to follow out with safety his plan to publish the series of articles in book form.

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